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JULY—DECEMBER 1853.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes avant L'Islamisme, Pendant L'Epoque de Mahomet, et jusqu'à la réduction de toutes les tribus sous la loi Musulmane. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval, Professeur d'Arabe au Collége Royal de France. Trois Tomes. Paris*, 1847—1848.

M. CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL has, in these volumes, traced the history of the Arabian tribes and States, from the earliest glimmerings of Mahometan tradition, to the period when the whole were united under the banner of Islam. With inconceivable labour, he has thrown together the multitudinous and often discrepant genealogies, and accounts of individuals and of tribes; collating the several steps of various lines, and noting at what points they meet, and where the tradition of events disproves or corroborates the tradition of names. The result of his investigations is exhibited with great ingenuity and clearness, in fifteen tables or genealogical trees, in which the descent of the chief tribes and most famous personages of the Peninsula is traced up, with the approximate era of each generation, to the most remote period for which tradition furnishes authority. These tables add much to the value of the book, for the general reader, whose mind is bewildered with the maze of collateral families and tribes crossing and re-crossing each other's path.

M. C. de Perceval is intimately acquainted with the native historians of Arabia, and with its early poets, whose evidence is of the most essential value in these investigations. He has pursued his enquiries with much learning and singular research,* and, as it appears to us, with extraordinary success.

The first half of his first volume is devoted to the history of Yemen, brought down to the Mahometan invasion; the second half to the rise of Mecca, and the biography of Mahomet, as far as his flight to Medîna. The second volume opens with an extended review of the kingdoms of Hîra and the

* It is much to be regretted that M. C. de Perceval's ignorance of German has prevented his availing himself of the valuable treatises bearing on his subject, lately published in that language. (*Vol. I., Preface, p.* vi.)

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Ghassânide dynasty, up to their absorption in the Mahometan Empire; then of the tribes of Central Arabia; and, lastly, of Medîna. The third volume resumes the history of Mahomet, and brings down the progress of Islam to the Caliphate of Omar, and the submission of all the Arab tribes. The work thus exhausts the subject; but the arrangement is bad, and the thread of narration not unfrequently broken.

"Long temps divisés en fractions, formant autant d'Etats ' différents, de petites Républiques, ou de hordes ennemies les ' unes des autres, les Arabes sont rassemblés en corps par ' Mahomet, et l'unité de la nation achève de se constituer ' sous Omar. Tel est, en résumé, le sujet que j'ai essayé de ' traiter."* In short, the grand object of the work is to trace the process by which the independent and hostile fragments of Arabia became one great and irresistible nation.

We are not aware that the mass of information presented by M. C. de Perceval, in his first two volumes, is anywhere available to the English reader; and we purpose, therefore, to throw it together in as brief a form as may be possible. The reader, to whom the subject is uninviting, now fully forewarned of the nature of what follows, will be able, without farther enquiry, to pass on to a more congenial article; while from those to whom the History of Arabia is one of interest and attraction, we hope to obtain a patient hearing, and pardon for the prolixity, which the detail necessary in such an enquiry may involve.

Arabia is commonly described as a triangular continent, having a right angle at Bâb al Mandeb; but it is more natural and convenient to consider it as an irregular parallelogram, approaching to rectangular, which (if we detach the province of Omân, projecting towards Persia) it will be found to resemble. A line drawn along the Euphrates, from a point above the ancient Babylon, and skirting the southern shore of the Persian Gulph and the boundary of Omân, till it meets the Indian Ocean, will give the eastern side of our figure: and the corresponding parallel on the west runs from Suez, or from Al Arîsh on the Mediterranean, to the straits of Bâb al Mandeb. Each of these lines stretches over about eighteen degrees of latitude, and extends for a length of 1,300, or 1,400 miles. The northern side, again, is formed by a line drawn from Suez in a north-westerly direction, till it meets the Euphrates, a distance of about 600 miles, and forms the ill-defined boundary

* *Vol. I., Preface, p.* v.

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contested between the roving tribes of Arabia, and the sedentary inhabitants of Syria. The southern parallel is the shore washed by the Indian Ocean. The length of this parallelogram lies diagonally across the meridian; and it is broader at the south-western extremity, than on the opposite side, where the Euphrates, by its western bend, narrows the Syrian confine.

Along the western line, washed in nearly its whole extent by the Red Sea, runs a chain of lofty mountains. These take their rise in Syria, and forming the high land to the east of the Dead Sea, sweep south to Mount Sinai, and thence to the straits of Bâb al Mandeb, where they dip into the Indian Ocean, to re-appear on the shores of Africa. The range follows closely the line of the coast, from whence the mariner sees its repulsive rocks of reddish sandstone and porphyry, at times pressing near enough to be laved by the waters of the Red Sea, and at times receding, so as to form a broad margin of low land. The latter is styled the Tehâma.

From the centre of this great chain, is thrown off at right angles a mountain range called the Jebel Ared, which traverses the Peninsula parallel with its northern and southern boundaries. It runs from Tâyif in the vicinity of Mecca, towards Derâyeh and the Persian Gulph, and thus divides Arabia into two equal halves. Another chain, the Jebel Shammâr, runs east and west between the gulph of Akaba and the mouth of the Euphrates; and a third unites the eastern portions of both the lateral ranges. The space between these mountains is comprised in the district of Najd, and forms a vast expanse of lofty country, which abuts upon the grand chain of the Red Sea, and slopes downwards towards the Persian Gulph.

Between Najd and the Red Sea lies the mountainous region of the Hejâz,* which includes both Medîna and Mecca. The main longitudinal range lies here far back from the coast, at a distance perhaps of 100 miles, and is in some places of great elevation; but the interval is filled with mountain chains rising from the shore, one above another, with alternate vales or *Wâdies*, until the granite-crested peaks of the chief range overtop the whole. Here the weary traveller, who has toiled up the ascent, finds to his surprise that, instead of a similar declivity on the other side, he has reached a vast plateau of lofty country, stretching away towards the east.

The southern half of the Peninsula is divided into two parts. The western comprises the hilly but fertile Yemen; and the

* That is "the barrier," as lying between Yemen and Syria; or the frontier between the northern and southern merchants. (*C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 2.—*Sprenger's Mohammed, p.* 14.)

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perennial streams which here flow into the sea, with the rich corn-fields and plantations of coffee, well entitle it to be called the garden of Arabia. North of Yemen, lie Khaulân, Najrân, and other districts, partaking more or less of the same character. The eastern division, lying between these countries and Omân, is almost unknown (if we except its lofty and precipitous coast,) and is supposed to be entirely desert.

Though Arabia is not greatly inferior in extent to India, yet it does not possess a single navigable river; and, instead of a wide expanse of alluvial cultivation, it exhibits, for the most part, a barren and dreary waste of rock and sand. Most of the rivers lose themselves in the sandy plains, and never reach the sea: but here and there between the hills, the soil is fertilized by the streams or fountains; and the Wâdi or Oasis, contrasting with the wild bleak wilderness around, charms the traveller with an unspeakable freshness and verdure.

The whole of this vast continent has been peopled from time immemorial by the Arab race who, secluded from the rest of the world by their pathless deserts, peninsular position, and peculiar habits, have throughout all ages retained a singular purity from foreign admixture either of blood or manners. Although sacred writ and classical authority give some general intimations as to the colonization and state of the country, yet neither source furnishes us with any detailed history of the central and southern tribes;* and for this object, we are forced back upon the native tradition of Arabia. In a former paper in this *Review* the nature of Arab tradition has been discussed, and it has been shown that as regards genealogical and phylarchal reminiscences, it has peculiar claims upon our belief.†

In the case of the Himyar empire, in the south of Arabia, besides the benefit of such tradition, there is ground for believing that national events were chronicled by inscriptions, and thence incorporated in the traditional accounts of the Arab historians. It is thus that the history of the Himyar dynasty ascends far above that of the Abrahamic tribes, and it therefore demands our first consideration.

The reader has no doubt followed, with interest and curiosity, the successive discoveries which have been made of Himyar inscriptions at Sanâ, Hisn al Ghorâb, Khariba, and Mâreb. These were ancient seats of Himyar rule, and as we are assured that writing was known to the nation, and that the country

* Vide Art. IV. No. XXXVIII.—On the Aboriginal Tribes of Arabia.

† Vide Art. I. No. XXXVII. pp. 42, 43, and (Id.) p. 65.

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was far advanced in civilization and opulence, it only corresponds with our natural expectation, that we should find in the neighbourhood permanent memorials of ancient greatness, "graven in the rock with a pen of steel." Notwithstanding many learned and ingenious attempts to unravel these inscriptions, no certain clue has yet been found; and though in some of the words, a resemblance is traced to ancient names in the Himyar dynasty,* the foundation is not broad enough to build any sure theory upon.

We have, however, the indisputable fact, that events of some description, and most likely the names of the ancient kings, were thus chronicled. It is also highly probable that at the time of the Mahometan conquest, there were some of the inhabitants alive, versed in decyphering the Himyar alphabet, and able to communicate the meaning of the inscriptions to the curious enquirer. Thus, although we read nowhere of any Himyarite history of Yemen,† and although the knowledge of the Musnad character became soon extinct, yet it is probable that the early Mahometan writers had the means of deriving from native authority a chronicle of the names, and of some of the acts of the kings of Yemen.

Yet even supposing this authentic source of information, its imperfection is manifest from the doubtful and discrepant character of the details presented to us by the Arab historians. M. C. de Perceval, after incredible pains to reduce them to a uniform history, thus expresses his opinion of "the profound uncertainty" of these accounts.

> Vague tradition, lists of kings discordant one with another, and containing manifest gaps, and interrupted or doubtful genealogies:—such are the documents presented to us by oriental writers. With only feeble elements like these for the construction of a history, there is little ground for the hope of reaching *the truth*. At the best, it may perhaps be not impossible to attain to *what is likely*. Beyond this latter term I do not stretch my pretensions. *(Vol. I. p. 47.)*

These modest pretensions M. C. de Perceval has fully realized.

The first of the Yemen dynasty is the great CAHTAN. In order to calculate the era at which he lived, it is necessary to note the number of generations between him and Dzu Nowâs, the last of the race. They amount, by the Himyar line, as adjusted by M. C. de Perceval, to thirty-nine, which, at thirty-

* See instances given by M. C. de Perceval, *Vol. I. pp.* 90 *and* 111.

† Hamza mentions an ancient history of Yemen: but the meaning no doubt is an ancient *Mahometan* History.

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three years to a generation,* give an interval of 1,287 years. Now the birth of Dzu Nowâs may be placed approximatively at 460 A. D.; and thus the birth of Cahtân would be carried back to 827 B. C.

When, however, we follow the descent by another line, that of *Cahlân*,† the brother of Himyar, and also by the separate Himyar line of *Codhâa*,‡ we find only from thirty-three to thirty-six generations between Cahtân and Mahomet; and this would reduce the antiquity of the date by two or three centuries. In favor of the more modern era, there are the uncertainties and discrepancies in the Yemen succession: for it is possible that different and contemporaneous branches have been confused and represented as a continuous line.§ This is the more likely to have occurred, from the yearning of the Mahometan writers after extreme antiquity, and their desire, by protracting the genealogies, to connect them with the Mosaical record.

Whichever line be adopted, we may, with tolerable confidence, place the era of Cahtân between the years 800 B. C. and 500 B. C. It is this Cahtân whom Mahometan writers have identified with Joktân, the sixth from Noah; but the identification is one of those extravagant fictions, which the followers of Islam, in their zeal to accommodate Arab legend to Jewish scripture, have made in defiance of the most violent improbability, and the grossest anachronisms.‖ Cahtân was

* M. C. de Perceval calculates thirty-three years to a generation, excepting where the exact period is known by historical fact or synchronism; but he admits that thirty years would, in general, suffice for an Arab generation. (*Vol. I. p.* 248—*Note* 1.) Sprenger allows three generations to 100 years, but he admits that "this is somewhat too high in ordinary cases," and he adopted the calculation, because some of Mahomet's progenitors were begotten at an advanced age, which raised the average. (*Asiatic Journal, No. CCXXI. p.* 349.)

† See Table II. Vol. I. of M. C. de Perceval.

‡ Idem, Table III.

§ M. C. de Perceval admits, that from the imperfection of his materials he has frequently been obliged to supply the lacunæ in the reigns from the genealogical lines, and *vice versa*. Thus, about the time of Abd Shams II., the 16th prince of the line, there is an admitted gap of several names in the royal line, as we learn by comparing it with the genealogical trees.

On the other hand, the lines of Cahlân and Codhâa were preserved *memoriter*; while that of Himyar was *recorded* in some manner, and in this respect is likely to be more complete.

‖ M. C. de Perceval agrees in this view. "Il ne paraît point que, chez les premières, il est existé aucune tradition nationale relative à la filiation de Cahtân. C'est depuis l'Islamisme seulement, quand les Arabes ont commencé à recueillir les souvenirs de leur histoire, *et à les comparer avec les témoignages de la Bible*, que la plupart des ecrivains orientaux ont identifié Cahtân avec Yectan, fils d' Héber." (*Vol. I. p.* 39.) In the following page, however, he adds, that, though the identity is not demonstrable, it may yet be plausibly entertained, but only on the supposition that a great number of unknown generations intervened between Cahtân and the descen-

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succeeded by his son YAROB, who is said to have expelled or destroyed the Adites, and consolidated the empire of Yemen. He gave to his brothers *Omân* and *Hadhramaut* (the story is perhaps a myth,) the government of the two countries, thenceforward called by those names. Yárôb begot Yashjob; and Yashjob, Abd Shams Saba the Great.

ABD SHAMS SABA is said to have been the founder of the city of Mâreb or Saba, represented, by most of the classical writers, under the name of *Mariaba*, as the capital of the Sabeans, and situated upon a mountain. He is also reported by tradition to have constructed or repaired the famous lake-embankment *(Sadd Mâreb)* which was in the vicinity of that city, and the remains of which are apparent at the present day.*

Among the sons of Abd Shams Saba are the two famous partriarchs, HIMYAR and CAHLAN, the sires (as tradition will have it) of the whole Arab progeny. Their birth, according to the variety of opinion above expressed, may have taken place from 400 to 700 B. C. The pure races from this descent are termed *Mutáriba;* those mixed with supposed Ishmaelite blood, *Mustáriba.*†

The children of Himyar are marked by their comparatively settled habits. They lived chiefly in cities, and acquired the civilized manners and tastes of urban life. The children of Cahlân betook themselves to the free and wandering occupa-

---

dants reputed as his sons. But it appears to us not only that the identity cannot be proved, but that it cannot be maintained as even possible. It is utterly incredible that the name of Yectan should have survived so many centuries as that of an historical personage, while all else before and after is blank. The dictum of Mahometan tradition on the subject is plainly of no more value than that of any speculator or scriptural harmonist of the present day: nor than that of the Medina party, who represent Cahtân to be a descendant of Ishmael, and therefore to have no connection with Yectan. (*Wachidi, p.* 262½.—*C. De Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 39.)

* Others attribute its construction to the Adites—(*C. De Perceval, Vol. I. pp.* 16, 53,) in which case Abd Shams may only have repaired it. In dealing with such remote facts, we cannot do more than conjecture. For an account of the ruins see the interesting *Relation d'un voyage a Mâreb (Sana) dans l'Arabie méridional, entrepris en* 1843. *Par* M. ARNAUD. (*Journal Asiatique, Fevr. Mars.* 1845); and the remarks of *M. Fresnel., Id., September and October,* 1845. The great dam is an hour's distance from Mâreb. (*p.* 242.)

† *See Weil's Mohammed, p.* 2; *and C. De Perceval Vol. I. p.* 7, where the third (or rather *first*) class given by the Arabs, viz., *Ariba*, is noted as consisting of the ancient aborigines, such as the Amâlica, Adites, Thamûd, Jadîs, Tasm :—who, it is held, became extinct; but more likely merged into the more powerful *Mutáriba* and *Mustáriba* tribes. The three words are different forms of the same word عرب.

Yárôb, the name of Cahtân's son, is from the same source. The Arabs may either be really called after an historical character so named; or what is likelier, the character and name may be mythological, symbolizing the received opinion of the descent of the various Arab tribes from a common ancestor, thence styled by them Yárôb.

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tions of the Bedouin, scorning the restrictions of place, and the self-imposed wants of a sedentary residence.

A differing speech distinguished the two races. The *Himyarite* was spoken in the towns of Yemen, and was early provided with an alphabet.

The Arabic of the Cahlânite tribes (acquired by their intermixture with the Abrahamic tribes of the north,) did not possess this advantage, apparently, till near the time of Mahomet.* The Bedouins alone cultivated poetry, and they sang only in the Arabic language: we meet with no tradition mentioning a single verse composed in the Himyar tongue.†

From Himyar we may pass over fifteen or twenty reigns, some of which are of doubtful existence, and all characterized by vague and dim description.‡ We then come to that portion of the Himyar line known as the illustrious dynasty of the TOBBAS,§ and enter on a period of greater historical certainty.

* Vide note at page 6, Art I. No. XXXVII. of this Journal.

† The Himyar was, probably, the indigenous tongue of the Yectanide races; but it may have become assimilated with the Abrahamic Arabic from intercourse with the Abrahamic tribes. There are a variety of traditions regarding the prevalence of the two languages in Yemen. (*Cnf. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. pp.* 8, 50, 56, 79.) The Mahometan theories, that all the aborigines (*Ariba*) spoke Arabic, and that *Yârôb* introduced it into Yemen, are evidently grounded on the etymological meaning of the words. A later king is said to have introduced the Himyar tongue into Yemen, *upon* the Arabic, ادخل اللغة الحميريه على اللغة العربيه —as if the Arabic had been the vernacular. But the expression may refer to the court language of Mâreb, which perhaps may have changed at various times.

The fortuitous discovery of Himyar inscriptions, at various places, in a character hitherto unknown, and the felicitous recognition of an Arab MS. on the Himyar alphabet, give hopes that something may hereafter be decyphered from such monuments; but up to this time little more has been identified than a few names, and those uncertainly. The lucubrations of Mr. Forster on this subject are ingenious, but fanciful.

The usual mode of writing is from right to left; but sometimes the *boustrophedon* style is used. The letters are all separate, and the words disjoined by a vertical bar. (*Journal Asiatique, December*, 1838, *and September and October*, 1845—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 79.) The Mahometans do not appear to have known much of the language: some saying that the writing was from left to right; some that the letters were disjoined, others connected. It is possible that there may have been a variety of styles; but the Mahometans are not remarkable for great exactness in such relations.

‡ To illustrate the absurdity of the fictions which abound in the history of this line, we may mention that the Arab writers have invented a story, according to which a Persian king, Menût Shahr Shammir, the grand-son of Himyar, and Moses, are all three made to appear on the same stage! 'Le synchronisme présenté par 'quelques historiens entre Chammir, Moïse, et un roi de Perse, Menoutchehr, ne 'mérite aucune attention. C'est une fausse conjecture, qui prend sa source dans 'l'idée très exagérée que se font les Arabes de l'antiquité des souverains du Yaman, 'dont on a conservé les noms." (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 56.)

§ The origin of the name is doubtful. Some apply it to all Harith's successors, others to those only of them who ruled over the *entire* empire of Yemen, and did not divide its sovereignty with others. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 64) Their royal residences were successively Mâreb or Saba, Tzafâr, and Sana. Between the second and third centuries there were three renowned "Tobbas," known by that name *par excellence*.

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HARITH AL RAISH, or AL FILSUF "the philosopher," supposed to have flourished about a century before Christ, is termed the first of the Tobbas. He re-invigorated the Empire, and restored to his single sceptre a variety of the kingdoms which had fallen under princes of the Cahlân stock.*

The successor of Harith was ESSAB DZU-L-CARNAIN, or "the Horned." The surname is that which the Arabs accord to Alexander the Great, and which is connected in the *Coran* with some strange legends, especially with the construction in the north of the prodigious rampart of *Yajûj* and *Majûj*.† The marvel-loving historians of Arabia have not been slow to follow up the clue. Some have identified Essâb at once as the hero of the *Coran*, and as the great Alexander; while others hold that he was a monarch contemporary with Abraham.‡

The third monarch from Essâb is styled by the foreign name of AFRICUS or AFRIKIN. He, probably, flourished about half a century before our era. The name, as usual, has suggested a variety of wild stories. Some allege that this king located in Africa the Amalekites, who escaped from Joshua, and who there grew up into the Berber nation: others, that his exploits *against* the Berbers procured him his distinctive title. The reigning prince of the day, in Africa, was Jirjir, or Gregory;§ a strange contemporary indeed for Joshua!

* M. C. de Perceval thinks that the Yemen empire may have become known as the *Himyar* from this date. The first mention of it in classical authors under that appellation, is by Strabo, regarding the expedition of Aelius Gallus; and he finds it difficult otherwise to account for such silence. But it would be still more difficult to believe that the name of Himyar was revived, and after the abeyance of so many centuries, became the distinguishing title of the kingdom of his remote descendants.

† (*Coran XVIII.*, 85 *et seq.*) This fabulous wall has been identified with fortifications near the Caspian Sea, made, as they say, by Alexander, and repaired by Yezdegird II. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 66.) Whatever Alexander may have done to stop the inroads of the barbarians, the Arab legend is too wild to be seriously connected with them. It may, however, have originated in some grand construction or work by Alexander, the account of which may have reached the Arabs greatly magnified, and which, in their hands, would grow apace.

‡ Yet the ancestor of one of these parties was but just now represented as contemporary with the remote descendant of the other: *i. e.*, Shammir, the thirteenth or fourteenth in ascent from Essâb as contemporary with Moses! Such is Mahometan criticism and chronology.

§ M. C. de Perceval is of opinion that the Mahometan writers have here confounded their idea of some ancient African Prince, with Gregory the Patrician, who commanded in Africa, when invaded by Othmân. He well adds; "On voit là un exemple de peu de scrupule avec lequel l'ignorance de quelques écrivains orientaux rapproche les temps les plus éloignés." (*Vol.* I. *p.* 68.)

M. C. de Perceval has an ingenious theory that Africus may have been employed by Cæsar in the war against Juba, and thence connected in name with Africa. In the battle of Actium, the Arabs of Yemen are said to have fought for Antony, and to have fled with Cleopatra.

Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabæi. (*Æneid*, VIII. 706.)

Is it not more likely that he made hostile incursions into the Roman dependencies in Africa: and that these may, in some manner, be connected with the Roman expedition of Aelius Gallus, which followed shortly after.

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To Africus succeeded his brother DZU-L-ADZAR, to whose reign attach a tissue of imbecile legends. Caycaus, King of Persia, attacked him, but was taken prisoner; he was subsequently liberated by the famous Rustam, and returned to his kingdom, after marrying the daughter of Dzu-l-Adzâr.* M. C. de Perceval has ingeniously surmised, that these facts may contain an allusion to an invasion from an opposite quarter; for it was somewhere about this period that Aelius Gallus, after having taken *Negranes*, or *Negra* (Najrân,) attacked, and was repulsed from, *Marsyaba*, (*Mariaba* or Mâreb,) a city belonging to the Yemenites,† who were then governed by *Ilasare*. The name of Ilasare, he recognizes in that of Dzu-l-Adzâr; but the appellation of this prince's son and successor, ALEISHRA or LEISHRA, appears to have a more close resemblance to that of Strabo's Yemen chief. Our author's table makes Aleishra, (who was also called SHURAHBIL, and YAHSAB,) to have been born 68 B. C., or forty-four years before the Roman invasion, so that he is likely to have taken a part in the Arab defence.

The reader will not fail to observe that the Arab histories contain no farther clue to this memorable inroad of the Roman army. Yet it was a circumstance which, from its unprecedented novelty, from the lasting marks of devastation, and from the glory acquired in the repulse, was likely, above all other events, to have lodged itself in the national mind and tradition. The story of 2,000 years, though possessing often little interest, is told with freshness and circumstantiality, while this most striking and remarkable of all other events, is, after a lapse of five or six centuries, unnoticed and unknown!

The grand-daughter of Aleishra was the famous Queen BALKIS, who must have flourished during the first century of the Christian era; and her history furnishes even a stronger example of the illusory nature of remote Mahometan tradition. She is held to have been no less a personage than the veritable Queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon, the son of David, a thousand years before!. Her mother is said to have been one of the genii; but it would be unprofitable to enter into a detail of the extravagant legends related of this person-

* M. C. de Perceval traces the legend to a poetical fiction in Ferdûsi. "Si l'on 'en recherche l'origine, on s'aperçoit, q'une vague tradition, ou peut-être une pure 'fiction présentée sous des formes indécises par le poëte Firdauci, qui florissait 'trois siècles après l'hégire, a été arbitrairement arrangée par des écrivains postérieurs sous les traits précis d'un fait historique. Firdauci avait chanté une expédition de Caycaous contre le roi de Hâmâwerân, pays inconnu, fantastique, dont 'on a fait l'Arabie Heureuse. Le poëte n'avait pas nommé ce roi : on a imaginé 'que c'était Dhou-l-Adhâr." (*Vol.* I. *p.* 72.) He then shows that the Mahometan historians are utterly ignorant of the real history of Persia at the period supposed.

† In the original Ῥαμανίτων, but conjectured by M. Fresnel, with some likelihood, to be a mistake for Ἰαμανίτων.

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age, and which have received some countenance even in the *Coran*. It is remarkable that Mahomet there represents her people as addicted to the worship of the Sun.*

Two more successions bring us to TOBBA AL AKRAN, in whose reign occurred the celebrated secession of the *Azdites*, a people descended from the stock of Cahlân. This tribe, under the command of two brothers, Omrân and AMR MOZAIKIA,† appear to have become independent of the Himyarites, and made themselves masters of Mâreb. Omrân died, but not (so goes the legend,) without giving his brother some intimation of a dire calamity impending over the land. The wife of Amr followed up the monition by an ominous vision: she bade him go to the embankment of the lake, and if he should see a rat scraping the mound, and detaching huge stones, she prognosticated a speedy and inevitable ruin. He went and saw the fatal sign. Thus warned, Amr Mozaikia made immediate preparations to emigrate; and set out northward with the greatest portion of his tribe. Shortly after their departure, the embankment rent asunder, and the flood escaping with devastating fury, spread destruction in its path.

In a former paper we have seen good grounds for believing that a cause of far greater depth and extent had long been at work, paving the way for this emigration. The drying up of the Yemen commerce, and stoppage of the carrying trade, had, no doubt, disorganized society, and, perhaps, led to the rebellion of the Azdites, and their seizure of Mâred. The threatened breach of the dam may have accelerated the crisis, and given the last impulse to an over-burdened and necessitous population, eager already to go in quest of a livelihood in a

* See *Sura* XXVII. 24 *et seq*. She is also styled by tradition Balcama or Yalcama; but no name is given in the *Coran*, where she is simply described as the Queen of Saba.—"Mais les interprètes, ne trouvant pas dans la liste des souverains du Yaman, 'conservée par la tradition, de reine plus ancienne que Belkîs, n'ont pas hésité à dé-'clarer que c'était elle qui avait fait le voyage de Jérusalem. Leur sentiment a été 'pieusement adopté par les chroniqueurs, et cette opinion, accréditée par la superstition et l'ignorance, est probablement, la cause principale qui a empêché les historiens de classer les rois du Yaman suivant un ordre chronologique raisonnable.' (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 77.)

We would not however call this the "principal cause," for the departure of the Mahometan historians from a reasonable chronology. Their appetite for ancient dates had a far more important source. They longed to complete the chain of legendary tradition by connecting Adnân with Ishmael, and Cahtân with the Joktan of the Mosaical record. The absurd antiquity thus imparted to modern names attached likewise to this Queen, and they were then free to deal with her as they pleased. The motive of identifying Belkîs with the Queen of Sheba, is not of itself a sufficient one for the unsettlement of the chronology.

† He is called *Mozaikia*, they say, from daily "rending" the garment of yesterday which he always replaced by a new one: but more likely from "rending" the Azdites from their ancient settlements. But who can tell the thousand and one incidents from which a soubriquet may arise?

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less straitened country. The migration took place about the year 120 A. D.*

Yemen, thus relieved of part of its surplus inhabitants, probably regained rapidly its prosperity, notwithstanding the ravages of the flood. Tobba al Akran soon recovered his authority. He is renowned as a great warrior; and is said to have carried his arms to the borders of China.

The fourth in succession from Tobba al Akran, was TIBBAN ASAD, ABU CARIB, who flourished about the beginning of the third century of our era, one of the most illustrious of the Tobbas.† His name is connected with Yathreb or Medîna; for the inhabitants of that place having murdered his son, whom he committed to their custody, when on an expedition towards Persia, he attacked their city, and threatened them with his vengeance. But two Jewish doctors of the Bani Coreitza, then resident at Medîna, having brought him over to Judaism, diverted him from his design by foretelling, as is pretended, that Yathreb would become the refuge of the great prophet that was to arise in Arabia. At their instance, he visited and enriched the Kaaba as the shrine of Abraham, and was the first to adorn it with a covering of cloth. On his return to Yemen, he introduced there the Jewish religion; the idolaters contested the change, and appealed to the trial by fire; but they were miraculously confuted by the two Jewish doctors. Judaism did not, however, gain any important extension in Yemen, till the reign of Dzu Nowâs, and even to the era of Islam it had to contend against idolatry.

The details of the Medîna expedition are much complicated by two circumstances. The same adventure is attributed by various writers to Hassân Tobba the Less, who flourished

* It is important to fix the chronology of this salient point in the history of Arabia. The Mahometan writers agree in placing the event between our Saviour and Mahomet, some six, some four, centuries prior to Islam. The Azdite genealogies, (such as those of the Aws and Khazraj of Medîna,) combine to place the birth of Amr Mozaikia about five centuries before that of Mahomet. These considerations combine to place the emigration somewhere about 120 A. D. M. C. de Perceval thinks that the great prosperity ascribed to Mâreb by Strabo and Pliny, argues that the calamity of the dam was posterior to the Christian era. We should draw the same conclusion rather from the fact that the altered stream of commerce would, probably, not have worked out its baneful effect upon the Yemen state, till after the Christian era.

M. de Sacy conjectures, that the insecurity of the dam was not the real cause of the emigration; but was invented by the later Azdites, to cover one less honorable, perhaps, fear of defeat from Tobba al Akran. But the view we have given appears more natural.

† The author of the *Periplus* mentions *Caribael* as reigning at Zhafâr. This is supposed to have been about 200 A. D. Caribael may either have been this Abu *Cariba-al* Himyari, or his father Calay *Cariba-al* Himyari. (*C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 90.)

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about a century after Tibbân Asâd; while, in many important particulars, it is confounded with another attack, which was made upon Medîna, by a sovereign of Yemen, at least three centuries after Tibbân Asâd, and the memory of which was yet recent in the time of Mahomet.*

After Tibbân Asâd, there is a break in the Himyar line: for a prince called RABIA, of the *Cahlânite* stock, and *Bani Lakhm* tribe, succeeded to him. The following characteristic legend is cherished by the Mahometans regarding Rabia. He was affrighted by a portentous dream, and the diviners were summoned; but, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, they could not tell the interpretation, until the dream should be made known to them. At last two diviners were introduced, each of whom separately narrated to the king both his dream and its signification. *Thou sawest a flame burst forth from the darkness; and it fell upon the land of Tihâma, and devoured every living thing.* This was the .Abyssinians, who, they foretold, would overrun Yemen from Aden to Najrân, and rule for above seventy years; after that, they would be overthrown, and would be succeeded by an inspired prophet of the Coreishite stock, to whose rule all Arabia would submit, and whose law would prevail till the day of judgment. The prince, terrified by the threat of the Abyssinian invasion, sent off his family and adherents to Irâc. This emigration took place early in the third century. We shall see by-and-bye, that from Adi, one of Rabia's sons, sprang the *Lakhmite* dynasty of Hîra.†

* The two expeditions are so confounded, that many of the names belonging to the modern attack (as that of Ohaiha, who lived in the 6th century,) are introduced by a patent anachronism into the ancient adventure. The later expedition will be farther considered, when we come to Medina.

With reference to the ancient attack, the fact of the Aws and Khazraj being then at Yathreb (if it be a *bonâ fide* fact, and not borrowed from the modern expedition,) would argue for its having occurred under the reign of Hassân Tobba the Less, and not under that of Tibbân Asâd Abu Carib: because those tribes did not settle at Medîna till about 800 A. D., or a century after the reign of the latter prince. On the other hand, the introduction of Judaism into Yemen, if really, as represented, a result of the present adventure, would favour the earlier date: because there is reason for thinking that Judaism was known there before 300 A. D.

The whole story is given at length by *Hishâmi, pp. 7 et. seq*, and is common among the Mahometan historians. The reader will not fail to observe the ridiculous "foreshadowing" of Mahomet's flight to Medina. (*See Journal Asiatique, November*, 1838, *p.* 444.) Two valuable papers by M. PERRON, in that and the previous number, may be consulted by the student, who wishes to see, in greater detail, the accounts of the Mahometan historians on the subject. (*See also M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 91, and *Vol.* II. *p.* 647.)

† (*See Hishâmi, p. 5, and M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *pp.* 96—100.) The latter, with reason, regards the prophecy to be a fabrication, and intended to cover a less reputable cause of emigration, perhaps fear of the arms of the Yemen monarch, against whom, in the capacity of vassal, he had rebelled. The Mahometan anxiety to discover or to fabricate *foreshadowings* of the coming Prophet, may have worked together with this motive.

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On Rabia's death, the kingdom reverted to the son of Tibbân Asâd, HASSAN TOBBA, during whose reign, in the first half of the third century, a farther emigration took place northward. The *Bani Tay*, a Cahlânite family, isolated since the departure of their neighbours, the Azdites, and like them, we conclude, suffering from the effects of the great commercial change, migrated likewise, and finally took up their position in the mountains of Ajâ and Salmâ, to the north of Najd and the Hejâz.

About four successions later, we find, towards the close of the third century, a Christian king of Yemen, called ABD KELAL. He is said to have been converted by a Syrian stranger, whom the Himyarites, enraged at their Prince's defection, murdered. This is the first special intimation we meet with of Christianity in Yemen, and as it is attributed to a foreign source, there would appear to have been no indigenous or hereditary profession of it there.

The next prince was HASSAN TOBBA AL ASGHAR, or *the Younger*, styled *the last of the Tobbas*, to whom is attributed, by Hishâmi and other writers, the attack upon Medîna, mentioned above. He reigned about 300 A. D.; and Arab historians speak of a treaty concluded between him and the Meccan tribe. From this time we have frequent proof of the dependence of the central tribes upon the Himyar kingdom; this influence was ever and anon interrupted by hostilities, and as often, after short intervals, renewed.

The next prince, MARTHAD, son of Abd Kelâl, is famed for his wise and moderate views upon religious toleration. He used to say, "*I reign over men's bodies, not over their opinions. I 'exact from my subjects obedience to my government; as to their 'religious doctrines, the judge of them is the Great Creator.*" During this exemplary reign, an interesting embassage appeared in the capital of Yemen, sent by the Emperor Constantius, to strengthen his alliance with the Himyarites, and to attract them to Christianity. At its head was the Indian Bishop Theophilus, who presented to "the prince of the Sabæans or Homerites," among other royal gifts, "two hundred horses of the purest breed of Cappadocia," and sought permission to erect churches for the subjects of the Roman Emperor, attracted thither by merchandize, and for those of the natives, who wished to embrace the religion of Jesus. And so far the mission was successful: for three churches were built, one at Tzafâr, the royal residence; another at Aden, the point of traffic with India; and a third at the chief maritime town on the Persian gulph. Theophilus flattered himself, that he had even

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converted the Himyar monarch; but for this he probably mistook what was no more in reality than a latitudinarian and tolerant philosophy.* It is certain that Arab history makes no mention either of this mission or of its effects.

Philostorgius informs us that the inhabitants of Yemen consisted at that time, partly of Jews and partly of Pagans. The latter, though the most numerous, practised the rite of circumcision, like the Jews, on the eighth day. They also sacrificed to the sun and the moon, and to other divinities, several of whose names we learn from Arab writers.

After the death of Marthad, the Yemen Empire began to decline, and its subordinate rulers to throw off the yoke of dependence. This disorganization may, perhaps, have arisen from unsuccessful wars with the Abyssinian kingdom, for about the middle of the 4th century, the sovereign of Axum (between the Red Sea and the Nile) joined to his other titles that of *king of the Himyarites.*†

To such troubles we may probably attribute the brevity, and in some respects uncertainty, of the history of Yemen for a long series of years. The Himyar dynasty, however, still maintained its supremacy over the tribes of Najd and the Hedjâz; and about the middle of the fifth century gave them a king or viceroy, called Hojr Akil al Morâr, of the *Kinda* tribe.‡

Towards the end of the 5th century the empire was usurped by a dissolute person styled Dzu Shenâtir. He was abhorred of the people for his flagitious deeds, which he carried to such an extreme as to dishonour the youths of most noble families; but one of these, rather than submit to his indignities, put an end to the tyrant's life. This youth, called DZU NOWAS, belonged to the royal stock, and was unanimously called to the throne. During his reign (490—525 A. D.) there were several encounters between the Kinda viceroy, backed by Yemen troops, and the tribes of central Arabia. The latter, though repeatedly victorious, always returned again after a time to their allegiance. The Himyar dynasty thus maintained its Arabian influence until overthrown by the Abyssinians, when the feudal autho-

* (*M. C. de Perceval, p.* 112.— *Philostorgius Hist. Eccles., l.* III., *ch.* 4—6.) Gibbon gives a brief account of this embassy. (*Decline and Fall, ch.* XX.) Philostorgius wrote his work in the first half of the 5th century.

† *M. C. de Perceval*, I. *p.* 114. The Greek inscription at Axum, discovered by Salt, notices these titles as appertaining to the Axumite monarch Aeïzanas. See the description of Axum, between Meröe and the sea-port Adule, in *Heeren's Res. Africa, Vol.* I. *p.* 460, *&c.*

‡ Sabbah, who reigned over Yemen, 440 to 460 A. D., made a tour of Najd, to assure himself of the submission of the tribes of Central Arabia. (*M. C. de Perceval*, I. *p.* 116.)

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rity over the Arabs passed into the hands of the Prince of Hîra, the vassal of Persia.

Dzu Nowâs was a votary of Judaism, which he is said to have embraced on a visit to Medîna.* However this may have been, it is certain that he supported the creed with an intolerant and proselytizing adherence, which at last proved fatal to his kingdom. His bigotry was aroused by the prevalence and success of Christianity in the neighbouring province of Najrân, which he invaded with a large army. The Christians offered a strenuous resistance, but yielded at length, on the treacherous promise that no ill would be done to them. They were offered the choice of Judaism or of death, and those who remained constant to the faith of Jesus were cruelly massacred. Deep trenches were dug, and filled with combustible materials; the pile was lighted, and the Christian Martyrs cast headlong into the flame. The number thus miserably burned or slain by the sword, is stated at no less than twenty thousand.†

However exaggerated this melancholy carnage, there can be no doubt as to the bloody and tyrannical nature of the administration of Dzu Nowâs in Najrân. News of these proceedings reached the Emperor Justin I. through his ambassador at Hîra, to which court the Tyrant had exultingly communicated the tidings of his triumph.‡ One of the intended victims, Dous Dzu Tholabân, also escaped to Constantinople, and holding up a Gospel half burnt by the persecutor, invoked in the name of outraged Christendom, retribution upon the oppressor. The emperor was moved, and indited a despatch to the Najâshi, or prince of the Abyssinians, desiring him to take vengeance upon the barbarous Himyarite. Immediately an armament was set on foot, and in a short time 70,000 warriors embarked in thirteen hundred merchant ships and transports,§ and crossed the

* Hamza states that having visited Medîna, one half of the inhabitants of which were then Jews, Dzu Nowâs was so well pleased with their religion, that he embraced it. But as M. C. de Perceval shows (*Vol.* I. *p.* 122,) it is much more likely that he became a Jew through the influence of the powerful and long established party in Yemen: and that he visited Medîna in order to succour the Jews against the oppressive attacks of the Aws and Khazraj. This agrees with the history of Medîna, and is in excellent keeping with the sectarian bias which led Dzu Nowâs to the attack of Najrân.

† *M. C. de Perceval*, I. *p.* 129, *Hishami*, *p.* 14. The details are briefly given by Gibbon at the close of the XLII. Ch. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: and the subject is alluded to in the Coran, Sura LXXXV. v. 4, *et seq.*, where the *Ashâb al Okhdûd*, are those who perished in the trenches.

‡ We gather this from the Greek historians. The Arabs only tell us of the suppliant Dous, whom the Greeks do not mention.

§ The number of the force as given by the Arabs is probably exaggerated. An ecclesiastical work mentions that 600 Roman merchantmen were employed on the occasion by the Abyssinian monarch: he had also 700 light transports. The Greek authorities state that the emperor wrote to the Patriarch of Alexandria to stir up the

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narrow gulph which separates Adulis fron Yemen. Dzu Nowâs was defeated, and, having in despair urged his horse into the sea, expiated in the waves the inhumanities of his career. The Abyssinian victory occurred in 525 A. D.*

The army was commanded by Aryât, who reigned over Yemen as the viceroy of the Najâshi. But another Abyssinian Chief, named Abraha, who had accompanied the expedition, rebelled against Aryât, and having slain him in single combat, succeeded to the Government. Abraha was a zealous Christian; and the efforts of Gregentius, a Bishop deputed by the Patriarch of Alexandria to follow up the secular by a spiritual conquest, were seconded by him with more energy than judgment. He built at Sanâ a magnificent Cathedral, and professed himself desirous that the pilgrimage of the Arab tribes should be diverted to this temple from that of Mecca. It is alleged that he published an order to that effect, and sent Missionaries throughout Arabia, calling upon the Arabs to make the new pilgrimage. The Meccans were displeased, and killed one of his emissaries; while a Coreishite had the audacity to defile the precincts of the Christian edifice. Enraged at such opposition, Abraha set out with an army to destroy the Kaaba; but he perished in the expedition. This attack, famous in the annals of Mecca, as that *of the elephant*, occurred in the year 570 A. D., and within two months of the birth of Mahomet.

The history of Yemen becomes now more detached from the rest of Arabia. The Abyssinian rule was distasteful to the natives, and a Himyarite of the royal house, named Saif, whether impelled by the tyranny of the invaders, or by the hope of succeeding to the throne of his ancestors, sought for foreign aid, first fruitlessly at the Court of Constantinople, and then at that of the Persian king. From the latter, Mádicarib, son of the original suppliant, at last obtained an order to empty the prisons of such of their inmates as were

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Negus or King of Axume, to avenge the massacre of his fellow Christians in Najran. This king is styled among the Arabs by the hereditary title of Najâshi, which is another form of Negus. The then prince is called by the Grecians Elesbaas (Atzbeha:) and by the Ethiopians Caleb or Amda. The former was probably his baptismal name. *M. C. de Perceval*, I. 131.

* Some Syrian and Greek writers place the Abyssinian conquest, as well as the massacre in Najrân, within the year 523 A. D. In Assemani (I. 364,) is given a letter of the Bishop Simeon, stating that tidings of the conquest of Najrân reached the king of Hîra early in Feb. 524: it therefore occurred about the close of 523. Allowing time for the intervening events and preparations, the defeat of Dzu Nowâs cannot well be placed earlier than the beginning of 525 A. D. (*M. C. de Perceval*, *p.* 133.)

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fit for war; and with an army of armed convicts, he embarked in eight ships, six of which safely reached the port of Aden. The Persian and Abyssinian armies met, and Wahraz, the convict chief, decided the struggle, by killing Masrûk the Abyssinian viceroy. This happened about 575 A. D.*

In the person of MADICARIB, who was installed as the ruler of Yemen and the vassal of the Persian king, the Himyar dynasty appeared again to re-appear. The Arab tribes sent deputations to congratulate him on the auspicious occasion, and among them is reported Abd al Mottalib, the grand-father of Mahomet; but the story is accompanied by so many gross anticipations of the Prophet, as to involve it altogether in suspicion.†

There is reason to believe, that the Abyssinians still maintained a struggle with the resuscitated Himyar government, and were not finally subdued till the year 597. Then, after having maintained themselves for seventy-two years, they were effectually crushed by a second Persian army, under the same Wahraz, and Yemen became a Persian dependency.

But a few years wrought a mighty change in the destinies of Arabia; and Badzàn, one of the early successors of Wahraz, is said to have given in his adhesion to Islam, while Mahomet was yet alive.

We shall now trace the rise and history of two kingdoms in the north of Arabia, both of which, Arab in their origin, exercised a constant and important influence upon the Peninsula. These are the states of *Hîra and Ghassân*.

These kingdoms took their rise, subsequent to the Christian era, in the migratory impulse which, as we have previously seen, led numerous tribes to move northward from Yemen, and transplant themselves from the shores of the Indian sea, in some instances, even to those of the Mediterranean, or the banks of the Euphrates. The emigration of the AZDITES, an extensive tribe, descended from Cahlân, the brother of Himyar, has been traced above to about the year 120 A. D.‡ One portion of them moved eastward towards Omân; the other passed northward through Najrân and the Hedjâz, to

* The account of these events is given in detail by *Hishâmi, p.* 19 *et seq.*—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 146 *et. seq.*

† Weil objects to the story upon chronological grounds; but his objections appear to be removed by the explanation of M. C. de Perceval, who makes the Abyssinians to receive the *first* check and overthrow in 575, but not to be *finally* expelled till 597. (*Weil's Mohammed, p.* 8, *note* 1.)

‡ See above, p. 12.

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Syria, but left many off-shoots by the way, some of which commingled with the Bedouin tribes of Najd, while others settled at Mecca and Medina, and played a prominent part in their subsequent history.

The CODHAITE tribe, a race descended from Himyar,* inhabited Mahra, a country to the east of Aden, where they were ruled by their own kings. It was probably before the Azdites, that this people, pressed by the Yemen monarchy, and labouring, as we infer, from the difficulties caused by the great commercial change, migrated to the neighbourhood of Mecca. There they fell out with the Meccan tribes, and finally dispersed themselves in various directions. The *Bani Aslam* settled north of Medîna in the valley of Wadi-al-Cora: the *Bani Kalb* in Dûmat-al-jandal, on the Syrian border: the *Bani Salîh* on the east of Palestine: the *Bani Yazîd*, in Mesopotamia: and the *Taym Allât*, in Bahrein. The dispersion took place towards the close of the second century.

About the same time, the BANI JYAD and other off-sets of the famous Meccan tribe† (the ancestors of the Coreish,) spread themselves eastward in the Peninsula.

From each of these sources, certain bands of Azdite, Codhâite, and Meccan Arabs wandered towards Bahrein, where, opposed in their eastward progress by the Persian Gulph, they combined together about the year 190 A. D., and guided by the coast and by the Southern bank of the Euphrates, alighted upon the site of HIRA, a few miles north-west of the site of the more modern Cufa. There, attracted by the rich and well-watered vicinity, the strangers took up their abode, and about A. D. 200, laid the foundations of the city. The Arsacide monarchy was then crumbling under revolt and disastrous war, and the young colony, swelled by needy adventurers and desperate refugees from Arabia, grew unmolested and rapidly into an important state. Another city, not far distant from Hîra, called Anbâr, was either founded, or having been previously in existence, was taken possession of, by the Arabs.‡

* Some hold that Codhâa was descended from Maadd, the Ishmaelite ancestor of Mahomet, and that his posterity, having settled in Yemen, became confounded with that of Himyar. But the legend is unlikely, and was probably concocted from the desire of the Codhâites to participate in the sacred descent from Ishmael. It shows, however, how uncertain is Mahometan tradition of remote events. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 207.)

† By the *Meccan* tribe, we designate the ancestors of the Coreish running up to Adnân, and those of their descendants who remained attached to Mecca.

‡ By some the establishment of this town has been referred back to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II., who is said to have left here the captives carried off in his inroad into Arabia. But this is a mere hypothesis of the Arab historians, who are very expert in imagining such causes for the origin of towns and kingdoms. Another

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We have reason to believe that at first there was both an Azdite and a Codhâite chief, the former at Anbâr, the latter at Hîra. The rule of MALIK the Azdite (A. D. 195—215,) was terminated by his son, who in the darkness mistook him for an enemy, and killed him by an arrow. As the father was dying he repeated these touching lines ;—

اعلمه الرمايه كل يوم * فلما اشتد ساعده رماني *

"Daily I instructed him in the art of shooting,
And when his arm became strong, he turned against me his bow."

This incident is noted to show with what detail, even at that remote period, the history of Hîra has been preserved. As we advance, the detail becomes greater and more certain. The position of Hîra, closely influenced by the adjoining empire of Persia, and on the highway to Syria, induced an early civilization and acquaintance with letters. Arab poets frequented the court of Hîra, and their effusions were prized and preserved. Thus there was abundant opportunity, both of public archive and of poetical record ; and as these were conveyed down to the era of Islam, the history of this kingdom deserves our confidence.

The parricide fled to Omân, and another son, JODZEIMA, succeeded to the Government. During his reign (205—268 A. D.,) the Sassanide dynasty of Persia arose in strength upon the ruins of the Arsacide. The Codhâite chief, with his Bedouin followers, spurned the claims of Persia upon their allegiance, and departed to Syria. Thus Jodzeima and the Azdite party were left in undivided possession of Hîra, which, with its Arab tribes,* became the willing vassal of the Persian king.

Jodzeima made frequent incursions into Arabia, and in one of them was overtaken and beaten by the army of the Himyar monarch, Hassân Tobba. But his greatest and most continued efforts were directed against the Arab allies of the Roman Empire in Syria.

As Persia claimed Hîra and the eastern tribes, so Rome assumed for her allies or retainers the Arabs of Western Syria ;

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theory is that Tibbân Asâd Abu Carib, king of Yemen, left here his invalid soldiers ; but his expedition did not take place till about 235 A. D.,—a considerable time after the foundation both of Hira and Anbâr. The question is not one of much importance. The main point is undoubted, viz., that the kingdom of Hira originated in an *Arab* colony.

* These consisted of three classes. I. The *Ibâd*, or inhabitants of Hira and its environs. II. The *Tonûkhites*, or Arabs (Bedouin,) who had immigrated from Arabia into the neighbouring country. III. The *Ahlaf*, their allies. The two latter dwelt in tents, and lived a nomad life on the pasture lands adjoining the Euphrates.

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and in the struggle between the empires, these two divisions of the Arab clan were wont to fight on their respective sides. Thus rivalry and frequent warfare sprang up, fomented by the private enmities of the Arabs themselves, and often receiving singular illustration in the pages of Roman history.

It was after the middle of the second century, according to the Arab authorities, that the Roman Emperor (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,) invested the chief of the Bani Samayda, *Odenath* or *Odzeina*, with the sovereignty of Syrian Arabia. The third or fourth in descent from him was *Amr*, son of Tzarib, whose kingdom extended to the Euphrates, and embraced a portion of Mesopotamia. He waged war, in the middle of the third century, with various success, against Jodzeima, king of Hîra, by whom he was at length killed, (260—270 A. D.) His widow, (or according to some his daughter) *Zebbâ*, avenged the death of Amr by inviting Jodzeima, under pretence of marriage, to her capital, and there murdering him. The Arab annals abound with marvellous tales of Zebba. She possessed a tunnel underneath the Euphrates, and on either bank a fortress, one commanded by herself, the other by her sister Zeinab. Her summer residence was Tadmor, or Palmyra. The successor of Jodzeima (Amr, son of Adi) resolved to revenge his death, and by a stratagem introduced into her citadel 2,000 warriors concealed as merchandize in as many bags hung across the backs of camels. Taken by surprise, Zebba fled to her river fortress, and, having in vain endeavoured to escape by one or the other, destroyed herself by a subtle poison which she always carried in a ring.* With Zebba, the dynasty of Odzeima fell into obscurity.

These details leave little doubt of the identity of Septi-

* Her speech on this occasion بيدي لا بيد ابن عدي "*Let me fall by my own hand, not by the hand of the son of Adi!*" is proverbial. So also the proverb— انفه لامر ما جدع قصير "*It was for an important end Cusseir cut off his nose!*"—refers to the stratagem by which Cusseir, the minister of Adi, ingratiated himself with Zebba, representing that he had fled from the cruelty of Adi's son, who had mutilated his nose. He became her merchant, and introduced the soldiers in the manner stated above, as a new investment of goods. (*M. C. de Perc.*, II. *p.* 38.) The whole of these circumstances, with many fabulous adjuncts, will be found in *Price's Essay on Arabia antecedent to Mohammed, chapter* IV. (which is a mere compilation of Persian histories.)

It is evident that these proverbs must have taken their rise in the events related, or in the popular tradition of them. But such is not the case with the great majority of the proverbs reported by M. C. de Perceval, as originating in special events or speeches: these are mostly of a general nature, and having nothing personal about them, are equally applicable to many different occasions. Thus, "*Sweet honey in a bad jar*" (II. *p.* 651,) and "*After disarming comes captivity, and after captivity death,*" (*Ibid, p.* 578,) would apply to a thousand different circumstances.

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brious site, the famous palace of Khawarnac. The Greek architect imprudently divulged, that if a certain stone, known to him alone, were removed, the edifice would fall to the ground: Nomân resolved that the secret should perish with him, and the unfortunate Sinnimâr was precipitated from one of the lofty bastions and dashed to pieces.*

Under Nomân Christianity made rapid progress. It was about the year 410 A. D., that Simeon the Stylite retired to the top of a hill to the east of Antioch, and by a life of wonderful austerity, and the fame of miraculous power, attracted multitudes to his presence. Irac and Arabia heard the rumour of his virtues: many Arabs joined the throng of his admirers, and became well disposed to Christianity. Nomân, fearing, perhaps, lest enthusiasm for the Syrian monk might engender favor for the Roman Government, forbade his subjects under pain of death to visit the desert sanctuary. But the monarch saw a dream by night, in which Simeon appeared to chide him, and caused two of his disciples to administer a severe castigation for his ungodly conduct. The prince awoke, smarting under the effects of the visionary chastisement, and made haste not only to withdraw the prohibition, but to allow the erection of churches, and to welcome the ministration of ecclesiastics. This narrative is said to have been received by a Roman General from the mouth of Nomân himself, who added that, but for the dread of the Persian monarch, he would not hesitate to become a Christian.† It is agreed by all that Nomân abandoned idolatry, and it is affirmed by some that he embraced Christianity. There is, at any rate, good ground for believing that, dissatisfied with the world, and anxious to pass the rest of his days in quiet devotion, he abdicated the Government, and about 418 A. D. disappeared.‡

* Hence "*to receive the reward of Sinnimâr,*" is a proverbial expression for being treated ungratefully.

† This was the period when Yezdegird distinguished himself by the persecution of Christianity, 416 A. D.

‡ The Poet Adî has made allusion to this incident in the following verses, addressed as an admonition to Nomân V. and his pupil, and a descendant of this prince :—

* تدبر رب الخورنق اذ اشرف يوما و للهدي تفكير *
* سره ماله و كثرة ما يملك و البحر معرضا و السدير *
* و ارعوي قلبه و قال و ما غبطة حي الي الممات يسير *

"Reflect upon the Lord of Khawarnac, (for reflection leadeth to wisdom;) how, when one day he looked abroad from on high :—

"His heart was entranced by the view of his wealth, of the multitude of his possessions, of the river that flowed before him, and of the palace of Sedîr :—

"But suddenly his heart smote him, and he said, "what is there to be envied in the living (possessor of all these things,) seeing that he hasteth unto the dead?"

Sedîr was another famous country palace, which Nomán built for himself (*M. C. de Perc.* II., *p.* 59.)

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To Nomân succeeded MUNDZIR I. (418—462 A. D.), who finished the education of the famous Bahram, and aided in gaining for him the Persian Crown. The persecution of Christianity, persevered in by Bahram, re-kindled hostilities with the Roman empire. The Romans besieged Nisibis; while Mundzir with a cloud of Arabs threatened Syria, and even Antioch. The churches were filled with suppliants to avert the coming vengeance, and in effect, a panic is said to have seized the Arab troops: they turned their arms against each other, and precipitated themselves into the Euphrates.* This occurred in the early years of Mundzir's reign. In 422 A. D. a lasting peace was concluded, and we hear little more of him from the Greek and Latin historians, whose incidental notices of the Arabs are confined to the wars between the two Empires.

Towards the end of the fifth century hostilities again broke out between Persia and Constantinople, and we find Nomân III., during his short reign (498—503 A. D.), almost constantly engaged, with various fortune, in warfare with the Roman troops. But about the beginning of the sixth century, an irruption of Arabs, independent alike of the Roman and of the Persian rule, carried terror and devastation throughout Syria. These were the Bani Bakr, and other central tribes, who under the guidance of the Kinda-ite chief *Hârith*, son of Amr al Macsûr (of whom there will be further mention hereafter,) threw themselves into western Syria: but having in 502 A. D. concluded a treaty with the Roman Emperor, they turned their arms against the Kingdom of Hîra, defeated the troops sent to oppose them, and plundered the country all around. The panic and confusion were so great that Hârith seized possession of the city and the Government; but after a time retired with his Arab hordes to their native deserts.†

After a short interregnum, IMRULCAYS III. (505—513 A. D.) became fixed in the Government of Hîra. In a previous incursion into Arabia, he had carried off the famous Ma-al-Samâ, or "Water of the skies," so termed from her unrivalled beauty;

* Cnf. Gibbon, Ch. XXXII. These facts are of course gathered from the Greek and Latin authorities alone.

† Joshua the Stylite, a contemporary historian, calls these invaders *Thalabites*. Their leader is also called by Theophanes, Aretas surnamed *Thalabanes*, Ὁ τῆς Θαλαβανης, or *son of the Thalabitess*. The Arab historians tell us that the invaders were Bakrites, which corresponds with the title given them by the Greek writers, as including the great branch of the descendants of *Thálaba*, son of Ocāba. It is remarkable that Hârith's *mother* was descended from Thalaba, though his father was of the tribe of Kinda. The *Matronymic* of the Greek historian thus wonderfully coincides with the *facts* given us by the Arabs; and the coincidence imparts a credibility to the whole narrative.

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and she bore him a son and successor, named Mundzir.* But the seizure of this lady gave rise to serious hostilities with Central Arabia, which were at last put a stop to by the marriage of Mundzir to Hind, daughter of Hârith, the marauding chief noticed above.

The early part of the reign of MUNDZIR III. (513—562 A. D.) was full of trouble. It was at this time that the communist principles of the impostor Mazdak, adopted and enforced by the sovereign Cobâd, were rife in Persia, and threatened the social system throughout the land with an utter disorganization. Mundzir rejected the abominable doctrine; and in the year 518 A. D., his domains were assigned to the Arab Hârith. But principles so abhorrent from human nature could not long hold their ground. The impostor carried his arrogance to the pitch of demanding the Queen of Persia: her son, the future Kesra *(Chosroes)* Anushirvan, boiled with indignation at the request; but he repressed his anger, and bided his time for revenge. The socialists† redoubled their efforts, and Cobâd at last seeing his throne in danger, abandoned the seat to his son. Kesra was not long in beheading Mazdac, and in one morning 100,000 of his followers are said to have expiated the social enormity with their lives.

Mundzir, aided by Kesra, expelled Hârith from Hîra, and pursued him with slaughter into Arabia. He re-entered upon the Government in 523 A. D. His reign was thenceforward one of prosperity, and he attained a power unknown to any of his predecessors.

Abul Feda asserts, and Christian historians generally believe, that Mundzir III. was a convert to Christianity: but the conclusion is contradicted by other evidence. In the beginning of his reign he may have made enquiries into our faith; but there is every reason to believe that, like the generality of Arabs in

* He is called by the Greek historians Ἀλαμονδαρος ὁ Σεκικης, or *Mundzir, the descendant of Shakîka.* M. C. de Perceval, by an ingenious and apparently sound deduction, corrects by means of this title, a confusion in the chronology of the Arab historians themselves. Some of those, misguided by the similarity of name, make *Nomân I.* to be the son of Shakîka; whereas that lady must have been the wife of his son Mundzir I., and mother of his grandson Nomân II., who was the ancestor of our Mundzir in the text. Mundzir I. had a second wife, Hind; and to distinguish the posterity of the other, they were styled the "branch of Shakîka." But had Shakkia been the wife of the first Mundzir's father, the title would have been meaningless, as applying to the whole of his descendants. The phrase quoted above, and preserved by the Greeks from the Arab currency of the day, thus ingeniously applied, serves to correct the later Arab authorities. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p. 77.*)

† They appear to have coalesced with the *Manicheans.* Indeed the Greeks call both by the latter name: and the Arabs both by the term *Zenâdica.* The 42nd chapter of *Gibbon's Decline and Fall* may be consulted for the incidents of this period.

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his day, he remained a Pagan; and towards the end of his life, he alternately protected and persecuted the Christians.

Eutychian doctrine was at this time supported by the Emperor Anastasius, and caused dissension in the church. Severus, the Patriarch of Antioch, shortly after the accession of Mundzir, sent two bishops to gain him over to his side. The prince listened to their arguments, but having adroitly entrapped them into the confession that angels could not die, he drew the deduction that much less could the divine nature be subject to death, and caused his reverend guests to retire in confusion. The story is probably founded on fact, and illustrates the opposing heterodoxies that were gradually paving the way for Islam.

Another deputation deserves special notice. Two Grecian Generals having fallen, by the chance of war, into the hands of the king of Hîra, the Emperor Justin sent an ambassador named Abraham, with the Bishop Simeon, to demand their deliverance. Not finding Mundzir at his capital, they set out, on the 20th January, 524, for his camp, which they reached ten days' journey to the south of Hîra. Their mission was successful. It was during this visit that Mundzir received the letter noticed above from the Jewish prince of Yemen, Dzu Nowâs, giving tidings of the butchery of the Christians in Najrân, and inviting him to follow his example. After causing the letter to be read aloud to the army, in which there were a very great number of Christians, Mundzir is said to have thus addressed them:—"*See ye not, how your fellow Christians are treated elsewhere? why will not ye renounce the religion of Jesus? Think ye that I will treat you more favourably than other princes, who have proscribed them?*" *From amid the ranks, a soldier boldly replied,* "*We were Christians before we were thy subjects. No one dares make us renounce our faith: if pushed to defend ourselves, the arm and the sword of each of us are as good as those of any other.*" Daunted by such boldness, Mundzir continued to the Christians their liberty; but it is sufficiently evident that he was not a Christian himself.*

Soon after the death of Hârith, the influence of the tribe of Hinda, which had been the representative of the Himyar dynasty in Central Arabia, waned and expired. The Abyssinian invaders (525 A. D.) were regarded with aversion by the Arabs, and the allegiance hitherto tendered to their predecessors was transferred to the house of Hîra, or rather to Persia,

* It is however somewhat suspicious that this, so critical a scene for the Christians, should have been enacted just as the embassy happened to be there. It may be exaggerated, but even its invention would have been in the highest degree improbable had Mundzir been a Christian.

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of which it was the vassal.* This important change, which occurred about 530 A. D., enabled Mundzir, with less apprehension from the south, and with a greater reserve of allies, to prosecute his Parthian warfare against Syria. Sudden as a thunder-storm, his troops would darken some fated spot, and sweeping in their train terror and devastation, captivity and death, they would as suddenly disappear, scorning the pursuit of the Roman army, which could find no sign of their enemy but in his ravages. For thirty years, with some intervals of truce, these hostilities were waged, either against the Romans or their allies, the Arab dynasty of Ghassân.† It was in this period that Belisarius so distinguished himself in repelling the inroads of Kesra, which reached even to Antioch,‡ and in preserving the Roman frontier. Mundzir was at last killed (562 A. D.) in a campaign against Hârith V., of the Ghassân line.§

* It was through the exercise of the influence thus acquired, that Mundzir III. put a stop to the desolating war, (the war of *Basûs*,) which had long raged between the Bakr and Taghlib tribes, who, as pledges of peace, sent to the court of Hîra each eighty young men, who were yearly changed. These formed the corps of the Rahâin, and were regarded as the flower of Arab chivalry. The greater part, if not the whole of the Máaddite tribes (or those of Meccan origin) submitted themselves to Hîra.

† In these lengthened campaigns, the private disputes of their respective vassals not unfrequently embroiled the Persian and Roman Governments, or were at least the *ostensible* cause of war. The following is an example :—" Unpractised in the art of violating treaties, he (the Persian King,) secretly excited his bold and subtle vassal Almondar. That prince of the Saracens, who resided at Hira, had not been included in the general peace, and still waged an obscure war against his rival Arethas, the chief of the tribe of Ghassân, and confederate of the empire. The subject of their dispute was an extensive sheep-walk in the desert to the south of Palmyra. An immemorial tribute for the license of pasture appeared to attest the rights of Almondar, while the Ghassânide appealed to the Latin name of *Strata*, a paved road, as an unquestionable evidence of the sovereignty and labours of the Romans. The two monarchs supported the cause of their respective vassals ; and the Persian Arab, without expecting the event of a slow and doubtful arbitration, enriched his flying camp with the spoil and captives of Syria." (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall, ch.* XLII. —*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 98.)

‡ In 528 A. D. Mundzir appeared in the vicinity of Antioch, and burnt the suburbs of Chalcis (Kinasrîn.) By the time the Roman troops were put in motion, he had regained the desert with a multitude of captives. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* II, *p.* 93.) This is not to be confounded with the invasion of Syria and sack of Antioch by Chosroes in 540. A. D. (*Gibbon, ch.* XLII.)

§ An incident in one of these Syrian campaigns throws light on the religious practices of the northern Arabs. In the year 541 A. D., Belisarius having convoked a council of war, two Roman officers, in command of Syrian garrisons, declined to follow the army to Nisibis, on the plea that their absence would leave Syria and Phenicia exposed to the attacks of Mundzir. Belisarius argued that as the summer solstice was at hand, when the Arabs devoted two months to the practices of their religion without resorting to arms, there was no cause for apprehension, and he promised to let them go when that period was expired. These were the months of Meccan pilgrimage : and we hence learn that Mundzir and the majority of his Arabs followed the religion of the Hejâz. The period also coincides singularly with M. C. de Perceval's system for calculating the Meccan calendar.

In another place Procopius loosely states, that Mundzir having made prisoner a son of the Ghassânide prince, immolated him to Venus. By Venus he may possibly have meant Lât or Ozza.

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AMR III. (562—574 A. D.) was not slow in avenging the death of his father, by a fierce attack upon the Ghassânide kingdom. Shortly after his succession, a peace was concluded between Persia and the Roman Empire. But Amr, dissatisfied with the stoppage of a pension received by his father, sent an embassage of complaint to Constantinople, and was so mortified by the mode of its reception, that he again overran Syria with his armies. He also waged bloody wars with the Bani Tay and Bani Tamîm (tribes of Central Arabia); the latter of whom had murdered his brother. He met with his death, A. D. 574, in a singular mode, highly illustrative of Arab manners. He had sworn in his pride that his own mother should be served by the mother of the haughtiest Arab in the land. Accordingly, at an appointed festival, the mother of Amr, a warrior-poet of the Bani Taghlib, was invited into the tent of the prince's mother, who sought to entrap her into the apparently insignificant act of handing her a dish. But the proud spirit of the Arab lady spurned the office; and resenting the affront, she screamed loudly to her tribe. Her son started at the call, and springing up struck the prince dead upon the spot. It was in the eighth year of this king's reign that Mahomet was born.

Henceforth Hîra seems to have declined, and there is an uncertainty about some of the successions to its sovereignty. In 580 A. D., MUNDZIR IV. was raised to the throne. Jealous of his brothers, or anticipating the success of the Romans, he had gone over to them, and repaired to Constantinople with his suite; but, subsequently, he changed sides and joined Hormuzd, the Persian monarch, who conferred on him the Crown of Hîra. He fell, finally, as a captive into the hands of the Romans, and for his defection was banished to Sicily.*

NOMAN V. ABU CABUS succeeded Amr (583—605 A. D.) He was brought up by Adi, one of the most renowned of the city poets,† whose history bears upon that of Hîra. His remote ancestor Ayûb (Job,) of the Bani Tamîm (a Bedouin tribe, of Meccan origin,) having committed murder, fled to the court of Hîra, and being received with distinction, settled there. The sixth in descent from him was the poet Adi, whose grand-father and father (Zeid) both held offices of trust at Hîra.‡ Adi and his father were both charged with the

* This is the account of the Greek historians; the Arabs make him perish in a battle with the Ghassânide army.

† The city poets were regarded as inferior to the free poets of the desert.

‡ His grand-father was Secretary to Noman III., and his father Director of the Post. On the death of Noman IV., his father was placed by the people in temporary charge of the Government.

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education of the young Nomân. In process of time (575 A. D.) Adi received, at the court of Persia, the post of Arabic Secretary to the Monarch. In 581 he was despatched by the court of Persia on a pacific embassy to Constantinople, and commissioned with a rich present for the Emperor Tiberius. He travelled back by the imperial relays of horses, and by a route calculated to convey the largest idea of the power and resources of the Roman Empire. On his return to Medâin or Ctesiphon, he sought and obtained leave of absence to visit Hîra, where he was received by the king and the people with triumphant acclamation. It was on this occasion, that on a Maundy Thursday, he met at the church of Tûma, *Hind*, the grand-daughter of the reigning prince Mundzir IV., and daughter of his own pupil, the future Nomân V. The damsel partook of the Sacrament there: Adi caught a glimpse, and was enamoured of her. His passion was reciprocated, and though she was scarce eleven years old, they were united in marriage.

These facts show that both Adi and Hind professed the Christian faith. It is agreed by all that Nomân V. was likewise of the same religion; and by some his conversion is attributed to the instruction of his preceptor Adi.*

It was by Adi's influence at the court of Persia, that Nomân V. was chosen from amongst his brethren to be the king of Hîra. But that influence procured him enemies. He was misrepresented to Nomân, who, forgetful of all he owed to his preceptor and patron, deceitfully invited him to Hîra, cast him into

* It is said that he was won over from idolatry to Christianity thus: the prince and his preceptor chanced in their walks to pass by a cemetery situated between the city and the river. Adi said, "*Dost thou know what the inhabitants of these tombs say? This is their language.*"

ايها ركب المخبون علي الارض مجدون * مثل انتم حيينا و
كما نحن تكونون *
رب ركب قد اناخوا حولنا * يشربون الخمر بالماء الزلال *
ثم اضحوا لعب الدهر بهم * و كذلک الدهر حال بعد حال *

"Oh ye company of travellers hasting along upon the earth and labouring!
Like you, *we* lived; and like us, *ye* too shall die!
Many a company have made their camels kneel down around us;—
And as they halted, quaffed wine mingled with the limpid stream;—
The morning passed away, and lo! they had become the sport of time:—
Even thus is time, but one state following upon another."—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 143.

Noman was deeply moved by the solemn warning conveyed in these touching lines, and embraced the Christian faith.

Others say that Simeon, the bishop of Hira, delivered him from a demon by which he had been possessed: and that thenceforward he became a Christian.

Under any circumstances it is agreed that he was converted before his accession to the throne.

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prison, and, notwithstanding the endeavours of the king of Persia, put him to death. His widow, Hind, retired to a convent, which was thenceforward called by her name *(Dâyr Hind.)* She survived to see Hîra fall into the hands of the Moslem army; and, to crown the strange vicissitudes of her life, the Mahometan commander of Irâc, the warlike Mughîra, son of Shòba, repaired to the convent in the year 661 A. D., and demanded the hand of the princess, then about ninety years of age, in marriage. "If it were my youth or my beauty," she replied, "that dictated the proposal, I should not have refused; but your desire is only that you may say '*the kingdom of Nomân, and his daughter have passed into my hands.*' Is not that your thought?" Mughîra confessed that it was, and she scorned the union. Soon after the interview she died.

Hîra no longer retained the prestige of victory over the Central Arabs. The troops of Nomân were discomfited by the Bani Yarbó, (a tribe of the Bani Tamîm,) from whom his court wished to take the post of *Ridâfa* or Lieutenancy, and give it to another branch.* The two sons of Nomân were captured on the occasion, but generously released by the Bani Yarbó, who appear to have retained their privilege.

Nomân V. is famous in the annals of Arabia, chiefly because his reign approached close to Islam, and he was the patron of several renowned poets who celebrated his name.† At length Zeid, the son of the unfortunate Adi, procured his disgrace at the Persian court, in revenge for the murder of his father. Zeid praised the beauties of Hîra to the king of Persia, who readily adopted his suggestion, that some of their lovely faces might adorn his harem. An embassage was accordingly despatched to Nomân, who, surprised by the demand, expressed aloud his wonder, that the monarch of Persia was not satisfied with the *antelope* beauties of his own land. The term was equivocal, and Nomân was represented to have spoken of the females of Persia as *cows*. The wrath of Kesra fell upon his ungallant vassal, and he fled from Hîra. After vainly wandering among the Arab tribes, and leaving his arms in the custody of Hânî, a chief of the Bani Bakr, he in despair delivered

* The *Ridf* took his place at the right hand of the king, rode behind him, &c. The office was established by Mundzir III. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 102.)

† His name has descended in many ways. His partiality for the flower called the *anemone*, procured for it that name: for it was called Shacâick *an-nomân*, شقايق النعمان so also a town built by him on the right bank of the Tigris, between Wasit and Baghdad, was called *Nomâniya* (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 156.)

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himself up to the king of Persia. The unfortunate prince was made to pass between two long rows of lovely Persian girls spendidly attired, and each taunted him with the question, whether *she* was a Persian *cow*. He was cast into prison, and there died or was murdered. Thus ended the LAKHMITE DYNASTY, in the year 605 A. D., having lasted the venerable space of 327 years.

An Arab of the tribe of Tay, who had rendered service in action to the king of Persia, was raised by him, but within circumscribed limits, to the government of Hira. Meanwhile Kesra demanded of Hânî, the arms and property which Nomân had deposited with him. The Bani Bakr resented the claim, and indignant at the murder of Nomân, they arrayed themselves in opposition, and carried pillage and confusion into the Persian provinces. The king vainly endeavoured to interpose an obstacle, by granting to Cays, one of the Bakrite chiefs, a jagir around *Obolla*, on the right bank of the Tigris. But, notwithstanding the efforts and hospitality of Cays, the depredations still continued, and Kesra resolved on inflicting a signal tribulation upon his rebellious vassals. All the influence of Hîra was given to swell with Arab allies the innumerable Persian army, which was to crush the Bani Bakr. But the word of alarm had been given, and rapidly as it passed from clan to clan, amongst the ramifications of that great tribe, the Arabs flocked to the rendezvous in the valley of Dzu Câr. The ranks were about to close, when the iron-hearted Hantzala, who had by acclamation been chosen Commander, with his own hand severed the girths of the camels on which were seated his wife and the other women of the tribe; and thus abandoned them, in case of defeat, to certain captivity. The Arabs fought with desperate bravery, and the Persian army was completely routed. This defeat, ominous of the fate of Persia, took place A. D. 611. A few months previous, Mahomet, now forty years of age, had entered on his prophetical career.

Iyas, the Arab Governor of Hîra, was shortly after deposed in disgrace; and Hîra, governed thereafter by a Persian grandee called Zâdiya, fell into the rank of a common Satrapy of Persia, and thus continued till it was swallowed up in the Mahometan Empire.

From the victory of Dzu Câr, the Bani Bakr continued independent. The other tribes of Central Arabia, who had hitherto been held in vassalship to the Persian king, through his Arab respesentative at Hîra, now spurned the patronage of a foreign Satrap, and regarded with contempt the power of a nation

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torn by discord, and paralysed by a succession of kings, so rapid and ceaseless, as to be incapable of continuous government. The warrior prophet of Arabia was now rising to view as the paramount chief in Arabia, and the central and western tribes, between 628 and 631 A. D., joyfully transferred their allegiance, from a foreign and decrepit power, to a native and vigorous government. But the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, who professed Christianity, continued for some years longer to hold to Persia, and recognize its authority.

We now turn to the kingdom of the GHASSANITE Arabs, situated on the western side of the Syrian desert. The fortunes of Odenathus and Zenobia have been already traced. After their fall, the Romans would appear to have recognized as Kings or Phylarchs of the Syrian Arabs, the chiefs of the Bani Salîh, (a Codháite tribe, which, as has been mentioned, migrated to Syria,) or of the Tonûkhites, who came westward from Hîra.

It has been related above how a great body of the Azdites emigrated from Yemen about 120 A. D. They halted in the Hejâz, on their northward progress; but after a lengthened residence in the valley of Batn Marr, not far from Mecca, the land became too strait for them, and again, in the beginning of the third century, they pursued their northward journey. It was now that they received the appellation of *Ghassân*, from their long residence by the way, near a fountain of that name. At last, during the dynasty of Odenath, they emerged on the plains of Bosra, near the country of Balcâa. The Bani Salîh, who inhabited the vicinage, allowed them, by direction of the Roman authorities, to settle, but demanded tribute, which, after an unsuccessful struggle, the proud Ghassânites consented to pay. But they paid unwillingly, and bided their time. About the close of the third century, an altercation arose between one of their chiefs and the tax-gatherer of the Bani Salîh, the latter was killed; both tribes took up arms, and the Ghassânite party were completely victorious. The Roman authorities took little interest in this struggle. They needed a barrier between Syria and the Persian frontier, but they were indifferent whether it should be composed of the Bani Salîh, or of the Bani Ghassân. When the latter accordingly agreed to be their faithful allies, no difficulty was found in acknowledging their chief THALABA, the son of Amr, as the Phylarch or King of the Ghassânites. It was stipulated that, in case of need, the Arab should aid the Emperor with 20,000

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men, while the Emperor guaranteed to succour his allies if attacked, by an army 40,000 strong.*

About the year 300 A.D., the Government passed into the hands of another THALABA,† the fifth in descent from Amr Mozaikia, and progenitor of the famous Ghassânide Dynasty. The history of this line is not so certain as that of Hîra. Here there was no fixed seat of Government; each Prince made choice of his own, or spent his life in the camp. The continuous evidence arising out of a settled capital being here deficient, we find much confusion in the number, succession, and names of the kings; while the presence of several subordinate or independent dynasties, on the borders of Arabia, which it is not always easy to distinguish from the Ghassânides, introduces another element of uncertainty.

The elevation of Thálaba caused much jealousy and discontent, and two branches of the Ghassân tribe, descended from *Aws and Khazraj* (grandsons of Amr Mozaikia,) separated from their brethren, and returned southwards. They settled at Yathreb or Medîna, where they will be found at a subsequent part of our story. On the first rise of Islam, they were still Pagans, and worshipped idols; a fact which seems to disprove the Arab account, that the Bani Ghassân professed Christianity, and built monasteries in the middle of our second century. It is indeed *possible* that the Aws and Khazraj relapsed into idolatry after quitting Syria; but it is more probable that the whole Ghassân tribe were then Pagan, and did not embrace Christianity till Constantine brought many political inducements to bear upon their conversion.

The discontent of the Ghassânites was speedily quelled by the success of HARITH, the son of Thálaba (303—330 A.D.) in his predatory excursions. It is supposed that Christianity was adopted by the tribe under his successor JABALA (330—360 A. D.) ‡

During the next reign,—that of HARITH II. (360—373 A.D.)

* These are the accounts of the Arab writers.

† *Arethas* or *Hârith* is a very frequent name of the Ghassân princes; but there is no ground for holding that it was a title common to *all* the Syrian Phylarchs. Several of the Ghassânite Kings called *Jabala*, are also styled *Hârith;* and it is possible that they took this surname (which signifies a *lion*,) in opposition to that of Mundzir (*a dog*,) borne by many of their rivals, the Kings of Hira. (*M. C. de Perc. vol. ii. p.* 210.)

‡ This would be the period when politically its introduction was most probable. But there is no direct proof. Sozomenes asserts that an Arab Prince, *Zacome* (called by Liquieu *Zaracome*,) having obtained a son through the prayers of a monk, was with his whole tribe, converted to Christianity: but it is difficult to identify any such prince in the Ghassân line. The nearest approach M. C. de Perceval can make is in the name of *Arcam*, a grandson of THALABA.

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is thought to have occurred the ill-fated expedition of Julian against Persia. We learn from Roman history, that the Ghassânite allies, discontented with the stoppage of the accustomed subsidies, took advantage of the reverses of the imperial army, harassed its retreat, and cut up its rear guard.*

Hârith was succeeded by his widow MAVIA (373—380 A. D.) who turned her arms against the Romans, and devastated Phœnicia and Palestine. She defeated the troops sent against her; but consented to peace on condition that Moses, a man renowned for his miracles, should be sent as the Bishop of her nation. He was drawn from his solitude, and consecrated accordingly; and it is said that he destroyed the remains of idolatry among the Ghassânites. Mâvia gave her daughter in marriage to the Count Victor, and by her subsidy of Arab horse, contributed essentially to the defence of Constantinople against the Goths.† During the succeeding century little is known of the Ghassânite history, but an imperfect and sometimes confused list of names, and some warlike passages with the Kings of Hîra.

We pass on to JABALA III. (called also HARITH IV.,) 495—529 A. D. He belonged to another branch of the house of Thálaba, and many historians commence the Ghassân succession from him. He is styled *Al Akbar* (the Great or Elder,) as the first of three famous Hâriths who illustrated the fortunes of the dynasty. His wife *Mâria Dzát al Curtain* ("Maria of the ear-rings,") belonged to the Yemen tribe of Kinda, and her sister was married to the Kindaite prince, *Hojr Akil al Morar*. It is not certain how this alliance was contracted; but we find Hârith at war with the Kinda tribe, whose chief *Amr al Macsûr*, son of Hojr, he killed in battle. Hârith perished in an encounter with Mundzir III., of Hîra. Strange stories are related of the ear-rings of his wife, which are proverbial for inestimable value.‡ According to some she presented them, either before, or upon, her adoption of Christianity, to the temple at Mecca: according to others, they remained in possession of her descendants, and were worn by Jabala VI.,

* *See Gibbon's Decline and Fall. ch.* xxiv. But the name of "*Malek Rodosaces*, the renowned Emir of the tribe of Ghassân," it is not possible to connect with any in the Ghassânite line.

† This is from the Grecian historians, Theophanes and Ammianus. M.C. de Perceval shows that the Arabs appear to have confounded *Mâvia* with *Maria*, a princess who lived about a century later:—another specimen of the critical skill of our Arab historians.

‡ Thus,—ماريه و لو بقرطي خذه Each, they say, was the size of a pigeon's egg.

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when in 637 A. D., he visited Mecca to do homage to Omar.

The Roman historians notice, about this time, two Phylarchs, who must have been distinct from the Bani Ghassân. One called *Abo-Charib* (Abu Carib) received the chieftainship of the Arabs of Palestine, in exchange for a country washed by the Red Sea.* He assisted the Romans against the rebel Samaritans, and received in return 20,000 prisoners, whom he sold into Persia and Abyssinia. Cays, a Kindite prince, is also mentioned as having received an Arab Government from Justinian, about the year 536.†

HARITH V., surnamed *the Lame* (530—572 A. D.) is styled with satisfactory accuracy by Procopius, "Arethas, son of Gabala" (Jabala III.) He is celebrated for the honors showered upon him by Justinian, who, for the doubtful aid afforded against the Persians, conferred upon him the title of *king*,‡ and even the rank of Patrician. In 531 A. D., he contributed to the defeat of Belisarius, by his "treacherous or cowardly desertion" at the battle of Callinicus.§ Ten years later, he assisted Belisarius in an inroad upon Mesopotamia, and created a diversion in the ambitious plans of Chosroes: but again he acted treacherously, and secured for himself the sole booty of a rich tract of country, while, by false advices, he kept the Romans long waiting his return, under a pestilential sun.‖ The Arab historians are silent as to these exploits, but they relate an expedition against the Jews of Tayma and Khaibar.

The wars of this prince with Hîra have already been related, under the reigns of Mundzir III. and Amr III. Hârith repaired, A. D. 562, to Constantinople, to complain of the hostilities of Amr, after the conclusion of peace, and to procure the recognition of his son Hârith, as his successor. It was towards the end of the reign of Hârith the Lame, that Mahomet was born.

* It is described as bounded by Palestine in the north, by the country of the *Máaddenians* on the south, stretching ten days' journey to the east, and producing only palms. (*Procopius.*)

† Malala and Theophanes refer to Hârith as having been in hostility with the Roman commander of Phenicia, and obliged to quit the province, and exile himself in the desert. During some such interregnum, the princes here referred to may have reigned: or Palestine may have formed a phylarchy, separate from that of the Bani Gassân. It seems difficult to believe that Abocharab, the chief of Palestine, could have been the Hârith al Araj of the Arabs. (*M. C. de Perceval, vol. ii., p. 237, Note 3.*)

‡ Hitherto the title had been *Phylarch.*

§ *See Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xli.*

‖ *Idem, chap. xlii.*

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Of HARITH THE LESS (572—587 A. D.) little is related, but that he obtained a victory over Mundzir III., at Ayn Obâgh: and indeed the kingdom of the Ghassânites does not henceforth occupy any distinguished place in the pages of history. The successor of this prince, AMR IV., ABU SHAMMIR (587—597 A. D.) has been rendered illustrious by his patronage of the Arab poets. It was in his reign that Hassân Abu Thâbit, the famous poet of Islam and friend of Mahomet, first appeared at the Ghassânide court, where he met his fellow poets, Nâbigha and Alcama, and began to enjoy the favour of a dynasty, several of whose members visited him with peculiar honors.

From 600 to 630 A. D., the chief ruler of the Ghassânites was HARITH VII., son of Abu Shammir, whose residence appears to have been sometimes at Jabia, sometimes at Ammân *(Philadelphia,)* the capital of Balcâa.* In 629 A. D., Mahomet addressed to him a summons to join Islam, which he contemptuously refused; and shortly after he died.† Contemporaneously with Hârith, and, probably, subordinate to him, there reigned at Palmyra AYHAM, the son of Jabala; and there existed other inferior Governments, such as that of SHURAHBIL, son of Jabala IV., at Maâb, and Muta, in Arabia Petrea.‡

Meanwhile the prestige of the Ghassânide rule had departed. The inroads of the Persians, in the reign of Phocas, and in the early years of that of Heraclius, had given it a shock,

* At the end of the 5th century the rule of the chief branch of the Ghassânites extended over Jaulân and Haurân, as the following verses by Nâbigha Dhobiâni, on the death of Noman VI. (597—600 A. D.) prove.

بكي حارث الجولان من فقد ربه * و حوران منه خاشع متضائل

Jaulân (*Gaulonitis*, or the *Golan* of Deut, chap. iv., 43; Joshua, chap. xx., 1 Chron. chap. vi.) is the high mountainous country east of the lake of Tiberias. Haurân (*Auranitis*) is adjacent to it.

At this time there was, apparently, a division of the kingdom; for we find Hojr II. and Amr V., two grandsons of Hârith the Lame, ruling over the Arabs of Palestine as far as Ayla on the Red Sea, (590—615 A. D.) Thus Hassân Ibu Thâbit writes. :—

من يغر الوهر او يامنه من قبيل بعد عمر و حجر *
ملكا من جبل الثلج الي حانبي ايله من عبد و جد *

"Who shall deceive time, or feel secure from its attack henceforth, after Amr and 'Hojr, the two princes who ruled bondmen and free, from the snow capt hills, to the 'boundaries of Ayla."—*C. de Perc. p.* 249.

The "mountains of snow" are likely the high ranges of Tiberias. This branch was probably overthrown in the destructive war again kindled between Persia and the West, in the first steps of which Chosroes overran Syria, plundered Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem, and carried his ravages even to the borders of Egypt.

† *Wâckidi, p.* 50.

‡ See also the account of an embassy from Mahomet to certain rulers in Ammân. (*Wâckidi, p.* 50½)

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from which it never recovered; and it is remarked even by a Mahometan writer, that the decadence of the race of Ghassân was preparing the way for the glories of the Arabian Prophet.*

The last king of the race was JABALA VI., son of Ayham, (630—637 A. D.) The poet Hassân always spoke of this prince with affection, and with gratitude: and, although, on embracing Islam, he discontinued his visits to the Ghassânide court, Jabala still continued to honor him by marks of his friendship. During Abu Bakr's Caliphate, this prince took an active, but always unfortunate, part, in opposing the inroads of the Moslem armies, and he shared in the humiliation of the mournful day of Yarmuk. When Heraclius abandoned Syria, he went over to Islam and Omar; but his faith in the new prophet was neither deep nor lasting. On a fancied insult, he recanted, and retired to Constantinople, where his family and his name long survived.†

Of the rest of the world, Arabia maintained a singular independence of mind and institution. Egypt, Syria, Persia, as well as the Abyssinian kingdom of Axum, adjoined on Arabia, or were severed from it only by narrow inlets of the ocean; yet they exercised but little influence upon the social and political fortunes of its inhabitants, who had no sympathy with their manners and their language; while the hospitable deserts of the Peninsula never permitted the successful encroachment of foreign arms. But the dynasties of Hîra and the Ghassânides were native to Arabia, and composed of materials which blended with the Arab mind, and struck an impression upon it. Both in warlike and social relations, there was with them a close connection. It was through them the Arabs communicated with the external world, and derived their ideas of Europe as well as of Asia. Hîra was, besides, ever since the fall of the Himyar line, the paramount power in Central Arabia, whose supremacy was acknowledged by all. To this, and to the permanence and extent of its capital, was owing the superior *political* influence which it enjoyed, in comparison with the Ghassânite kingdom. But the latter, though inferior to the court of Hîra in magnificence and stability, possessed an important *social* power, especially over the Western Arabs. It lay near Hejâz, and there was a frequent interchange of civility, both from casual visits, and the regular expeditions of the mercantile caravans. It is in this quarter, therefore, we

* *Thaâlebi. Tabacât al mulûk.* (*M. C. de Perceval, vol. ii., p.* 2.)

† *See Wâckidi, p.* 51 : *and M. C de Perceval, vol. ii., p.* 257.

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must chiefly look for the external influences which moulded the opinions of Mecca and Medîna.*

Leaving now the outskirts of Arabia, we proceed to sketch the history of the chief tribes who occupied the centre of the Peninsula, and to trace the origin and rise of Mecca and Medîna.

The traditional history of Mecca, and of the line from which the Coreish descended, goes back further than that of the Bedouin tribes. Their fixed habitation in the valley of Mecca, strengthened and perpetuated local tradition, which, with a mixture of fable and fact, ascends to a century before the Christian era; while the accounts of the other tribes do not, in general, commence more than two centuries before the birth of Mahomet.

The founding of Mecca, by Abraham and Ishmael, is so clearly a legendary fiction, that we should not advert to it at all, except to enquire in what facts or popular notions it took its rise. The outline of the legend, filled up as usual, with rich circumstantial colouring, is as follows. The wandering Hagar reaches the valley of Mecca; in despair she hastes to and fro from the little hill of Marwa to that of Safa, seeking for water. Ishmael lies wailing on the ground; but, lo! as he passionately kicks around, a fountain bubbles forth beneath his feet; it is the well of Zamzam. A tribe of Amalekites are tempted, by the fountain, to the spot, and among them the youthful Ishmael grows up. On an eminence in the vicinity, Abraham, in fulfilment of the divine behest, was about to offer up his son, when his arm was stayed, and a vicarious sacrifice was prescribed. The youth was married to an Amalekite wife, but during the absence of her husband, she proved inhospitable to his father, who arrived as a guest: and by the monition of Abraham, he put her away, and married another. Two Yemen tribes, the *Jorhom* and *Catûra*, about this time arrived in the vicinity: the wicked Amalekites, who vainly opposed their settlement, were expelled by a plague of ants; and it was

* It is hence in the same direction, we must seek for the impression of Christianity, received by the Western Arabs. We have no very satisfactory intimation as to the peculiar phases of Christianity exhibited by Hira, and by the Ghassânites, respectively. The former, being independent of Constantinople, would be more likely to embrace and retain the Nestorian doctrines popular in the East. The Government of Ghassân was under Roman influence, and would, probably, embrace the Sectarian principles, whether Eutychian, Arian, or Orthodox, enforced by the Emperor of the day; and thus these would eventually influence Western Arabia. But there is nothing to us more remarkable than the gross ignorance of some of the leading features of Christianity, which, notwithstanding all their means of information, is displayed by Mahomet and his early followers.

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with the daughter of the Jorhom Chief, that Ishmael celebrated his second nuptials. On a subsequent visit, Abraham, assisted by his son, proceeded to erect the Kaaba, and to reconstitute the ancient rites of pilgrimage on the sacred spot. After Ishmael and his son Nâbit *(Nebaioth,)* the management of the temple devolved on Modâdh, the Jorhom Chief, who held the imposts of the Northern or Upper part of Mecca, while Samayda, the Catûra Chief, held the Southern. But a quarrel arose between the two tribes, and the Jorhom, assisted by the descendants of Ishmael *(Mustáriba, i. e.,* half-caste Arabs,) expelled the Catûra, who joined, and were lost amongst, the Amalekites. From this point (which the juxta-position with Ishmael would make at least 2,000 years anterior to Mahomet,) to Adnân, who lived a little before the Christian era, the legend is blank: and although the ready pen of the traditionists has supplied a list of Mahomet's progenitors to fill up the space, yet Mahomet himself never traced his pedigree higher than Adnân,* and declared all who went further back guilty of fabrication and falsehood.

Even in the time of Adnân, we find ourselves encompassed with legend and with doubt. Bakht-nassar, or Nebuchadnezzar,

* "Beyond Adnân," said Mahomet, "none but the Lord knoweth, and the genealogists lie" كذب النسابون (*Wâckidi, p.* 9.) Yet Wâckidi, as well as other biographers, gives a list of some forty names between Adnân and Ishmael. The manner in which these genealogies have been got up, has been explained in a former paper. An anecdote regarding the Tadmorite Rabbin, similar to that quoted from Tabari, is given by Wâckidi (p. 9,) who also furnishes other intimations, that such like lists have been supplied from Jewish sources; thus Abu Abdallah, the Secretary of Wâckidi, writes:—

و لم ار بينهم اختلافا ان معد من اولاد قيدر بن اسماعيل و هذا الاختلاف في نسبه يدل على انه لم يحفظ و انما اخذ ذلك من اهل الكتاب و ترجموه لهم فاختلفوا فيه ولو صح ذلك كان رسول الله اعلم الناس به فالامر عندنا على الانتهاء الي معد بن عدنان ثم الامساك عماوراء ذلك الي اسماعيل ابن ابراهيم *

"And I have met with no difference of opinion in respect of Máadd being of the children of Caydar, son of Ishmael; but this discrepancy in the genealogy between them, gives proof that the particulars of the descent have not been preserved, but have been taken from the Jews, and translated by them to the Arabs, and thus they differ in (their several versions of) this genealogy; and if this genealogy had been really a correct one, then the prophet of the Lord had been better acquainted with it than any other. So my conclusion is, that the genealogical detail ends with Adnân, and that we must hold back from anything beyond that till we reach Ishmael, son of Abraham." (*Wâckidi, p.* 9½.)

This is a clear admission that up to Adnân Mahomet's genealogy is *native* and Arabic; but beyond that it has been borrowed from the Jews.

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the traditionists say, attacked Arabia, and having routed Adnân and the Jorhomites, devastated Mecca, and carried off to Babylon a multitude of captives. But Providence watched over Adnân's son, Máadd, whom, by the command of the Lord, Eremia and Abrakhia (Jeremiah and Baruch,) carried off and nurtured safely in the land of Harran. But between Mahomet and Adnân, there is an ascertained interval of but eighteen generations, and by careful calculation, the birth of Adnân cannot be assigned to an earlier date than 130 B. C.,* while the ravages of Nebuchadnezzar's army occurred 577 B. C. Thus, even in such comparatively modern events, does legend contemn the limitations of chronology.

After the expulsion of the Bani Catûra, the Jorhomites remained supreme at Mecca, and a list of their kings is given for nine generations, (*i. e.*, from about one century B. C., to nearly the end of the second century A. D.)† During this period, in which (according to the fond conceit of the Moslems,) the Jorhomites *usurped* the Ishmaelite privileges of the Kaaba, the following successions took place among the Coreishite ancestry.

ADNAN (born 130 B. C.) begot two sons, *Máadd* and *Akk*. The descendants of Akk moved to the south of Jidda, and mingled with the Yemenites.

MAADD‡ (born 97 B. C.) had four grand-sons, *Modhar*, *Rabia*, *Iyâd* and *Anmâr*,—all distinguished by a most prolific progeny, which was destined to play a conspicuous part in various quarters of the Peninsula. Of the two last, the posterity spread from Yemen to Irac. From Rabia sprang several notable tribes, viz., the *Bani Abd al Cays*, who eventually passed over to Bahrein, on the Persian gulph; the *Anaza*,§ who to this day overspread Arabia: the *Bani Nâmir ibn Câsit*, who settled

* This is the calculation of M. C. de Perceval. The dates of the more immediate progenitors of Mahomet are calculated at their ascertained ages. Beyond that, there being no other data, the length of each generation is reckoned at the average period of thirty-three years.

† In arranging the chronology of these kings, tradition displays the most inimitable confusion. The first in the list is the father-in-law of Ishmael, while the daughter of the *ninth* is given in marriage to Máadd, (about 50 B. C.) Again two generations later, the *last* of the dynasty is made coeval with *Fihr Coreish*, who lived in the middle of the third century! This last, however, is a clear historical date, or at least is the likeliest to be so; and in calculating back therefrom, M. C. de Perceval arrives at the conclusion, that the *first* Jorhomite prince was coeval with Adnân, the earliest known ancestor of the Coreish. This is a very satisfactory coincidence, as traditional reminiscence would be likely enough to bring down the ancestral lines, both of the Jorhom and Coreish, from the same period.

‡ A tradition in Wâckidi makes Máadd to be coeval with our Saviour. (*p.* 9.) This is, probably, a matter of calculation, and not of *bonâ fide* tradition: but it is quite possible that Máadd may have been alive when our Saviour was born.

§ These are the *Aeneze* of Burkhardt.

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in Mesopotamia; and finally the *Bani Bakr* and *Bani Taghlib*, sons of Wâil, with their numerous branches, whose wars, famous in the annals of Arabia, will be alluded to hereafter.

MODHAR (born 31 B. C.) had two sons, *Eliyâs* and *Aylân*, the father of *Cays*. From the latter descended the powerful tribes of the *Bani Adwân*, *Ghatafan*, *Suleim*, *Hawazin*, and *Thakîf*.

The descendants of ELIYAS, (born about the Christian era,) are from their Codhâite mother, termed the *Bani Khindif*; one of them, Tâbikha, was progenitor of the *Bani Mozaina*, and of the *Bani Tamîm*, famous in the history of Najd.

Another son, MUDRIKA (born 35 A. D.) was the father of *Khozaima*, and *Hodzail*. The latter was the ancestor of the *Bani Hodzail*, distinguished in the annals both of war and of poetry, and as we learn from Burkhardt, still occupying under the same name the environs of Mecca.*

KHOZAIMA (born 68 A. D.) begat *Asad* and *Kinâna*. The *Bani Asad* retired to Najd, but were subsequently expelled by Yemen tribes; and returned to the Hejâz, where they bore a prominent part in opposing the arms of Mahomet.

KINANA (born 101 A. D.) had six sons, each of whom became the chief of a numerous family. Among them was *Abd Monât*, the father of Bakr, and through him, of the *Bani Dûil*, *Laith*, and *Dhamra*. But the most illustrious of his sons was NADHR (born 134 A. D.) the grand-father of FIHR (born 200 A. D.) surnamed *Coreish*,† and the ancestor, at the distance of eight generations, of the famous *Cussai* (born 400 A. D.)

Up to the era of Nadhr, or of his son Mâlik, the Jorhomites retained their supremacy. But towards the end of the second century, the Azdite immigration, of which we have repeatedly spoken, took place, and a horde of Azdite adventurers settled at Batn Marr, a valley near Mecca. The Jorhomites, jealous of these neighbours, endeavoured to expel them, but were

* *Travels in Arabia, Vol. I., pp.* 63—66.

† NADHR is sometimes styled *Coreish*, but it is more frequently FIHR, or his son MALIK, to whom the appellation is first accorded. See *Wâckidy, p.* 12½.—*Tabâri, p.* 40, where a variety of origins are given for this name. The likeliest is the meaning *noble*; but it is also possible that the Coreish, by the illustration of what was simply a proper name, may have *conferred* upon it that meaning. Others say that Nadhr had a guide called by that name, and as his mercantile caravan approached, it used to be saluted as the "Caravan of *Coreish*," and thus the appellation passed to him. Again it is derived from a metaphorical resemblance to a fish called Coreish, which eats up all others; or to *cursh*, a high-bred camel. Others refer it to a root which signifies *to trade*. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 229.) Wâckidi (*p.* 12,) had a theory that the name was first given to Cussai, who *gathered together* the descendants of Fihr. Sprenger adopts this notion, and makes Cussai the first real personage in the line, and Fihr a myth: but this seems an excess of scepticism. (*Life of Mohammad, p.* 19.) See also traditions in *Tâbari, pp.* 41, 42, in favour of Cussai, as the first called by the name Coreish.

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worsted in the attempt. Meanwhile, the Máaddite* tribes (or ancestors of the Coreish,) were engaged in a similar, but more successful struggle, with a body of Codhâite adventurers, who were endeavouring to establish themselves between Mecca and Tâif. The Codhâites, feeling that they could not maintain the contest, retired, as we have before noticed, towards Syria and Bahrein.

Meanwhile a party of the Azdites (the Ghassân, Aws, and Khazraj) quitted Batn Marr; but they left behind them a portion of their colony, thence styled the *Bani Khozâa* (the '*remanent*,') under the command of *Amr, son of Lohai*, and great-grandson of Amr Mozaikia.† With the Khozâa, the Meccan families of Bakr (son of Abd Monat,) and the Bani Iyâd, combined; and falling upon the Jorhomites, slaughtered and expelled them from the Tihâma. Modhâd, the last king of the Jorhom dynasty, at his departure, or previously (foreseeing as they say that his people would be overthrown for their wickedness) buried in the vicinity of the Kaaba, and by the well Zamzam (by this time choked up), two gazelles of gold, with swords and suits of armour.‡ These events occurred about 206 A. D.

It would seem that the Bani Iyâd then contended with the other Máaddite tribes, for the charge of the Kaaba, now vacated by the Jorhomites; but that they were worsted in the struggle, and emigrated towards Irac, where, as we have seen, they took part in the establishment of the kingdom of Hîra.

But the descendants of Máadd were destined to be still excluded from the administration of the Kaaba and of Mecca: for about 207 A. D., it was seized upon by their allies, the Khozâa, whose chief, Amr, and his descendants held the govern-

* That is, the *Bani Máadd*, or families descended from the son of Adnân. The term *Bani* prefixed to any of Mahomet's ancestors, as Bani *Adnân*, Bani *Nizâr*, Bani *Fihr*, is of course extensive in proportion to the remoteness of the name with which it is coupled. Thus the *Bani Modhar* include the branches of Hawâzin and Ghatafan; but do not include those of Bakr and Taghlib: while the *Bani Nizâr* (father of Modhar,) include both. The *Bani Fihr* again (being lower down,) include neither, but are confined to the Coreish. In speaking of the ancestry of Mahomet, and the tribes related to him by blood, it is convenient to style them the *Bani Máadd*, a comprehensive title including all.

† One would expect no doubt to exist on the filiation of so important a tribe. Nevertheless, it is held by a few that the Khozâa are of the Máaddite stock; but the great body of writers give them the origin assigned in the text, which is also supported by the following verses of Hassân Ibu Thâbit, who thus traces a common origin between his own tribe (the Khazraj of Medîna,) and the Khozâa.—

و لما هبطنا بطن مر تخزعت * خزاعه منا فی بطون کراکر *

"And when we sojourned at Batn Marr, the Khozâa, with their families, separating from us, remained behind." (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 217.)

‡ These were the ornaments and armour subsequently dug up by Abd al Muttalib, Mahomet's grand-father.

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ment of the country for upwards of two centuries.* Still three important offices were secured by the Máaddite tribes. *First*, the NASI, or commutation of the holy months, and intercalation of the year, was held by a descendant of Kinâna. *Second*, the IJAZA, or signal and arrangements for the departure of the pilgrims from Mount Arafat and Minâ, exercised by the *Bani Sûfa*, descendants of Tâbikha, son of Elyâs. *Third*, the IFADHA, or heading the procession from Muzdalifa, enjoyed by the Bani Adwân.†

The position of parties remained in this state till the beginning of the fifth century, by which time the Coreish had advanced, in numbers and power, so as to rival their Khozâaite rulers. It was reserved for CUSSAI, the fifth in ascent from Mahomet, to assert the real or imaginary right of his tribe to the guardianship of the Kaaba, and the command of Mecca. The outline of his romantic story is as follows:—

KILAB (born 365 A.D.) the sixth in descent from Fihr Coreish, died, leaving two sons, *Zohra* and *Zeid* (born A.D. 400:) the former grown up, the latter a suckling. His widow married a man of the Codhâite tribe Odzra, and followed him with little Zeid, to her new home in the highlands south of Syria, where she gave birth to another son called Rizâh. When Zeid grew up, he was named CUSSAI, because of the separation from his father's house; but at last, learning the noble rank of his ancestry, he resolved to return to Mecca, and travelled thither with a company of the Odzra pilgrims. At Mecca he was recognized by his brother Zohra, and at once received into the position his birth entitled him to hold.‡

* The tale explaining how this happened is at the best doubtful. The Bani Iyâd, as they quitted the country, resolved to do all the mischief they could, by removing the black stone from the Kaaba, and burying it secretly. A Khozâite female alone witnessed where it was put, and the Khozâites agreed to restore it, only on condition that the Kaaba was made over to them; with the Kaaba, the temporal power followed also. No such unlikely tale as this is required. The Khozâa were evidently at this period more powerful than the Meccan tribes. To them the chief merit of driving out the Jorhomites was due, and they naturally succeeded to their place. (*Cnf. M. de Sacy, Mem. sur Arabes avant Mahomet, pp.* 66—67.)

† *Vide Tabari, p.* 72—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., pp.* 220—240; *Vol. II., p* 262; —*Sprenger, p.* 6, *note ii., and p.* 7, *note iv.* The Nasi or intercalary system, M. C. de Perceval traces from the beginning of the fifth century, or about thirty years before Cussai's accession to power. The new mode of calculating the era might originate then, but not the faculty of transposing the months, which was probably of old standing.

‡ *Tabari, p.* 26 *et. seq.*—*Wackidi, p.* 11½. Sprenger treats this as a fictitious story, framed to cover Cussai's foreign extraction, and "greedily adopted by Mahometan authors," to save the Ishmaelite lineage of their Prophet. (*p.* 18.) This view is ingenious, but surrounded with insuperable difficulties.

1. The story is evidently not of late growth, but grounded on ancient and pre-Islamitic tradition.

2. Considering the attention given by the Arabs to genealogical details, it

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Cussai was a man of commanding person, and of an energetic and ambitious mind. He was treated with great distinction by Holeil, the Khozâite King, who gave him his daughter Hobba in marriage, and permitted him, or his wife, to assume the immediate management of the Kaaba, and, perhaps, some of the functions of the Government. On the death of Holeil, Cussai, who had now four adult sons, and had rapidly advanced in wealth and influence, perceived his opportunity, and having canvassed among the Coreish for support, bound them together in a secret league. He also wrote to his brother Rizâh to come to his aid at the ensuing pilgrimage, with an armed band of the Bani Odzra; for even the Khozâa are said to have outnumbered the Coreish.*

Cussai opened his clandestine measures, by the violent assertion of his claim to the right of dismissing the assembled Arab tribes from Minâ, when the ceremonies of the pilgrimage were finished. From remote times, this had been the office of the Bani Sûfa (a distant branch collateral with the Coreish,) who repressed the impatient multitude, took precedence in flinging the stones at Minâ, and marshalled the dispersion of the assembly, their own tribe taking the lead.

On the present occasion the Bani Sûfa, stationed on the eminence of Ackaba, in the defile of Minâ, were on the point of giving the usual command, when Cussai stepped forth and claimed the privilege. It was disputed; weapons were drawn, and after a sharp encounter, in which Rizâh, with 300 of the Bani Odzra, rushed to the succour of Cussai, the Sûfa yielded their office, with the victory, to their opponent.

The Khozâa looked on with jealousy at this usurpation of prescriptive right, and began to entertain suspicions, lest Cus-

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appears incredible that the story should have been foisted into currency without *some* foundation.

3. The only remaining supposition would be that Cussai was not the little Zeid taken to the highlands of Syria, by Kilâb's widow. But there would be not only the testimony of the widow, and of her second husband, and of their acquaintance among the Bani Odzra, to establish this fact, but also the family recognition of relatives. Zohra, though blind (not necessarily from old age) recognized his brother's voice. To those who have noted how personal peculiarities are often handed down from father to son, this will not appear impossible, though Dr. Sprenger rejects the idea.

4. Cussai had many enemies among the Khozâa, Bani Bakar, and Bani Sûfa, and there were numerous other Coreishite branches, who would not have failed to seize upon and perpetuate any story casting doubt upon Cussai's Coreishite origin. Yet we do not observe in any quarter the shadow of a traditional suspicion; because, (as we believe,) Cussai was actually received on good grounds and by common consent, as the veritable son of Kilâb. Zohra and Cussai are said to have been both poets.

* *Tabari, p.* 29.

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sai should seek to snatch from them alsó their hereditary title to the supremacy over the Hejâz. They prepared to resist, and associated with themselves the Bani Bakr, their old allies, in the expulsion of the Jorhomites. The Coreish rallied round Cussai, who was again supported by Rizâh and his comrades, and a second but more general and bloody action ensued. The field remained uncertain, for the carnage was so great, that the combatants mutually called for a truce, and surrendered the decision of their claims into the hands of Amr, an aged sage. The umpire, though of Bani Bakr descent, affirmed the assumptions of Cussai: yielded to him the guardianship of the Kaaba, and the Government of Mecca; and, still more strongly to mark the justice of his position, decreed the price of blood for all men killed on his side, while the dead on the other side were to pass unavenged by fine.*

Thus, about the middle of the fifth century (or perhaps 440 A. D.) the command of Mecca passed into the hands of Cussai. The first act of his authority, after the Khozâa and Bani Bakr had evacuated Mecca, and the Oudzra allies had been dismissed, was to bring within the valley of the Kaaba, the whole of his kinsmen of Coreish descent, many of whom had previously lived in the mountain glens surrounding Mecca.† The town was laid out anew, and to each family was allotted a separate quarter, which was held with such tenacity, that the same partition was still extant in the time of the Mahometan historians. So large an influx of inhabitants, joined to the regular distribution of the land, swelled the city far beyond its previous bounds; and the site of the new habitations trenched

* This is the most received account. There are other narratives which it may be interesting to mention, though they more or less contradict that given in the text. *First.* Holeil the Khozâite king openly held that Cussai was the best entitled to succeed him; and therefore left to him, by will, the inheritance of his power. *Second.* Holeil gave up the care of the Kaaba, with its keys, to his daughter Hobba, Cussai's wife; and appointed a man called Ghubshân (some say he was her son) to assist her. Cussai made him drunk, and purchased from him the command, for a skin of wine and some camels; but the Khozâa rose up against Cussai, when he began to exercise his privileges, whereupon he sent for aid to his brother Rizâh, &c. Wâckidi says (*p.* 11½) that this occurred at a time when Ghubshân was enraged at the Meccans for withholding the customary cesses at the season of pilgrimage, and that after the bargain (as above,) he vacated Mecca in favor of Cussai. A third statement is, that the Khozâa were attacked by a deadly pestilence, which nearly extirpated them, and that they resolved to evacuate Mecca, selling, or otherwise disposing of, their houses there. All these accounts will be found in *Tabari, pp.* 27—32, *and Wâckidi, pp.* 11½ *and* 12.

† *Tabari, p.* 29. But some (as the *Bani Muhârib*, and *Bani Hârith*, descendants of Fihr Coreish,) still preferred their semi-nomad life *outside* of Mecca, and were thence styled قريش الظواهر in contradistinction to the قريش البطاح those of the vale of Mecca. (*Wâckidi, p.* 12½.)

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upon the acacias and brushwood of the valley,* which the superstition of the place had invested with so peculiar a sanctity, that the people feared to remove them. Cussai, superior to such scruples, seized a hatchet; and the people following his example, the trees were soon removed. From effecting this re-union of his clan, Cussai was called *Mujammi*, or the "Gatherer."†

The next civic work of Cussai was to build a Council House, or Town Hall, called *Dâr-al-Nadwa*, having its porch opening towards the Kaaba, near which it stood.‡ Here all political movements were discussed, and social ceremonies solemnized.

In the Town Hall, the girls first assumed the dress of womanhood, and their marriages were celebrated; from thence all caravans set forth; and thither the traveller, on returning from his journey, first bent his steps. When war was resolved upon, it was there that the banner *Liwâ* was mounted by Cussai himself, or by one of his sons. By assuming the Presidency in the Hall of Council, Cussai rivetted his authority as the Sheikh of Mecca, and Governor of the country; "and 'his ordinances were obeyed, and venerated as one does the 'observances of religion, both before and after his death."§

* و كان كثير الشجر العضاة و السلم (*Wâckidi, p.* 12½.)

† مجمع According to some, as we have seen, he was also called *Coreish*. But the received doctrine refers that title many generations back. Weil conjectures that Cussai was the first Coreish; and that it was not till after Mahomet's death that the appellation (the bearers of which were held by the Prophet to be the noblest Arabs, and the best entitled to the Government,) was extended higher and wider, in order to take in Omar and Abu Bakr, whose collateral branches separated from the main line above Cussai. The limiting of the title to the descendants of Cussai, is denounced by the Sunnies as a Shie-ite heresy. Weil looks upon this as strengthening his theory; but we confess the charge of Shia fabrication appears to us a very likely one. *They* first endeavoured to limit the title, in order to throw suspicion upon the early Caliphs and the house of Omeya. Again, supposing the existence of the motive imagined by Weil, why should the clumsy expedient have been adopted of going back to Fihr or Nadhr, three or four generations earlier than Káb, the common ancestor, both of Mahomet, and the three first Caliphs? It is *possible* (but we think not probable,) that the term Coreish was introduced first in the time of Cussai; but if so, it was then used to denominate *tribes he drew together*, and thus the whole of the descendants of Fihr. (See *Weil's Mohammed, p.* 4, *note iv.*) This conclusion would correspond with the tradition that, before the time of Cussai, the Coreish were termed the Bani Nadhr. (*Wâckidi, p.* 12½.)

‡ He is said also to have rebuilt the Kaaba, as the Jorhom had done before, and to have placed the images Hobal, Isâf, and Nâila, in it. (See *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 249.—*Sprenger, p.* 20.) But the authority seems doubtful. From his being said to have rebuilt the Kaaba, has arisen the opinion adopted by Sprenger, that Cussai founded both the Kaaba and Mecca; an opinion which appears to contradict both probability and tradition.

§ *Vide Tabari, p.* 32 *et. seq.*—*Wâckidi, p.* 12 *et seq.*

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Besides these civil offices, Cussai possessed the chief religious dignities connected with the Meccan worship. The *Hijâba* gave him the keys, and the control of the Kaaba. The *Sicâya*, or giving of drink to the pilgrims; and the *Rifâda*, or providing them with victuals, were his sole prerogatives; and in the eyes of the generous Arabs, invested his name with a peculiar lustre. During the pilgrimage, leathern cisterns were established at Mecca, at Minâ, and at Arafat;* and he stimulated the hospitality of the inhabitants to subscribe annually an ample fund, which was expended by himself in the gratuitous distribution of food to the pilgrims.

He did not assume the minor offices of marshalling the processions on the ceremonial tour to Arafat, (though it was ostensibly for one of those offices he first drew the sword,) nor the post of *Nisâ*, or commutation of holy months;† but being the paramount authority, these duties would be executed in strict subordination to his will. "Thus," writes Tabari, "he main-
'tained the Arabs in the performance of all the prescriptive
'rites of the pilgrimage; and that because he believed them
'in his heart to form a religion which it behoved him not to
'alter."‡

The religious observances, thus perpetuated by Cussai, were in substance the same as in the time of Mahomet, and (with some alterations) as we find practised in the present day. The grand centre of the religion was the Kaaba; to visit which, kiss the black stone, and make seven circuits round the sacred edifice, was at all times regarded as a holy privilege. The LITTLE pilgrimage (*Omra* or *Hajj al Asghar*,) which involved these acts, and the rite of hastily passing to and fro seven times between the little hills of Safa and Marwa, close by the Kaaba, might be performed with merit at any season; but especially in the sacred month of Rajab, which formed a break in the middle of the eight secular months. Before entering the sacred territory, the votary assumed the pilgrim garb (*ihrâm*,) and at the conclusion of the ceremonies shaved his head, and pared his nails.

* In the palmy days of Islam, stone aqueducts and ponds took the place of this more primitive fashion. (*Cnf. Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, pp. 59 and 267 —and Ali Bey, Vol. II., p. 68.*) The giving of water to the inhabitants of *Mecca* from wells *without* the town, is stated as the origin of the custom of Sicâya: (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 239.*) The custom however appears rather to have been originally connected with the well Zamzam, the source of Mecca's ancient prosperity. But according to tradition, we must suppose this famous well to have been at this period filled up, as Abd al Motallib was the first to open it after its neglect.

† *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 240—Tabari, pp. 34 and 72.*

‡ *Tabari, p 34.*

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The GREAT pilgrimage *(Hajj el Akbar,)* involved all the ceremonies of the little pilgrimage, but it could be performed only in the holy month, Dzul Hijja; and it concluded with the additional rite of repairing to Arafat (a small granite hill in a mountain country, some eighteen miles east of Mecca,*) on the 9th of the month; returning that night to Mozdalifa; and next morning (10th) proceeding to Minâ (midway between Arafat and Mecca,) where the two succeeding days were spent; each pilgrim repeatedly casting small stones at certain objects, and concluding the pilgrimage by the sacrifice of some victim, a camel, a sheep, or a kid.

At what remote period the country about Mecca began to be regarded as inviolable (Haram,) we have no means of judging; but the institution of the four sacred months appears to have formed an ancient, and, perhaps, original part of the system. These were three consecutive months, viz., the last two, and the first of each year *(Dzul Cáada, Dzul Hijja,* and *Moharram,)* and the seventh *(Rajab)*. During them, by unanimous consent, war was suspended, hostile feelings suppressed, and an universal amnesty reigned over Arabia. Pilgrims from every quarter were then free to repair to Mecca; and fairs throughout the land, were thronged by those whom merchandize, or the contests of poetry, brought together.

There is reason for supposing that the Meccan year was originally a lunar one, and continued so till the beginning of the fifth century, when, in imitation of the Jews, it was turned, by the interjection of a month at the close of every third year, (Nisâ,) into a luni-solar period.† If by this change, it was

* For descriptions of the hill of Arafat and adjoining plain, See *Burkhardt's Arabia, p.* 266, *and Ali Bey, Vol. II., p.* 67.

† The question has been well discussed by M. C. de Perceval, *Vol. I., p.* 242 *et seq.*—and in the *Journal Asiatique, Avril* 1843, *p.* 342, where the same author has given a "*Memoire sur le Calendrier Arabe avant l'islamisme.*" It is assumed that the months (as in other rude nations) were originally purely lunar, and that thus the month of pilgrimage came (as it now does in the Moslem calendar,) eleven days earlier every year, and in thirty-three years performed a complete revolution of the seasons. It is supposed that the inconvenience of providing for the influx of pilgrims at all seasons, led to the idea of fixing the month of pilgrimage, when it came round to October or autumn, invariably to that part of the year by a system of intercalation. Tradition notes the series of *Nâsi* officers who performed the duty. The first of these was Sarîr, a man closely connected with the Coreish, and whose genealogy would make him sixty or seventy years of age at the close of the fourth century; so that (if we trust to tradition,) the origin of intercalation could not have been much later than the beginning of the fifth century. The Arab historians are not agreed upon the nature of the intercalation practised at Mecca. Some say seven months were interposed every nineteen years; others nine months every twenty-four years; but, (I.) These are evidently *supposed* systems, formed on calculation to give a true solar year, and the first having

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intended to make the season of pilgrimage correspond invariably with the autumn, when a supply of food for the vast multitude would be easily procurable, that object was defeated by the still remaining imperfection of the cycle; for the year being yet shorter by one day and a fraction than the real year, each recurring season accelerated the time of pilgrimage: so that, when after two centuries, intercalation was prohibited by Mahomet (A. D. 631,) the days of pilgrimage had moved from October, gradually backward to March.

Coupled with this, and styled by the same name, *(Nisâ)*, was the privilege of commuting the last of the three sacred months, for the one succeeding it, (Safar,) in which case Moharram became secular, and Safar sacred. It is probable that this innovation was introduced by Cussai, who wished, by abridging the long three months' cessation of hostilities, to humour the warlike Arabs, as well as to obtain for himself the power of holding

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been introduced by the Jews only about the end of the fourth century, was not likely to have been so immediately adopted at Mecca; and (II.) Neither system would answer the likely requirement of bringing the month of pilgrimage in two centuries from autumn round to spring. Other Arab writers say that a month was interjected at the close of every third year; and this is the system recognized by M. C. de Perceval, apparently on good grounds; for (1) it exactly corresponds to the revolution of the pilgrimage month from autumn to spring in two centuries, as is clearly shown in the chronological table attached to his Vol. I., and it also corresponds with the fact of the pilgrimage month having, in 541 A. D., fallen at the summer solstice, when Belisarius on that account refused to let his Syrian allies leave him. (See above, note § p. 28.) (2.) It was the system previously tried by the Jews, who intercalated similarly a month at the close of every third year, called *Ve-adar*, or the second Adar; and there is *à priori* every likelihood that the practice was borrowed from the Jews. (3.) The tradition in favor of this view is more likely than the others to be correct, because it could have originated in no astronomical calculation. (4.) Although it would change the months to various seasons, yet it would do so gradually, so that the months might meanwhile acquire and retain names corresponding with the character of the seasons. Such nomenclature probably arose on the months first becoming comparatively fixed, *i. e.*, in the beginning of the fifth century, and thus the names *Rabî*, *Jumâda*, *Ramadhân*, signifying respectively *rain and verdure*, the *cessation of rain*, and *heat*, clung by the months long after they had become misnomers.

M. de Sacy's view that intercalation was practised at Medina, while a purely lunar calculation prevailed at Mecca, is clearly opposed to the fact, that a common system of calculation obtained over the whole Peninsula, the time of pilgrimage being one and undisputed. (*Mem. sur Arabes avant Mahomet*, *pp.* 123—143.)

An important corollary from M. de Perceval's conclusion is that all calculations up to the end of Mahomet's life must be made in luni-solar years, and not in lunar years, involving a yearly difference of ten days. It will also explain certain discrepancies in Mahomet's life, some historians calculating by the luni-solar year in force in the period under narration; others adjusting such periods by the application of the lunar year subsequently adopted. Thus some make their prophet to have lived sixty-three or sixty-three and a half years, others sixty-five: the one possibly being luni-solar, the other lunar years.

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Moharram either sacred or secular, as might best suit his purposes.*

In reviewing this account of Mecca and its religion, the origin of the temple and of the worship demands our attention. The Mahometans, as we have seen, attribute them to Abraham and Ishmael, and connect a part of their ceremonial with biblical legends; but their traditional narrative we have already concluded to be a mere fable, devoid of probability and of consistency.† Farther considerations will strengthen the con-

* The third successor from Sarîr (who first held the office of Nâsi) was Hodzeifa the First, who, in addition to the intercalation, *commuted* one sacred month for another. This may very well bring the system of *commutation* under Cussai, as supposed by M. C. de Perceval. Besides exchanging Moharram for Safar (hence called the "*two Safars.*") some say the power existed of commuting the isolated sacred month (Rajab) for the one succeeding it, Shábân; whence they were called the "two Shábâns." When this was done, it became lawful to war in Mohurram or Rajab; and Safar or Shábân acquired the sacredness of the months in the stead of which they were placed. (Cnf. *Sprenger, p.* 7. *C. de Perceval, Vol.* I., *p.* 249—*Journal Asiatique Avril*, 1843, *p.* 350.) It appears however to us more likely that the system of commutation was an ancient one, more remote, probably, than that of intercalation: but it had perhaps fallen out of use, and Cussai may have brought it into practice more prominently than before. (See note †, p. 44 of this Art.)

† M. C. de Perceval rejects the Ishmaelite traditions, but still holds them mythically to shadow forth actual facts. Thus, although Nebuchadnezzar's invasion was in 577 B. C., and Adnân, who is said to have been routed by him, could not have lived earlier than 100 B.C., "Yet," says he, "this is not a sufficient reason for banishing the legend into the domain of fable. It may contain some traits of real facts, as well as many ancient traditions, modified and arranged in modern times.

"The posterity of Ishmael, vanquished and nearly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar II., as prophesied by Jeremia, then long after reviving and multiplying through some branches that escaped the sword, appears to me to be personified under Adnân and Máadd,—names pertaining to a comparatively recent epoch, and employed by anticipation.

"In truth, the distance which separates Máadd and Adnân from Nebuchadnezzar, and the breach in the continuity of the chain (between Adnân and Ishmael,) might at first sight make one doubt *whether Adnân were really of Ishmaelite issue*. But opinion is so unanimous with regard to that descent, that not to admit its truth would be an excess of scepticism. The Arabs of the Hejâz and Najd, have always (?) regarded Ishmael as their ancestor. This conviction, the source of their respect for the memory of Abraham, is too general, and too deep, not to repose on a real foundation. In fine, Mahomet, who gloried in his Ishmaelite origin, was never contradicted on that point by his enemies, the Jews.

"I accept then the legend interpreted in this sense, that at a time more or less posterior to Nebuchadnezzar II., some feeble relics of the race of Ishmael, designated under the collective and anticipative denomination of *Máadd*, and preserved, it may be, amongst the Israelites, appeared in the country of Mecca, occupied then by the Jorhomites:—that in the sequel, Màadd, son of Adnàn (not now in the collective, but probably individual sense,) one of the descendants of Ishmael, united himself, by marriage, with the tribe of Jorhom, and became the progenitor of a numerous population, which subsequently, covered the Hejáz and Najd.

"Here occurs a singular approximation of two distant events. This establishment of Mâadd on the territory of Mecca, and his marriage with the Jorhom princess, are an exact repetition of what is reported of Ishmael his ancestor. *In this double set of facts, Ishmael is undoubtedly a myth; Máadd is probably a reality.*" (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 183—*Cnf. also note* †, *page* 41 *of this Article.*

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viction that Mecca and its rites cannot possibly claim an Abrahamic origin.

First. There is not the slightest trace of anything Abrahamic in the essential elements of the superstition. To kiss the black stone, to make the circuit of the Kaaba, and perform the other observances at Mecca and the vale of Arafat, to keep the sacred months, and to hallow the sacred territory, have no conceivable connection with Abraham, or with the ideas and principles which his descendants would be likely to inherit from him. The rites were either strictly local, or connected with the system of idolatry prevailing in the south of the Peninsula, and originated in causes foreign to the country chiefly occupied by Abraham's race.

Second. A very high antiquity must be assigned to the main features of the religion of Mecca. Although Herodotus does not refer to the Kaaba, yet he names as one of the chief Arab divinities ALILAT; and this is strong evidence of the worship, at that early period, of *Allât*, a Meccan idol.* He makes likewise a distant allusion to their veneration for stones.† Diodorus Siculus, who wrote about half a century before our era, in describing that part of Arabia washed by the Red Sea, uses the following language:—"there is, in this country, a temple greatly revered by all the Arabs."‡ These words can hardly refer to anything but the holy house of Mecca, for we know of no other which ever commanded the homage of all Arabia. Early *historical* tradition gives no trace of its first construction; some assert that the Amalekites rebuilt it, and retained it for a time under their charge;§ all agree that it

* Ὀυνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον, Ὀροτάλ. τήν δὲ Ὀυρανίην Ἀλιλατ. (*Herod, III.*, 8.) The identification generally held between *Orotal* and *Allâhu Taâla*, appears to us to be too remote and fanciful for adoption: but Cnf. *C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 174, and *Rosenmüller's Geog., Vol. III., p.* 294; with *Pococke's Specimen, p.* 110. For Ὀροτάλ there are the various readings Ὀυροτάλτ, and Ὀροταλτ.

† Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὁμοιὰ τοισι μάλιστα. ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρὸπῳ τοιῳδε. τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστα ποιέεσθαι, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἑστεὼς, λίθῳ ὀξέϊ τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρά τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατερου κροκύδα, ἀλείφει τῳ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμενους λίθους ἑπτά. τοῦτο δὲ ποίεων, ἐπικαλέει τόν τε Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. (*Herod, loc. cit.*) Thus the hands of the contracting parties were first cut with a sharp stone, and the blood was then rubbed *upon seven stones placed in the* midst, and at the same time the divinities were invoked. There is here a close blending of the stones with religious worship.

‡ *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 174, and authorities there cited.

§ See the authorities quoted by Sprenger, p. 15.

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was in existence under the Jorhom dynasty,* (about the time of the Christian era,) and that having been injured by a flood of rain, it was by them repaired. It was again repaired by Cussai.

From time immemorial, tradition represents Mecca as the scene of a yearly pilgrimage from *all* quarters of Arabia: from Yemen, Hadhramaut, and the shores of the Persian Gulph, and from the deserts of Syria, and the remote environs of Hîra and Mesopotamia. Thus the circuit of its veneration might be described by a radius of a thousand miles, interrupted only by the interposition of the sea. So universal an homage must have had its beginnings in a very remote age; and a similar antiquity must be ascribed to the essential concomitants of the worship, the Kaaba, with its black stone, the sacred limits, and the holy months. The origin of a superstition, thus ancient and universal, may naturally be looked for in the country itself, and not in any foreign source.

Third. The native systems of Arabia were Sabeanism, idolatry, and *stone worship*, all closely connected with the religion of Mecca.

There is reason for believing that Sabeanism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies, was the earliest form of departure in Arabia, from the pure adoration of the deity. The book of Job, and many historical notices, and certain early names in the Himyar dynasty, imply the prevalence of the system.† As late as the fourth century, we have seen that sacrifices were

* That the Bani Jorhom must have had a hand either in the construction or repair of the Kaaba, Zahair in his *Mollaaca* testifies :—

فاقسمت بالبيت الذي طاف حوله * رجال بنوه من قريش وجرهم *

"I swear by that house, which is encircled by the Coreish and Jorhom, who built it." (*Sir W. Jones, Vol. X., p. 356 – M. C. de Perceval, Vol. III., p. 352.*)

It will also be remembered that when the Jorhomites were expelled (about 200 A. D.) the black stone is said to have been secreted by the Bani Iyâd, and produced by the Khozâa, so that, according to this, the worship of the Kaaba must then have been of ancient standing.

† The name of *Abd Shams*, "servant" or "votary of the Sun," occurs in the Himyar dynasty about the eighth century B. C.; and again in the fourth century. One of these is said to have restored *Am Shams* or Heliopolis, (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 52,) but the tradition probably originated in the name. The stars worshipped by the various tribes, are specified by M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I, p. 349; *and Pococke's Specimen, p.* 4. Mahomet represents the people of Saba as worshipping the sun in the days of Solomon (*Sura XXVII., v.* 25.) *Isâf* and *Nâila*, whose statues were worshipped at Mecca, are said to have been the son and daughter of *Dhib* and *Sahuil, i. e.*, the constellations of the *Wolf* and *Canopus*: and were thus probably connected with the adoration of these heavenly bodies. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 199.) See also in *Sale's Preliminary Discourse*, a notice of the constellations worshipped by the Arabs, (*pp.* 19 and 20.) In *Sura liii.*, 19, is an evident allusion to the adoration of *Al Shira*, or Sirius.

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offered in Yemen to the sun, moon and stars.* The seven circuits of the Kaaba were, probably, emblematical of the revolutions of the planetary bodies; and it is remarkable that a similar rite was practised at the other idol fanes in Arabia.†

Mahomet is said to have held that *Ameer, son of Lohai* (the first Khozâite king, A. D. 200) was the earliest who dared to change the pure "religion of Ishmael," and set up idols brought from Syria. But this is a mere Moslem conceit; for the practice of idolatry thickly overspread the whole Peninsula, from a much more remote period; and we have authentic records of ancient shrines scattered from Yemen to Dûma, and Hîra, most of them subordinate to the Kaaba, and some having rites resembling those of Mecca.‡ A system thus widely diffused, and thoroughly organized, cannot but have existed in Arabia long before the time of Amir Ibn Lohai, and may well be regarded as of indigenous growth.

The most singular feature in the Fetichism of Arabia, was the adoration paid to unshapen stones. The Mahometans hold, that the general practice arose out of the Kaaba worship. "The adoration of stones among the Ishmaelites," says Ibn Ishâc, "originated in the practice of carrying a stone from 'the sacred enclosure of Mecca, when they went a journey, 'out of reverence to the Kaaba; and whithersoever they 'went, they set it up, and made circuits round about it as was 'done to the Kaaba; till at the last they worshipped every 'goodly stone they saw, and forgot their religion, and changed

* See above, page 14, of this article.

† *C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 270.—*Hishami, p.* 27, and *Sprenger's Mohammed, p.* 6. "Shahrastany informs us that there was an opinion among the Arabs, that the walking round the Kaaba and other ceremonies, were symbolical of the motion of the planets, and of other astronomical facts." In a note (1) authority is given for considering the Arabs to be worshippers of the sun, moon and stars; the constellations adored by each tribe being specified.

‡ *Hishami, p.* 27 *and* 28; where the various shrines and their localities and adherent tribes are specified: also *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., pp.* 113, 198, 223 and 269: and *Sprenger, p.* 78. For idolatry at *Hîra* consult *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II, pp.* 19, 100 and 132; at *Medîna, Wâckidi* 268½ and many subsequent passages: *Hishâmi, p.* 153, and *M. C. de Perceval, II.* 649, and 688. There was a temple of Morât at Medîna at *Mushallal Cudeid*, towards the sea. But it is needless to specify farther. As to the ceremonies, even the inviolability of the holy territory did not want its counterpart. We read of a *Haram* or sacred temple and enclosure instituted in the fifth century for the Bani Ghatafan *in imitation* of that at Mecca. We have no farther particulars to enable us to judge whether it was a simple imitation, or aspired to any independent origin. It was destroyed by Zahair the Yemen ruler of the B. Taghlib about the middle of that century. (*C. de Perceval*, II. *p.* 263.) See also the account of the Kaaba of Najrân formed on the model of that of Mecca, I. *p.* 160.

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'the faith of Abraham and Ishmael, and worshipped images."* This tendency to lapidolatry was undoubtedly prevalent throughout Arabia, but it is much more probable that it *occasioned* the superstition of the Kaaba and its black stone, than that it took its rise in that superstition.

Thus the religion of Mecca, in its essential points, is connected with forms of superstition strictly native to Arabia, and the natural conclusion is that it grew out of them. The process may be thus imagined. Mecca owed its origin and importance to its convenient position, mid-way between Yemen and Petra. From very remote times, the merchandise of the east and south passed through Arabia, and the vale of Mecca lay upon the usual western route. The plentiful supply of good water attracted the caravans;† it became a halting place, and then an entrepôt of commerce; a mercantile population, with the conveniences of traffic, grew up in the vicinity, and eventually a change of carriage took place there; the merchandise being conveyed to the north and to the south on different sets of camels. The carrier's hire, the frontier customs, the dues of protection,‡ and the profits of direct traffic, added capital to the city, which probably rivalled, though in a more simple and primitive style, the opulence and the extent of Petra, Jerash, or Philadelphia.§ The earliest inhabitants were (like the Catûra,

* *Hishami, p.* 27 ; *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 197. Hishami notices a large stone worshipped by the Bani Malkan, at which they used to sacrifice animals. Compare also the notice of stones given above from Herodotus.

† From Burkhardt's account it appears that the level of the well of Zamzam continues the same even when there is the greatest draught upon its waters. This he ascertained by comparing the length of the rope required for the bucket in the morning, and again in the evening. The Turks regard this as a miracle, for the expenditure of water must be very great, as it is used not only by the multitudes of pilgrims, but by every family of Mecca, for drinking and ablution, though not for culinary purposes. He learned from one who had descended to repair the masonry, " that the water was *flowing* at the bottom, and that the water is therefore supplied by a subterraneous rivulet. The water is heavy in its taste, and sometimes in its colour resembles milk, but *it is perfectly sweet*, and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town. When first drawn up, it is slightly tepid, resembling in this respect many other fountains in the Hejâz." (*Travels in Arabia, p.* 144. See also the *Travels of Ali Bey, Vol. II., p.* 81.) The latter makes the surface water fifty-six feet below the mouth of the well : he agrees with Burkhardt as to the temperature, but states that the water is " rather brackish and heavy, but very limpid...It is wholesome, nevertheless, and so abundant, that at the period of the pilgrimage, though there were thousands of pitchers full drawn, its level was not sensibly diminished." The authorities of Sale (*Preliminary Discourse, p.* 4), who make the water unwholesome and unfit for use, are evidently incorrect.

‡ *See Sprenger's Mohammed, p.* 14.

§ The only remains in the way of buildings at Mecca, besides the Kaaba, consisted of the well Zamzam, which, when the city decayed, was neglected and choked up. It was discovered and *cleared out* by Mahomet's grandfather, who recognized the

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Jorhom and Khozâa, though long anterior to them,) natives of Yemen, and the incessant traffic maintained a constant intercourse between them and their mother-country. From Yemen, no doubt, they brought with them, or subsequently received, Sabeanism, stone worship, and idolatry; and these they connected with the well of Zamzam, the source of their prosperity, near which they erected their fane, with its symbolical Sabeanism and mysterious black stone. Local rites were superadded; but it was Yemen, the cradle of the Arabs, which furnished the normal elements of the institution. The mercantile eminence of Mecca, to which the Bedouins of Central Arabia were lured with their camels by the profits of the carrying trade, by degrees imparted a national character to the local superstition, till at last it became the religion of Arabia. When the southern trade deserted this channel, though the mercantile prestige of Mecca vanished, and its opulence decayed, yet the Kaaba still continued the national temple of the Peninsula. The contingent population betook themselves to the desert; and the native tribe (the ancestry of the Coreish) were over-ridden by such southern immigrants as the Jorhom and Khozâa dynasties; till at last Cussai arose to vindicate the honour, and re-establish the influence of the house of Mecca.

But according to this theory, how shall we account for the traditions current among the Arabs, that the temple and its rites were indebted for their origin to Abraham and Ishmael? This was no Moslem fiction, but the popular opinion of the Meccans before Islam. Otherwise, it could not have been referred to in the *Coran*, as an acknowledged fact; nor would the names of certain spots around the Kaaba have been connected, as we know them to have been, with Abraham and with Ishmael.*

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traces of it. Its foundations and masonry must have been of great solidity and excellent structure, and it is no doubt a remnant of the works which once adorned Mecca, in its primeval prosperity.

* Dr. Sprenger attributes the Abrahamic doctrine to the religious enquirers who preceded Mahomet, and adds that these traditions were "neither ancient nor general among the pagan Arabs:" but it appears to us undoubted that such traditions were universally received in the time of Mahomet, as the names then in use, *Macâm Ibrahîm*, *Macâm Ismaîl*, &c., prove; and as they could not have gained so general a currency suddenly, the legends must be regarded as of ancient date, even in Mahomet's time. Dr. Sprenger thus argues:—"We find no connexion between the tenets of Moses, and those of the Haramites; and though biblical names are very frequent among the Mussulmans, we do not find one instance of their occurrence among the pagans of the Hejâz before Mohammed." (*Life*, *p.* 103.) But these reasons do not affect our theory: for (1), we hold that the religion of the Kaaba

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The reply to the above question has been anticipated in a former paper.* It was there shown that the Yemenite Arabs early commingled very extensively with the Abrahamic tribes, and reason was seen for believing that, at a remote period, a branch descended from Abraham, and probably from Ishmael, settled at Mecca, and became allied with the Yemenite race. The Nabathean, or any other mercantile nation of this stock, attracted to Mecca by its gainful position, would bring along with it the Abrahamic legends, which intercourse with the Jews had tended to revive and perpetuate. The mingled race of Abraham and of Cahtân would require a modification of the Meccan religion, corresponding with their double descent; and this was naturally accomplished by grafting the Abrahamic legends upon the indigenous worship, and by rites of sacrifice or ceremony, perhaps now for the first time introduced, and associated with the memory of Abraham.

The Jews themselves were also largely settled in Northern Arabia, where they had considerable political influence. There were extensive colonies of them about Medîna and Kheibar, in Wadi al Cora, and on the shores of the Atlantic gulph; and they maintained a constant and friendly intercourse with Mecca and the Arab tribes, who looked with respect and veneration upon their religion and their holy books.† When

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was instituted by the *Pagans themselves;* the Abrahamic tradition being simply super-imposed; and (2), it was super-imposed not by Jews or Israelites, but by Abrahamic tribes of (probably) Ishmaelitic descent, who had a very different nomenclature from that of the Jews, as is evident from Genesis. On the other hand, the affinity of Arabic with Hebrew, proves something common in origin, and (as has been before shown) renders probable the existence of Abrahamic tradition among the Arabs.

* See Article on the Aborigines of Arabia, No. xxxvii.

† The early history of Arabia gives ample proof of this. When Mahomet took Kheibar, he questioned its unfortunate Jewish chiefs as to "the utensils which they used to lend to the people of Mecca." (*Wâckidi, p.* 122.) Again the unbelieving Coreish consult the Jews as to whether their own religion is not better than Mahomet's, and are assured that it is. (*Hishâmi, pp.* 194 *and* 285—*Sura IV. v.* 49, *and Sale's note.*) Mahomet's *early* career shows much deference and veneration for the Jews; and he professed to follow their Scriptures and *true* doctrine, even to the end of his life.

In the list of Jorhom Kings we find the remarkable name of Abd al Masih, (76—106 A. D.), or "*servant of the Messiah.*"

M. C. de Perceval concludes that the title is a Christian one; that its bearer lived therefore after the Christian era, and that Jesus Christ was then *one of the divinities of the Hejâz.* But neither fact appears deducible from the name. It is hardly credible that at so early a period any Arab Prince assumed that title as a Christian one; it is incomparably more probable that it was of Jewish or Abrahamic origin, and was assumed at the time when the expectation of a Messiah was rife;—if indeed the name be not a mere traditional fiction. The legend, that the image of Jesus and the Virgin was sculptured on a pillar of the Kaaba,

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once the loose conception of Abraham and Ishmael, super-imposed upon the Meccan superstition, had received the stamp of native currency, it will easily be conceived that even purely Jewish tradition would be eagerly welcomed and unscrupulously adopted.* By a summary and procrustean adjustment, the legends of Palestine became those of the Hejâz. The holy precincts of the Kaaba were the scene of Hagar's distress, and it was the sacred well Zamzam that brought her relief. It was Abraham and Ishmael who built the Meccan Temple, placed in it the black stone, and established for all mankind the pilgrimage to Arafat. In imitation of him it was that stones were flung; and sacrifices were offered at Minâ in remembrance of the vicarious sacrifice in the stead of his son Ishmael. And thus, although the indigenous rites may have been little, if at all, altered by the adoption of the Abrahamic legends, they came to be viewed in a totally different light, and to be connected, in the Arab imagination, with something of the purity of Abraham, the Friend of God. The gulph between the most gross idolatry and the purest theism was bridged over; and upon this common ground Mahomet, taking his stand, sounded forth his more spiritual system, in accents to which all Arabia could respond. The rites of the

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and adored by the Arabs, is not an early or a well-supported one, and in itself is improbable. Christianity never found much favor at Mecca, and Mahomet was singularly ignorant in many important respects regarding it.

* It is to this source we trace the Arab doctrine of a Supreme Being, to whom their gods and idols were subordinate. The title of *Allah Tââla*, THE MOST HIGH GOD, was commonly used before Mahomet, to designate this conception. But in some tribes, the idea had become so materialized, that a portion of their native offerings was assigned to the Great God, just as a portion was allotted to their idols. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 113.—*Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p.* 18.) The notion of a Supreme Divinity, represented by no sensible symbol, is clearly not cognate with any of the indigenous forms of Arab superstition. It was borrowed directly from the Jews, or some other Abrahamic race, among whom contact with the Jews had preserved or revived the knowledge of the "God of Abraham."

Familiarity with the Abrahamic races also introduced the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection from the dead; but these were held with many fantastic ideas of Arab growth. Revenge pictured the murdered soul as a bird chirping for retribution upon the murderer; and a camel was allowed to starve at the grave of his master, that he might be ready at the resurrection again to carry him upon his back!

A vast variety of Scriptural language and terminology was also in common use, or at least its meaning understood. Faith, repentance, Divine wrath, the devil and his angels, the heavenly host, Gabriel, messenger of the Lord; are but a specimen of ideas and expressions, which, acquired from a Jewish source, were either current or ready for adoption. So were the stories of the fall of man, the flood, the destruction of the cities of the plain, &c., &c.;—so that there was an extensive substratum of crude ideas and unwrought knowledge bordering upon the dominion of the spiritual, ready to the hand of Mahomet.

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Kaaba were retained by him, but emasculated of every idolatrous tendency; and they still hang, a strange unmeaning shroud, around the living theism of Islam.

We must now enumerate the chief tribes in other quarters of the Peninsula, with as much brevity as the occasional complication of the subject will permit.

The earliest historical notices of Central Arabia do not ascend beyond the middle of the fourth century of our era, that is to say, about six generations, or two hundred years, before the birth of Mahomet.

The BANI MADHIJ, a Cahlânite tribe, which afterwards settled in Najrân, issued, about the era above specified, from amongst the teeming population of Yemen, and made an incursion upon the Tihâma. The Máaddite tribes (of Meccan origin) rallied under AMIR, son of Tzarib, and repulsed the invaders. Amir, who was then elected the Ruler (Hakam) of the combined tribes, belonged to the branch of *Adwân*, which, as we have seen, possessed the office of heading the pilgrim procession, in the vale of Muzdalifa. This important tribe soon fell into decay and lost its importance.* From the period of this contest, we have no farther accounts of Central Arabia for another century, when we find a king of Yemen visiting Najd, and receiving the homage of its tribes. It has been noticed in the sketch of Yemen, that the Himyarite Kings held a sort of feudal supremacy over the central tribes. Ever and anon the Arabs rebelled, but having no general head to rally around, they as often relapsed into their state of vassalage.

In the middle of the fifth century, HOJR AKIL AL MORAR, chief of the *Kinda* (a powerful tribe of Cahlânite descent, which, issuing from Yemen, seated itself in Central Arabia,) was con-

* The uncircumcised males of the tribe at that period are given at the extravagant number of forty to sixty thousand, which would imply a population of from two to four hundred thousand. But this is absurd, the more especially as Adwân, the progenitor of the tribe, was not born more than 200 years before. It illustrates, however, the important position, that tribes, when on the ascendant, rapidly increased, by associating, under the same banner and title with themselves, other straggling tribes, attracted by the prestige of their power, and the hopes of plunder. It is thus that we must account for the extensiveness of the hordes which, in the fifth century, represented the *Bani Bakr*; *Bani Taghlib*; *Bani Hawâzin*; *Bani Ghatafan*; *Bani Sulaim*, &c., none of whose nominal progenitors was born much before 200 A. D.

Where respectable descent was wanting, a good tribe was often adopted; or endeavour was made to fabricate a claim to a good pedigree. See instances in *Wâckidi, p.* 227.—*C. de Perceval. Vol. II., p.* 491.

Burkhardt found the Bani Adwân still inhabiting the country between Jidda and Tâif: they used to muster 1,000 matchlocks, but were nearly exterminated by Mahommed Ali Pasha. "They were an ancient and noble tribe," he adds, "unequalled in the Hejâz, and intimate with the Sharîfs of Mecca." (*Travels in Arabia, p.* 240.)

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stituted by his uterine brother Amr, King of Yemen, the ruler of all the tribes descended from Máadd. The most distinguished of these were the descendants of BAKR* and TAGHLIB, sons of Wâil, who, with their various sub-divisions, were located in Yemâma, Bahrein, Najd, and the Tihâma. Hojr waged a successful war with Hîra, and conquered from it a part of Bahrein, claimed by the Bani Bakr. He enjoyed the title of King, and ruled from 460 to 480 A. D.

To him succeeded his son AMR AL MACSUR, (480—495 A. D.) but he failed in retaining the Máaddite tribes under his allegiance, which was recognized for the most part only by his own race, the Bani Kinda. The claims of Yemen to a feudal tax were pressed with too great harshness, and twice, upon the plains of Sullân† (481 A. D.) and Khazâz, (492 A. D.) the Kindaite ruler, supported by the troops of Yemen, was repulsed by the Arabs.‡ Amr al Macsur was killed in a battle fought against Hârith V.§ of the Ghassân dynasty.

The Bakr and Taghlib tribes, rejoicing in the independence secured in these battles by their victorious arms, chose KOLEIB (492—494 A. D.) chief of the Bani Taghlib, to be their ruler.‖ But Koleib was haughty and overbearing, and he wantonly killed the milch camel of Basûs, a female relative of his wife, who was of Bani Bakr lineage. This, and other acts of indignity, roused the vengeance of the Bani Bakr, who slew Koleib. The two tribes were now marshalled one against the other; and the struggle, famous under the name of the *war of Basûs* (so called after the injured female), lasted long, with various success, and was not finally extinguished for forty years.

Meanwhile the Máaddite tribes, weary of the prevailing anarchy, returned to their Himyarite allegiance, and placed themselves under the rule of the Kindaite Prince HARITH, (495—524 A. D.,) son of Amr al Macsur.

This is the Hârith, whose invasion of Syria and temporary conquest of Hîra, have been recounted before.¶ His strange career was closed by defeat and death, about 524 A. D. His

* This tribe must be distinguished from the Bani Bakr, descendants of a grandson of Kinâna, who assisted in the expulsion of the Jorhomites from Mecca.

† *Sullân* lay to the south of the Hedjâz, and the east of Najd, towards Yamâma.

‡ Some verses of Zohair, a poet of the Bani Kalb, and the Yemenite Governor of the Bani Bakr and Taghlib, are preserved, with reference to these actions, in which he himself was engaged.

§ This prince, it will be remembered, was the son of Mâria Dzul Curtain, (Maria of the earrings,) sister of Amr al Macsur's mother.

‖ They awarded him one of the signs of sovereignty, viz., a fourth part of the booty. Mahomet secured a fifth.

¶ See page 25.

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sons succeeded him, but by imprudence and disunion, they soon divested themselves of their hereditary influence. The Bani Taghlib, as partizans of one brother, vanquished the Bani Bakr, the supporters of another, in the celebrated action of *Kulâb the First*, (526 A. D.); and the Bani Bakr, after their defeat, sought for protection under the supremacy of the Kings of Hîra.

The dynasty of Himyar had now sunk under the invading force of the Abyssinians (525 A. D.): and the African rulers of Yemen, failing to command the respect or obedience which prescriptive right had accorded to the time-honored lineage of Cahtân, the tribes of Central Arabia one by one transferred their allegiance to the Court of Hîra. In the year 534 A. D., the Bani Taghlib followed the Bani Bakr in this course; and peace was enforced between the two tribes, by Mundzir III., Prince of Hîra, whose common authority they owned. The amnesty was proclaimed at Mecca; a treaty was recorded and signed; and eighty youths of either tribe were sent as hostages to Hîra, and renewed year by year. The Bani Bakr continued to live about Yamâma and the shores of the Persian Gulph, but the Bani Taghlib migrated to Mesopotamia. It was subsequent to this that Amr III. of Hîra was slain by a Taghlib warrior-poet, Amr ibn Colthum,* for a supposed insult offered to his mother. Thenceforward the Bani Taghlib were the enemies of Hîra, and to escape the vengeance of Amr's successor, they removed to Syria. But on the opening of Islam, we find them again in Mesopotamia, professing the Christian faith.† In 632 A. D., they attached themselves to the false prophetess Sejâ, and after a prolonged struggle, submitted to the Moslem yoke. The Bani Bakr, as we have seen, continued faithful to Hîra to the last, and in 511 A. D., they gloriously avenged the murder of Nomân V. by the Persian king, in the battle of Dzu Câr, and achieved independence for themselves. A portion of them (the Bani Hanîfa) had embraced Christianity, but the whole tribe seems voluntarily to have submitted to Islam, during the life-time of Mahomet.‡

* This Amr is famous for his *Moällaca*, or "suspended poem," which was recited at the fair of Ocâtz. His tribe doted on it; and it used to be repeated even by the children long after his death.

† They sent a deputation to Mahomet, the members of which wore golden crosses. They were allowed to maintain, unchanged, *their* profession of Christianity, but not to baptize their children, or bring them up as Christians;—a fatal concession!

‡ Some of the most famous of the Arab poets belong to the Bakr and Taghlib tribes, and their poems have rendered famous the war of Basûs, and the long train of hostilities which followed. Thus there are ascribed poems of the class *Moällacât* to *Tarafa*, *Hârith* ibn Hiliza, and *Maimûn* al Asbâ, all of the Bakr tribe, and to *Amr* ibn Colthum, of the Bani Taghlib.

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We must now go back and take a glance at the fortunes of the house of Kinda. We left the sons of Hârith at variance among themselves. They were pursued with relentless hate by Mundzir III., of Hîra (526—530 A. D.), in whose breast the injuries inflicted by Hârith in his invasion still rankled. Crushed by such persecutions, the illustrious dynasty of Akil al Morâr was soon all but exterminated; and there survived only an insignificant branch, which continued to rule for half a century longer, over a part of Bahrein. The history of this period is enlivened by the romantic tale of IMRUL CAYS, the brother of Hârith, who united in his person the two princely Arab qualities of poetry and heroism. In the noble attempt of raising troops to revenge the death of his father, Amr al Macsur, he repaired as a suppliant to every friendly tribe in Arabia; and his checquered career,—now received with distinction, or heading a victorious band,—again routed, and hunted as a wild beast over the deserts by the enmity of Hîra,—ends at the last in his seeking for succour at the Court of Constantinople. He died on his way back (540 A.D.) and his touching poem, ranked among the *Moällacât*, contains many beautiful allusions to his melancholy history.*

The chieftainship of the Kindite tribe devolved on a junior branch of the family, which resided in Hadhramaut, and assisted towards the expulsion of the Abyssinians and restoration of the house of Himyar. On the first appearance of Islam, we find CAYS ruling over the Bani Kinda there, and his son *Al Asháth*, with the whole clan, joined Mahomet, A. D. 631.†

Another set of tribes, the descendants of Cays Aylan‡ of the Meccan stock, now demand our attention: they are divided in-

* An interesting coincidence may here be observed between Arab history and the Grecian writers. Procopius and Nonnosus mention an embassy to Abyssinia from Justinian, A. D. 531, the object of which was to endeavour, through the Yemenite Viceroy of the Abyssinian King, to reinstate a prince called CAYS, in the command of the *Kindinians and Máaddenians*, and give him troops to fight against the Persians. Here we identify Imrul *Cays*, whom the Greeks sought to restore to his Arab chieftainship, and aid against the Persian vassal of Hira. Other coincidences of names may be traced in *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 316.

The Arabs tell us that when Imrul Cays went to Constantinople, he left his daughter arms, &c., with Samuel the Jew, in his fort of Ablak, near to Tayma, in Northern Arabia. This noble Jew was attacked by the Ghassânide king, Hârith the Lame, who demanded the deposit, and threatened to slay the son of Samuel before him, if he refused. The Jew was immovable, and the "*faith* of Samuel" has hence become proverbial among the Arabs.

Arab writers say that the Emperor of Constantinople, jealous at the reports of the intimacy of Imrul Cays with his daughter, gave him a tunic which, like that of Hercules, consumed his body. He died in fact of ulcers. The legend shows to how late a date (540 A. D.) *fiction* mingles with Arabian *history*.

† See *Wâckidi, p.* 64, and *Hishâmi, p.* 426; where their embassy is described.

‡ The patriarchs, Ghatafan and Hawâzin, were contemporaries of Fihr Coreish (born A.D. 200). Their ancestor Aylân was the grandson of Modhar, who was the grandson of Máadd.

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to two great branches, the GHATAFAN and the KHASAFA, connected, but at some distance, with the Coreish. The chief families of the Ghatafan were the *Bani Dzobiân* and the *Bani Abs*: those of the Khasafa were the *Bani Sulaim* (who lived near Mecca, and with whom Mahomet was put out to nurse) and the *Hawâzin*: the latter again were sub-divided into the *Thackîf*, who inhabited Tâif, and the *Bani Amir* ibn Sássáa. Excepting the Bani Thackîf, these were all of Nomad habits; and their range of pasturage extended over the portions of Najd and its mountain chain adjoining on the Hejâz, from Kheibar and Wadi al Cora, to the parallel of Mecca.

Our earliest notices of these tribes commence in the middle of the sixth century, when, after the fall of the Kindaite dynasty, we find the "king" of the Bani Abs in command of the whole of the Bani Ghatafan, and also of the Hawâzin. He formed an alliance with Nomân IV., of Hîra, who took his daughter in marriage; but his eldest son, in returning from her convoy, was murdered, and the marriage presents plundered by a branch of the Hawâzin. Hostilities arose, the Absite Prince was assassinated (A.D. 567), and thenceforward the Bani Hawâzin secured their independence.

The Bani Abs, ready for revenge, were diverted by a fresh cause of offence in another quarter. Cays, their chief, in a marauding expedition, had plundered from the Bani Tamîr a horse of matchless speed, called Dâhis. Hodzeifa, chief of the Dzobiân (their sister tribe), vaunted his horse Ghabra as superior, and a wager and match were the result. The Dzobiân party, by an ignoble stratagem, checked the steed of Cays, and Ghabra first reached the goal. A fierce dispute arose as to the palm of victory, and the disposal of the stakes. Arab pride and revenge soon kindled into warfare, and such was the origin (568 A. D.) of the disastrous *war of Dahis*, which for forty years embroiled and wasted the tribes of Ghatafan and Hawâzin.* For some time hostilities raged with various success; at last a truce was concluded, and the Bani Abs delivered a number of their children as hostages into the hands of the Bani Dzobiân, but Hodzeifa treacherously slew the innnocent pledges of his foe, and (A. D. 576) the war was rekindled afresh. In the battle of *Habâa*, the Bani Abs were vic-

* This war is very famous in Arab history and poesy, which delights to expatiate on all the attendant circumstances. The detailed account given by M. C. de Perceval, is highly illustrative of the fiery pride of Arab chivalry. The history and parentage of the ill-starred Dâhis is traced with a curious minuteness, which would be found in few nations but Arabia. The expression أشأم من داحس—*More ill-omened than Dahis*, became proverbial.

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torious, and Hodzeifa,* with his brothers, expiated his treachery with their lives. But the bloody revenge of the Absites overshot the mark. So extensive was their slaughter of the Dzobiân chiefs, that the other Ghatafan clans conspired to crush the murderous tribe. The Bani Abs, alarmed at the combination, forsook their usual haunts, and wandered forth to seek an asylum, which, after many repulses from various tribes, they found with the Bani Amir, a Hawâzin tribe.

But meanwhile the Bani Amir had become embroiled in hostilities with an independent tribe, the *Bani Tamîm* (of Meccan origin, who occupied the north-eastern desert of Najd, from the confines of Syria to Yemâma); and had vanquished them in the notable battle of Rahrahân (578 A. D.) The Tamîm now coalesced with the Dzobiân, and, instigated by a common enmity, sought to humble the Bani Amir, along with their refugees, the Bani Abs. Fearful of the issue of so unequal a combat, the two latter tribes retired to a strong mountain called Jabala, where, behind a steep and narrow gorge, they awaited the attack. The Bani Tamîm and Dzobiân came blindly forward, their opponents rushed forth, and though inferior in numbers, put them completely to rout. Such was the decisive battle of *Sheb Jabala*, fought in 579 A. D.†

The fortunate connexion of the Bani Abs with the Bani Amir continued for many years. At last the seeds of mutual dissatisfaction having been sown, the Absites separated themselves, and began to long for peace with their Dzobiânite brethren. After many difficulties, and the exercise by several distinguished men, of a most magnanimous devotion to the public good,‡ a con-

* The only brother who escaped was Hisn, father of Ueina, chief of the Fezâra (a Dzobiânite tribe), who becomes famous in the time of Mahomet.

† Amir ibn Tofail, Chief of the Bani Amir, in Mahomet's time, was born on the rocky crest of Jabala, whither the females had been for safety removed, just as the victory was secured. The Mahometan writers place this engagement at an earlier date, some in the year of Mahomet's birth, others as far back as 533 A. D. In refuting this erroneous calculation, M. C. de Perceval has the following remarks of general applicability. "En général, dans toute l'histoire antéislamique, les Arabes ont exagéré l'antiquité des faits, comme la durée de la vie des personnages" (*Vol. II., p.* 484.)

‡ Thus *Zohair* ibn Abu Solma, a contemporary poet of the Mozeina, celebrates the magnanimity of Hârith and Hârim, two Dzobiânite chiefs, who charged themselves with supplying 3,000 camels required in payment of the blood-shed in this long war. After the negotiations had been interrupted by a perfidious murder, Hârith brought 100 camels (the full fine or price of blood,) along with his own son, to the father of the murdered person, and said, *choose between the blood* (of my son) *and the milk* (of the camels.) The man chose the camels, and the negotiations went on. There were many other famous poets during the war of Dâhis; and none more so than the warrior *Antara*, whose feats have been transmitted to modern Arabs in the apocryphal but charming "Romance of Antar." His *Moällaca* is still extant. *Labîd*, the satirist of the Bani Amir stock; and *Nâbigha* Dzobiâni (so styled from his tribe,) are also worthy of mention as distinguished poets.

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clusive peace was effected, A. D. 609; and the war of Dâhis came to an end.

The Bani Abs and Dzobiân now united, together with the Bani Ashjâ, another Ghatafan tribe, against the Bani Amir and other Hawâzin clans; and a long continued warfare, marked, as usual, by assassinations and petty engagements, but distinguished by no general action, prevailed between them, till the rise of Mahomet's power.

The following is the sequel of the Bani Tamîm's history. After the battle of Sheb Jabala, they fell out with their neighbours the Bani Bakr (Wâil,) who, in a year of famine, trespassed on their pastures; and several battles, but without any important issue, were fought between them, in 604 A. D., and the following years. In 609, the Persian Governor of a neighbouring fortress, to punish the Bani Tamîm for the plunder of a Yemenite caravan, enticed into his castle and slew a great number of their tribe. Thus crippled and disgraced, they retired to Colayb, on the confines of Yemen, where they were attacked by the combined forces of the Bani Kinda, the Bani Hârith of Najrân, and some Kodhâaite tribes; but they repulsed them in a glorious action, called *Colayb the second*, fought A. D. 612. Inspirited by this success, they returned to their former country, and again entered into hostilities with the Bani Bakr. From 615 to 630 A. D., several battles occurred; but in the latter year both parties sent embassies to Mahomet. The Bani Bakr, meanwhile, foreseeing that under the new faith their mutual enmities would be crushed, resolved to have a last passage of arms with their foes. The battle of Shaitain (end of 630 A. D.) was a bloody and fatal one to the Bani Tamîm, and they repaired to Mahomet, denouncing the Bani Bakr, and imploring his maledictions against them. But the Prophet declined, by such a proceeding, to alienate a hopeful adherent, and shortly after received the allegiance of the Bani Bakr, as well as of the Tamîm.

Two independent tribes, more or less Christian, deserve a separate notice. These were the Bani Tay, and Bani Hârith, both descended from Cahlân, and collateral therefore with the Bani Kinda.

The BANI TAY emigrated from Yemen into Najd, probably in the third century of our era; and moving northwards, seated themselves by the mountains of *Ajâ* and *Salma*, and the town of *Tayma*. The influence of their Jewish neighbours in that quarter, led some of them to adopt Judaism; others went over to Christianity: and the remainder adhered to their ancient paganism, and erected between their two hills a temple to the

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divinity *Fuls*. We know little of this tribe till the beginning of the seventh century, when we find its two branches, *Ghauth* and *Jadîla*, arrayed against each other, on account of the disputed restitution of a camel. After some engagements, (which are termed the war of *Fasád*, or discord,) the Jadîla emigrated to the Bani Kalb al Dûma, and thence to Kinnasrîn (Chalcis) in Syria. They sojourned long there; but at last, after the dissensions with their sister tribe had continued twenty-five years, peace was restored, and they returned to their former seat. In 632 A. D., the whole tribe embraced Islam. The two famous chieftains, Hâtim Tay, and Zeid al Kheil, belonged to the Bani Ghauth. The former is supposed to have died between 610 and 620 A. D., the latter embraced Islam, and his name was changed by Mahomet from Zeid al Kheil (*i.e., famous for his horses,*) to Zeid al Kheir *(the Beneficent)*.

The BANI HARITH were a clan descended from the Cahlânite stock of the *Bani Madhij*. They must have emigrated from Yemen at a very early date, as they were seated in *Najran* (between Yemen and Najd,) when the Azdites, about 120 A. D., moved northwards; and they skirmished with them. We find that the Bani Harith were settled in the persuasion of Christianity in the time of Mahomet. Baronius refers their conversion, but with little probability, to the Mission of Constantius to the Himyar court, already noticed as having occurred A. D. 343. The Arabs attribute it to the unwearied labours, and miraculous powers of a Missionary called *Feimiyûn*, and his convert, the martyr *Abdallah*;* and M. C. de Perceval, as well as Assemani, concludes that Christianity was generally adopted in Najrân about the close of the fifth century. Under the reign of Dzu Nowâs, we have recounted how that cruel prince, in his endeavours to impose Judaism upon its people, perpetrated an inhuman and treacherous massacre of the Christians. Nevertheless, the Bani Hârith stedfastly held to their faith, and were prosperously and peaceably advancing under Episcopal supervision, when Mahomet summoned them to Islam.

* See the story told at length in Hishami, where some of the miracles are mentioned, such as the overthrow of a large tree worshipped by the people, (*pp.* 10—13.) The Martyr, Abdallah ibn Thâmir, is known to the Church under the name of Arethas, son of Caleb; probably his Arab name (Hârith ibn Kâb) before baptism. The king of Najrân resorted to every expedient to kill this convert, cast him from precipices, and plunged him into deep waters, but his life was proof against every attempt, till at last, by Abdallah's own direction, the king confessed the unity of the Deity: and then a blow inflicted on the martyr's head, immediately proved fatal! Others again say that Abdallah escaped, and that he was one of the martyrs of Dzu Nowâs. (Cnf. *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 129, *and Gibbon's Decline and Fall, end of chap. XLII., note f.*)

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One of their Bishops, *Abul Hâritha*, was in the deputation which (A. D. 630) was sent by this tribe to the Prophet. *Coss*, the famous orator, whom the youthful Mahomet heard at the fair of Ocâtz, was likewise a Bishop of Najrân.*

It remains to conclude this sketch of the Arab tribes, by a notice of YATHREB or MEDINA.

According to the Arab legend, the whole of this part of Arabia belonged, originally, to the *Amalekites*, (in whom we recognize the Abrahamic races of other than Israelitish descent;) but it was invaded by the Jews, and Yathreb (so called after an Amalekite chief,) passed, like Kheibar and other neighbouring places, into their hands. Wild legends, adapted from the Jewish Scriptures, profess to explain the cause of the Jewish invasion; the times of Moses, of Joshua, of Samuel, and of David, are with equal assurance and equal probability stated by different traditionists. *We* need not to go so far back. The inroads of Nebuchadnezzar, and his sack of Jerusalem; the attack of Pompey, sixty-four years before the Christian era, and of Titus, seventy years after it; and the bloody retribution inflicted upon the Jews by Hadrian, 136 A.D., are some of the later causes which, we know, dispersed the Jews, and drove a portion into Arabia.† Such fugitive Jews were the Bani Nadhîr, the Coraitza, their neighbours the Caynocâa, &c., who, finding Yathreb to be peopled by a weak race of Codhâite and other Bedouin tribes, incapable of offering much resistance, settled there, and built for themselves large and fortified houses.‡

About the year 300 A.D., the clans of the Aws and Khazraj alighted at the same settlement, and were admitted by alliance, to share in the territory. At first weak and inferior to the Jews, these tribes began, at length, to grow in numbers;§ and as they encroached upon the rich fields and date plantations of the Jews, disputes and enmity sprang up between them. The new-comers, headed by MALIK, son of Ajlân,‖ chief of

* *Sprenger, p.* 38—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 159.

† See also the Jewish settlement in Mount Seir, which ejected the Amalekites. 1. *Chron.* iv. 42, 43.

‡ These houses were capable of resisting the attack of troops; they were called *otûm*.

§ Of the numerous tribes into which they were soon divided, the names of Aws *Monâ*, and Taym *Allât*, are significant of the keeping up of the same idolatrous worship as that of the Mâaddite tribes. Mahomet changed their names into *Aws Allah* and *Taym Allah*.

‖ See Wâckidi, p. 287.

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the Khazraj, sought and obtained succour from their Syrian brethren (the Bani Ghassân); and craftily enticed the principal Jewish chiefs into an enclosed tent, where they were massacred. The simple Jews were again beguiled into security by a treacherous peace, and while attending a feast given by their wily foes, a second butchery took place, in which they lost the whole of their chief men. Thus, about the close of the fifth century, the Aws and Khazraj became masters of Yathreb, and ejected the Jews from such of their holdings as they chose.

It was shortly after these events that Yathreb was unexpectedly attacked by a Prince called Abu Karib; but whether to punish the Aws and Khazraj for their attack upon the Jews, or for what other cause, is not very apparent.* The invader sent for the four chief personages† of the Awsites; and they, expecting to be invested with the command of Yathreb, repaired to his camp at Ohod,‡ where they were massacred, with the exception of one who escaped to his defenced house, and there defied the attacks of the treacherous Prince. This was OHAIHA, who became chief of the Bani Aws, as Mâlik was of the Khazraj. Abu Karib prosecuted his attack, destroyed some of the date plantations, and brought his archery to bear upon the fortified houses, in which the stumps of the arrows then shot, were still visible in the early days of Islam.§ At last, falling sick, or despairing of success, he made peace with

* The poetical remains give the invader only the title of *Abu Karib*. The historians or traditionists will have it, that it was *Abu Karib Tibban Asad*, King of Yemen, who flourished in the beginning of the third century, or nearly 200 years before the era of this expedition. We have seen, under the sketch of Yemen, that this incursion must have occurred about the reign of Dzu Nowâs; and as he was so bigoted a Jew, its object was perhaps to punish the Aws and Khazraj, for their cruel and treacherous attacks upon the Jews. This, however, is only a conjecture; as the native authorities do not hint at it; excepting by one tradition, which makes Dzu Nowâs to have *embraced* Judaism in consequence of a visit to Yathreb;—another assertion is that the *Ghityun*, or head of the Jews, was the cousin and representative of the king whose authority the Hejâz recognized, but the precise meaning of this is not clear. Procopius mentions an Αβοχαριβος, who was at this time master of the northern Hejâz, and offered the sovereignty of it to Justinian. (See p. 36.) The name and date afford some presumption of identity.

† Among these were "the three Zeids," chiefs of the Awsites, and all bearing that appellation.

‡ He pitched below the hill of Ohod, where he dug a well; but its water did not agree with him. It was long after known as "the Tabba's well." (*Vide Journal Asiatique, Nov.*, 1838, *p.* 439.)

§ There is a paper worthy of perusal on Ohaiha, by M. Perron, in the Journal Asiatique, November 1838, p. 443. One of the houses at Medîna was so bristled with the arrows then shot into it, that it received and retained the name of *Al Ashâr*, "the hairy." It belonged to the Bani Adî, and was situated near the spot where Mahomet afterwards built his mosque.

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the Aws and Khazraj, and departed. As he left, he made over the provisions and baggage of his camp to a woman, who had supplied him with sweet water from Yathreb: she thus became the richest female in her tribe, and (which seems almost incredible,) continued such until the rise of Islam.*

The Aws and Khazraj, thus established in power, did not long remain on terms of amity with each other. The fifth century had not yet expired, when disputes arose on the relative dignity of Ohaiha and Mâlik, and on the amount of blood-fine to be paid for the murder of an adherent of the latter. Battles were fought, and for twenty or thirty years a constant enmity prevailed.† At last (520—525 A.D.,) the father (according to some the grand-father) of Hassân the poet, being elected umpire, decided in favor of the Awsites, though himself a Khazrajite; and to prevent farther dispute, paid the disputed portion of the fine.‡

The peace thus secured, continued for a long series of years. But in 583 A. D., hostilities again broke out. The ostensible cause was the murder of a Khazrajite, or of a Jew under Khazrajite protection. At first the hostilities were unimportant, and confined to clubs and lampoons.§ By and bye they became more serious; the Bani Khazraj defeated their opponents, and slew one of their chiefs,

* *See Journal Asiatique, loc. cit., p.* 447—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 656. The latter suggests with probability that, instead of the rise of Islam, the *birth* of the Prophet of Islam is meant. It is strange how the expedition is throughout confounded with that of Tibbân Asad, and yet all the names of the Medina actors, as well as the incidents, the memory and marks of which were still fresh, when Mahomet went to Medina, manifestly require a date at least two centuries later than that Prince. The reason assigned for the departure of the invader, is the same as in that of the ancient invasion; *i e.*, that two Rabbins informed him that Medina would be the refuge of a great Prophet, &c. It is curious that neither the annals of Medina nor of Mecca throw any satisfactory light on this later invasion; though Abu Carib, if a King of Yemen, must have passed by Mecca to get to Medina. As the event occurred within three quarters of a century before the birth of Mahomet, the confusion and uncertainty cannot but affect our confidence in the ancient history of the Hejâz altogether.

† It was during this period, that Ohaiha, who had gained much riches and power by merchandise, planned an attack upon the Bani Najjâr, a Khazraj family, to which his wife *Solma* belonged. Solma gave secret intimation to her parents, and Ohaiha found them prepared for his attack. He afterwards divorced her, and then she married Hâshim, and became the great grandmother of Mahomet. *(Wâckidi, p.* 14.)

‡ One of the conditions of this peace was *security of domicile*, which even in war was never to be violated. Every murder within a private enclosure was to bear the usual blood-fine. Mahomet did not much respect this right.

§ Amr, a Khazrajite, repaired at this period to Hira, and obtained from that Court (the supremacy of which was now acknowledged in the Hejâz,) the title of Prince, in order to put a stop to this discord; but the attempt was unsuccessful. The mode in which the satirists abused each other was peculiar. Thus Hassân addressed amorous poetry to the sister of Cays, extolling her beauty; and Cays similarly sang in praise of the daughter of Hassân's wife. A similar practice was one of the charges brought against Káb, the Jew, who was assassinated by Mahomet's orders.

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Suweid ibn Sâmit,* and expelled an Awsite tribe from the city. Bloody encounters occurred, and either party looked for succour to the Jews, but they remained neuter; and the Khazrajites, to secure their neutrality, took forty of their children as hostages. But animated by a rare barbarity, the most of the Khazraj chiefs murdered their hostages,† and thus decided the Jews of the Coreitza and Nadhir tribes, to side at once with the Awsites, and to receive with open arms their expelled tribe. Both sides now prepared vigorously for a decisive battle. The Bani Aws sought for aid from the Coreish at Mecca, but they declined to war against the Khazrajites;‡ they gained, however, reinforcements from two Ghassânite tribes, from the Mozeina,§ and from their Jewish allies, the Coreitza and Nadhir. The Bani Khazraj were supported by the Joheina‖ (a Codhâite tribe) and the Bani Ashjâ (a branch of the Ghatafan), and by the Jewish stock of Caynocâa. Thus, in the year 615 A. D.,¶ was fought the memorable action of Bóâth.** At first the Awsites were struck with terror, and fled towards the valley of Oraidh††. But their chief *Hodheir* al Ketâib, in indignant despair, pierced himself and fell :‡‡ and at this sight the Bani Aws, impelled by shame, returned to the charge with such determination, that they dispersed the Khazraj and their allies with great slaughter; and refrained from the carnage only on their cry for mercy. But they burned down some of their date plantations, and were with difficulty restrained from razing to the ground their fortified houses.

* This man had a conversation with Mahomet at Mecca, when he was canvassing there publicly for his faith, and is said to have died a Moslem. (*Hishâmi*, *p.* 141.—*Tabari*, *p.* 158.—*Wackidi*, *p.* 287½.) He was killed by a Codhâaite, and his son (who with the murderer, both became Mussulmans,) took the opportunity of revenging his father's death, by a blow, while both he and his victim were together, side by side, at Ohod. It was proved, and Mahomet put him to death as the slayer of a believer, at the gate of the mosque at Coba.

† Abdallah ibn Obey, afterwards Mahomet's great opponent at Medina, rejected with horror the proposal to murder his hostages, and persuaded several other chiefs to do likewise. He was dissatisfied with the conduct of his tribe, and took no part in their subsequent proceedings, nor in the battle of Bóâth.

‡ Mahomet took occasion to address this embassy, and presented to them the claims of his religion, but with little success.

§ See this tribe noticed in Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, p. 458, as living N.E. of Medina. They were a Bani Modhar tribe, somewhat distant from the Coreish.

‖ This tribe is also noticed by Burkhardt as inhabiting the vicinity of Yenbo, and being able to furnish good matchlock men. (*Notes on the Bedouins*, *p.* 229.)

¶ See *Wâckidi*, *p.* 296, where the era is given as six years prior to the Hegira.

** Bóâth was situated in the possession of the Bani Coreitza.

†† This spot is mentioned by Burkhardt as one hour's walk N. E. of Medina, in the direction of Ohod. (*Travels*, *p.* 458.)

‡‡ *Wackidi*, *p.* 296, *Al Ketaib* was an honorary title of supremacy.

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The Khazraj were humbled and enfeebled, but not reconciled. No open engagement after this occurred: but numerous assassinations from time to time gave token of the existing ill-blood. Wearied with the dissensions, both parties were about to choose Abdullah ibn Obey as their chief or king, when the advent of Mahomet produced an unexpected change in the social relations of Medîna.

A survey, thus extensive and detailed, of the Peninsula and its border states, was requisite for forming a judgment of the relations in which Arabia stood towards her coming prophet.

The first peculiarity, which upon review attracts attention, is the sub-division of the Arabs into innumerable independent bodies, all governed by the same code of honor and morals, exhibiting the same manners, and speaking, for the most part, the same language, but possessed of no cohesive principle; restless, and generally at war, each with some other tribe; and even where united by blood or by interest, ever ready, at the most insignificant cause, to separate, as by an atomic repulsiveness, and abandon themselves to an implacable hostility. These qualities made Arabia to exhibit, like a kaleidescope, an ever varying scene of combination and repulsion, and had hitherto rendered abortive every attempt at a general union. The Kinda Government, though backed by a powerful dynasty, fell to pieces after a brief duration, and neither the Himyar Sovereigns, nor after them, the Court of Hîra, could effect more than the casual recognition of a general species of feudal supremacy. The freedom of Arabia from foreign conquest, was owing, not only to the difficulties of its parched and pathless wilds, but to the interminable number of independent clans, and the absence of any head or chief power, which might be made the object of subjugation. The problem had yet to be determined, by what force these tribes could be drawn to one common centre; and it was solved by Mahomet, who invented a religio-political system, from elements common to all Arabia, and set it in motion by the inducement,—irresistible by an Arab—of endless war and plunder.

The prospects of Ante-Mahometan Arabia were equally unfavourable to the hope of religious movement or national regeneration. The substratum of Arab faith was a deep-rooted idolatry, which for many centuries had stood proof, with no sensible effect, against the most zealous attempts at evangelization from Egypt and from Syria. Several causes increased the insensibility with which the Arabs listened to the Gospel.

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A dense fringe of hostile Judaism neutralized upon the northern frontier the efforts of Christian propagandism, and afforded shelter to Central Arabia. The connexions of the Jews extended far southwards, and were met at the opposite extremity of the peninsula by the Judaism of Yemen, which was long protected by the Government of the land, and even at times sought itself to proselytize the tribes of Arabia.

But worse than this, the idolatry of Mecca had formed a compromise with Judaism, and had admitted enough of its semi-Scriptural legends, and, perhaps, of its tenets also, to steel the national mind against any Christian appeal. Simple idolatry is comparatively powerless against the attacks of reason and the Gospel, but when welded together with some principles of truth, it becomes far more impervious to human agency. The authority of Abraham for the worship of the Kaaba, and the precious legacy of his divinely inculcated rites, would be a triumphant reply to the invitations either of Judaism or of Christianity. But the Christianity of the seventh century was itself decrepit and corrupt. It was disabled by contending schisms, and had substituted the puerilities of debasing superstition, for the pure and expansive evangelism of the early ages. What could then be hoped from such an agent?

The state of Northern Arabia, which had been long the battle-field of Persia and the Empire, was peculiarly unfavourable to Christian effort. Alternately swept by the armies of Chosroes, and of Constantinople, of Hîra, and of the Ghassânides, the Syrian frontier presented little opportunity for the advance of peaceful Christianity.

The vagrant habits of the Nomads themselves eluded the stedfast importunity of Missionary endeavour; while their haughty spirit and revengeful code, equally refused to brook the humble and forgiving precepts of Christian morality. Not that a nominal adhesion to Christianity, as to any other religion, might not be obtained without participation in its spirit, or subjection to its inner requirements: but such a formal submission could have resulted alone from the political supremacy of a Christian power, not from the spiritual suasion of a religious agency. Let us look then to the external political inducements which bore upon Arabia.

To the *north*, we find that Egypt and Syria, representing the Roman Empire, exercised but a remote and foreign influence upon Arabian affairs, and even that was continually neutralized by the victories and antagonism of Persia. The weight of Constantinople, if ever brought to bear directly upon the affairs of Arabia, was but lightly felt, and passed transiently

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off.* The kingdom of Ghassân, upon the borders of Syria, was indeed at once Arab and Christian, but it yielded to Hîra the palm of supremacy, and never exercised any important bearing on the affairs of Central Arabia.

If we turn to the *North-east*, we observe, it is true, that the Christian aspect had improved by the conversion of the Hîra Court, and many of its subordinate tribes; and the influence of Hîra permeated Arabia. But Hîra itself was the vassal of Persia; and its native dynasty having lately fallen, had been replaced by a Satrap from the Court of Persia, which was a strong opponent of Christianity. The relations of Pagan Persia with the Arabs were uninterrupted, intimate, and effective, and entirely counter-balanced those of the Christian West.

To the *South*, Christianity had met with an important loss. The prestige of a Monarchy—though an Abyssinian one—was gone; and in its room had arisen a Persian Satrapy, under the shadow of which the old Himyar idolatry, and once royal Judaism, flourished apace.† On the *East* there was indeed the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, but it was divided from Arabia by the Red Sea, and the negro race would not, even in

* The most prominent instance of Roman interference is the alleged appointment of Othman abu al Herweirith, as king of Mecca: but the account appears to be very apocryphal. At any rate, the authority of Othman was but short-lived. (*See Sprenger, p.* 44.) There are very few other allusions to Roman influence in Arab concerns. The Emperor made a treaty with the marauder Hârith, the Kindaite chief: but it was because of his invasion of Syria. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 290.) Hashim, Mahomet's great grandfather, concluded a mercantile treaty with the Emperor, (*Wâckidi, p.* 13:) and there were no doubt international arrangements on the border for the security of the commerce and regulation of the custom dues. But these influences hardly crossed the boundary; and neither did those connected with the Roman legions at Duma, or the *Equites Saraceni Thamudeni*, referred to above. Occasionally a refugee, such as Imrul Cays, or Mundzir, repaired to the Court of Constantinople; but that court was never able to turn such events to any profitable account in its connexions with Arabia.

† Gibbon thus marks the importance of the fall of the Christian Government of the Abyssinians in Yemen:—

"This narrative, of obscure and remote events, is not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. If a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution, which has changed the civil and religious state of the world." (*Decline and Fall; close of Chapter XLII.*)

The conclusion drawn by Gibbon is a very doubtful one. It is questionable whether Mahomet would not himself have looked to the continuance of a Christian power in Yemen, as a contingency the most favorable to his great scheme. There is no point more remarkable in Mahomet's character than the adroitness with which he at first represented himself as the adherent and supporter of opposing systems, and won over their partizans. It was thus he treated the Christians of Arabia, who at first believed he would secure to them the enjoyment of their Christianity intact; it was thus he treated, and was welcomed by, the Christian king of Abyssinia; and he would no doubt have played the same with any Christian Government in Yemen. It was not from Christianity, but from idolatry and Judaism, that opposition to Mahomet's system emanated.

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a more favorable position, have exercised much influence upon the Arab mind.*

Thus the Star of Christianity was not in the ascendant: nay, in some repects, its was waning. There was no hope of a change from the high hand of political supremacy; while the prevalence of an influential Judaism, and of a rampant national idolatry, rendered the conversion of Arabia, indeed, a doubtful and a distant prospect. During the youth of Mahomet, the aspect of the Peninsula was strongly conservative, and, perhaps, was never at any period more hopeless.

It is a ready failing of the human mind, after the occurrence of an event, to conclude that the event could not otherwise have occurred. Mahomet arose, and aroused the Arabs to a new and a spiritual faith; the conclusion is immediately drawn, that all Arabia had been fermenting for the change; that all Arabia was quite prepared to adopt it; and that the Arabs were on the very point of striking out for themselves the ready path to truth, when Mahomet anticipated them; but only by a few years at most.† To us, calmly reviewing the past, every token of pre-islamite history belies the position. After five centuries of Christian evangelism, we can point to but a sprinkling of Christian converts; the Bani Hârith of Najrân; the Bani Hanîfa of Yemâma: some of the Bani Tay at Tayma; and hardly any more.‡ Judaism, vastly more powerful, had exhibited a spasmodic effort of proselytism under Dzu Nowâs; but as an active and vivifying principle, it, too, was now dead. In fine, the surface of the Peninsula was here and there gently rippled by the feeble influences of Christianity; occasionally, the effects of sterner Judaism would be visible in a deeper and more troubled current: but the flood of idolatry and of Ishmaelite superstition, setting with the surge of an unbroken and unebbing tide towards the Kaaba, gave ample evidence that *they* held in undisputed thraldom the mind of Arabia.

* The connexions of the Arabs with Abyssinia were chiefly mercantile. Tabari says of it:—"Now there was there a just king, called *Al Najashy* (Negus;) and it was a land with which the Coreish used to do merchandise. They were wont to go thither for commerce, and to find therein plenty of food and protection, and good traffick" (*p.* 127.)

† Dr. Sprenger goes even farther than this, and supposes that Mahomet was *preceded* by many of his followers in the discovery and choice of Islam: see references in the notes at pp. *52* and *53* of Article I. in No. XXXVII. of this *Review*, on the sources for the Biography of Mahomet.

‡ The Bani Taghlib, and Ghassân, and the Christian tribes near Hira, were removed from direct influence on Central Arabia, and are not therefore here taken into account.

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Still, even in this posture of affairs, there existed the elements with which a master mind might work those marvellous changes, which his wizard wand, alone of all human agencies, can produce. Christianity was known; there were living examples of it in domesticated tribes; its books and many of its doctrines were patent, or at least accessible, to all. The tenets of Judaism were even more notorious, and its legends, if not its sacred writings, were familiar throughout the Peninsula. The worship of Mecca was founded upon assumptions believed to be common both to Christianity and Judaism. Here then was ground of truth ready to the enquirer's hand, and inviting scrutiny and cultivation. And no doubt, many an Arab heart, before Mahomet, responded to the casually received truths of Christianity and Judaism:—many an honest Bedouin spirit confessed of the law that it was just and good: many an aspiring intellect, as the eye travelled over the bespangled expanse of the heavens, concluded that the Universe was supported by ONE great being; and in the time of need, many an earnest soul felt the suitability of the Christian sacrifice. Coss, the Bishop of Najrân, was not the first, nor, perhaps, the most eloquent and earnest, of Arab preachers, who sought to turn his fellows from the error of their ways, and reasoned with them of righteousness, truth, and the judgment to come.

The MATERIAL for a great change was here; but it required to be wrought: and Mahomet was the WORKMAN. The fabric of Islam no more necessarily resulted from the state of Arabia, than a gorgeous texture necessarily results from the mesh of tiny silken thread; nor the stately ship from the unhewn timber of the forest: nor the splendid palace from unshapen masses of quarried rock. Had Mahomet, stern to his first convictions, followed out the Jewish and Christian systems, and inculcated upon his fellows their simple truths, we should have had a "SAINT MAHOMET,"—perhaps a "MAHOMET THE MARTYR,"—laying the foundation stone of the Arabian Church: but we should not certainly, in his day, have seen Arabia convulsed to its centre, or even any considerable portion of it Christianized. He abandoned his early convictions; for the uncompromising severity of inflexible principle he substituted the golden prospects of expediency and compromise; and then with consummate skill, he devised a machinery, by the plastic power of which, he gradually shaped his material into an harmonious and perfect form. To the Christian, he was as a Christian;—to the Jew he became as a Jew:—to the

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Meccan idolator, as a reformed worshipper of the Kaaba. And thus, by unparalleled art, and a rare supremacy of mind, he persuaded the whole of Arabia, idolator, Jew, and Christian, to follow his steps with docile submission.*

Such a process we style that of *the workman shaping his material.* It was not that of the material shaping its own form, much less moulding the workman himself. It was Mahomet that formed Islam: it was not Islam, or any pre-existing Moslem spirit, that moulded Mahomet.

* But this effect was not attained until both spiritual and temporal powers had been brought into play against a ceaseless opposition of twenty years; and no sooner had the personal influence of the Prophet been removed by death, than almost the whole of Arabia rose up in rebellion against Islam. The remark is anticipatory, but should not be lost sight of in our estimate of Ante-Mahometan Arabia.

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ART. II.—1. *Scenes de Voyage dans l'Inde. Par Th. Pavie. (Revue de deux Mondes.* 1 *Avril,* 1853.)

2. *L'Inde sous la domination Anglaise. Par le Baron Barchou de Penhoën, auteur de l'histoire de la conquete de l'Inde par l'Angleterre.* 2 *Tom. Paris,* 1844.

INDIA was discovered by M. Victor Jacquemont, about the thirtieth year of the present century. It was inhabited by two distinct classes of people, different in many respects from each other, but neither of them far removed from a state of barbarism. The one class wore no clothes worth mentioning, and the other class wore such as cannot be mentioned without a sigh of compassion for their unfortunate wearers, inasmuch as their *cut* had been handed down, unimproved, from a remote antiquity, indicating that the latest communication with the civilized world, that is Paris—(and that communication must have been indirect and circuitous)—had not taken place within two years of M. V. Jacquemont's visit. The country was ruled over by a queen called *Lady William,* who was accustomed to travel in a "Tom Jones,"* and who gave evidence how well she deserved the throne, by the nearer approximation that she made than any of her subjects of either race, to a truthfully high estimate of the merits of M. V. Jacquemont.

After the publication of M. V. Jacquemont's discovery, indeed, some resurrectionist of deceased volumes found out that the country had been visited at an earlier period, by one M. Bernier, who found one Aurungzebe occupying the throne that his successor found occupied by Lady William. There was also a legend that a M. Thevenot and a M. Tavernier had been in India, but these legends were, probably, mythical. It was also said, that a M. Dupleix had once ruled over India, otherwise called Pont de Cherri; but as the histories of his reign contained accounts, evidently fabulous, of his being defeated by the British, the whole of his history was probably apocryphal; having perhaps been composed by the British, in order that they might set the glory that they profess to have gained by his defeat, against the disgrace of their own defeat at Trafalgar and Waterloo. But this impertinent discovery was not allowed to detract anything from the merits of M. V. Jacquemont;

* Much has been written on the subject of Romanizing, and we once had an article on the Hellenizing, of Oriental words. The Gallicizing of them is quite as worthy of being treated. The example in the text is amusing, from the coincidence of the name given to her ladyship's conveyance, with that of the hero of a celebrated work. But the words, pronounced after the French fashion, come very near to the name *tonjon.*

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and he retains, and ever will retain, the credit of having been the first to make his countrymen acquainted with the fact of the existence of India.

It is altogether astonishing to what an extent the descriptions of this amiably vain traveller (vanity excites pity, and "pity melts the soul to love") have given a bias to the judgments of the French, in all matters relating to India. They see it with his eyes; they describe it in his style. Those of them, who have never visited India, take up his descriptions without question, and the few who do venture to pay a visit to the *Britannos hospitibus feros*, in this land of their exile, come amongst us with his impressions established as the ideal standard of their own, and with the conclusion formed, that the more nearly they can approach his sentiments and his modes of expressing them, the greater will be the merit of their books.

It may seem unfair to make these remarks *apropos* merely to an article in a magazine; but in point of fact, we state the impression made upon us by a tolerably extensive course of reading. And were it not so, the *Revue de deux Mondes* has so high a name in the world of periodical literature, and has so evidently the best writers in France at its command, that we are rather in danger of doing injustice to it than to the general body of French writers, by regarding its articles as fair specimens, in matter and manner, of the literature of France at the present day.

Who M. Pavie is we do not know, nor do we at this moment recollect whether we have met with his name before; but the admission of his article into the *Revue* is a certificate of respectability. He, doubtless, knows as much respecting India as respectable literary men in France generally know respecting it. His opinions are, probably, those of a considerable body of men of the same class—for when personal or party-interests are not at stake, men of the same class do not generally differ widely in opinion—and they will be read without question by many thousands of readers, and insensibly incorporated into the *credenda* of the French people.

It may be worth while then to examine this article of M. Pavie, and "see ourselves as others see us." The article is nominally a review of a German work, entitled *Patma Khanda—Leben und Charakterbilder aus Indien und Persien, von Erich von Schönbery*, 2 *vol. Leipzig*, 1852; but except telling us that *Patma Khanda* means a *place where the lotus abounds*, and quoting a story about Runjit Singh, the reviewer makes no reference to the work under review. It is not for us to con-

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demn his conduct in this respect, as there are some panes of glass in our own roof whichmight haply suffer from the recoil of any missiles that we might throw. The fact is, that our fraternity do some dishonor to their vocation, by adhering to the practice of invariably attaching the titles of one or more books to their articles. *Reviews* were originally intended merely to give an account of *books ;* but now their sphere is greatly enlarged, and it is expected of them that they should review not only books, but events and men. Formerly the reviewer had only the literary world employed in providing subjects for the exercise of his functions, but now he has the whole world employed in nothing else than furnishing matter for his articles. The practice, however, has been retained, of prefixing the titles of books to *Review* articles, and as it is quite harmless, and as it has been handed down as an heir-loom from the days of the patriarchs of our race, we confess that we have no desire to see it relinquished, and a mere *running title* placed at the head of an article, instead of the title of a book. But we have a long road to travel, and must not indulge our propensity to digress.

After stating, in very general terms, the design and method of the *Patma Khanda*, the reviewer proceeds to treat of various subjects "in the miscellaneous order (le pêle-mêle) in which they ordinarily present themselves to the European traveller." According to this order, of course the first subject is the landing. This event may be viewed in various aspects. Some may delight in contemplating the unmodified and unmitigated "griffinism" of the new-comer ; but we confess we never could apprehend aught like the full intensity of the fun that most old Indians seem to perceive in the fact that a man should be unable to speak a language that he has never learned, and that he had never before seen animals and plants which are peculiar to the country that he is now visiting for the first time, and that he should not be perfectly conversant with customs which have been originated in a state of society of which he has hitherto had no experience. Yet this is all that goes to make up griffinism, that most ridiculous of all things to an old Indian. If indeed a young man affects to know what he does not know, or condemns customs of which he knows neither the origin nor the use, he is a fair subject for ridicule ; but simple griffinism--griffinism without dogmatism—has never, so far as we recollect, been to us a subject of intense merriment. We do not laugh at a new-born child, because he cannot make chairs, or dance quadrilles, or post ledgers, or write articles; rather do we smile upon him with tender affection, remembering that we were once such as he is now, and reflecting that he will be as we

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now are, when we shall have passed away from the social circle, and the world of business, and the republic of letters. And, haply, we breathe for him a silent or uttered prayer, that the career on which he is just entering may be a career of uprightness and honor, or address him in our heart with a sentiment like that of the Eastern poet—

> On parents' knees, a naked, new-born child,
> Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smil'd;
> So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
> Thou mayest smile, while all around thee weep.

And with similar feelings are we disposed to regard the newcomer to India—the griffin if you will. Entering upon a new career, amongst strangers—removed, for the first time probably, beyond the reach of paternal counsel, and maternal care, and fraternal sympathy, and—most valuable of all, in some respects, as regards its influence on the formation of a young man's character—of sisterly kindness and confidence—with many hopes and expectations within him, that are destined never to be realized, and with many temptations around him which he has never learned how to resist—our feelings are apt to clothe themselves in the words of another Eastern poet, not less beautiful, and more masculine than those we just now quoted—

> The God before whom my fathers did walk,
> The God which led me all my life-long unto this day,
> The angel which redeemed me from all evil,
> Bless the lad!

Now, at last, for M. Pavie's description of the landing. We shall probably consult the wishes of a considerable proportion of our readers, by presenting this, and such other extracts as we may have to make, in an English form, although we are quite aware that we cannot preserve the full richness of flavour that belongs to some of them in the original:—

"You touch the shore; a palanquin awaits you, and an officious interpreter invites you to get into it. Behold modern 'India, such as English occupation and the great *steamers* 'which are perpetually ploughing the seas, have made it. In 'this land, where every thing surprises you, no one is surprised 'at you. As soon as you are cradled in this litter, like a 'patrician of ancient Rome, a beggar, who deafens you with 'his lamentations, seeks alms in the name of Allah! You have 'a view of the India of the middle age, the India of the 'Moguls, which Islamism has covered like an immense and 'fearful wave. The bearers of the palanquin spring alertly on 'one side. They are making room for a bull with gilt horns, to

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'which old Brahmans are presenting fresh grass, and whose 'humped back young girls are caressing. This bull is the 'emblem of Sivaism. You have found the India of antiquity, 'whose language and whose myths are lost in the night of 'time. Three epochs, three civilizations, three faiths encoun- 'ter each other on this mysterious ground. Above that 'motley crowd, agitated by so many different thoughts, rise 'the belfries, the minarets, and the pagodas. The spire of the 'Christian temple points right upwards (au milieu des airs) and 'goes straight to heaven: at the sound of the bell which rings 'sweet and sharp, you think with emotion on the perpetual 'youth of Christianity, which is every day extending its 'peaceful conquests. From the height of the balconies hung 'around the minarets, the blind Muezzin invites the Mussul- 'man fatalists to prayer—a distant and enfeebled echo of the 'Prophet's summons to the tribes of Arabia. Under the por- 'ticoes of the pagodas, around the sacred tanks, sport and 'run privileged animals, birds and quadrupeds, which the 'Hindus reverence as images of their gods; and upon the 'threshold of these temples, devoted to idolatry, the conch in 'which the Brahman blows, inflating his cheeks like a Triton, 'makes you dream of ancient Pagan Greece."

This is purely and thoroughly French. Our author does not tell us where it is that "we touch the shore," but it is probably either at Madras or Calcutta, the word which we have rendered *shore* being equally applicable to the bank of a river as to the shore of the sea. But it is not of much moment. All have, of course, read of the great metaphysician who had cultivated the power of abstraction so assiduously and so successfully, that he was quite able to conceive of a Lord Mayor apart from his sword, and his chain and his horse, yea, apart from his arms and legs and paunch, and body and soul and existence—the mere abstraction of a Lord Mayor, possessing all the qualities common to all existing and all possible Lord Mayors, and no quality peculiar to any individual Lord Mayor, or by which one Lord Mayor is distinguished from all the rest. It is probably much so with M. Pavie. His conceptions of an Indian city are of the most abstract kind, and will fit any one of the existing concretes—as well as any other. The churches, the mosques, and the Hindu temples may, very naturally, be regarded as significant symbols of the three great periods into which the history of India divides itself; but our imagination lags a long way behind M. Pavie, when he selects a palki, a fakir, and a brahmani bull as representations of the same periods. Perhaps he means only that there is

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present a member of each of the three races who have successively held sway in India, the Hindu, the Mussulman, and the European. But why a Frenchman in a palki should be regarded as very appropriately symbolical of the English rule in India, or a Mussulman beggar should be the chosen figure of Mohammedan conquest and dominion, does, we confess it, puzzle us considerably. The brahmani bull is all very well; though we suspect that the gilding of his horns is the Frenchman's work; and it never happened to us to see the Hindu young ladies caressing the humped back (le dos bossu) of one of these animals. Indeed, we think it would be a feat somewhat difficult of accomplishment, and requiring a somewhat abnormal development of the brachial organs. We are not aware that in India blindness is deemed an indispensable qualification for an aspirant to the office of Muezzin, though we have read that it is in some other countries, and it has never been our luck to see a pagoda with a portico.

Our author next treats us to a dissertation on the costumes, and especially the turbans, which distinguish the different Indian races, which he closes thus:—

"Another mark will indicate to you, whether the Hindu* 'who passes by you is a Mohammedan or an idolator. The 'latter crosses his tunic on the right side, in order to allow 'the sacramental cord, suspended over his left shoulder, to 'float freely: the former hooks his tunic on the side 'of the heart. But were he naked, the Pagan Hindu will be 'betrayed by some symbolical mark painted on his forehead, 'his breast, or his arms. It is also his custom to unfasten and 'shake out to the open air, even under the burning sun, his long 'hair greased with cocoa-nut oil; the Mussulman, on the other 'hand, always conceals his shaven head under the folds of the 'turban, or the skull-cap of white cotton."

That Hindus, when they do wear tunics, button them on the right side, and Mussulmans on the left, is quite true; but as to the reason here assigned for the practice of the former, it does not seem to us to be valid. At most, it could apply only to the Brahmans, who alone ordinarily wear the paita. Moreover, we should think that this paita, passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, would be more likely to "float freely," were the buttons removed to the left side. The fact seems to be, that the Hindus borrowed the tunic from the Mohammedans, and altered the form of it merely to distinguish

* M. Pavie uses the term Hindu as a national epithet, including both Pagans and Mohammedans. It is more usual to use it as a religious designation, implying all those who profess the Hindu religion.

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them from those of the other creed. It will be new to most of our Indian readers to be told that Hindus always wear long hair, and that Mussulmans always have their heads shaved. Few people are long in India without seeing the dandified khidmutgars of European houses, with their hair hanging in long ringlets over their shoulders; and it is not generally very long ere they come into contact with a pandit, with the bright effulgence of his scalp relieved only by the tuft of hair on the crown, resembling precisely the scalping tuft of the American Indians, but they would be considerably in error if they concluded that the former was a Hindu and the latter a Mussulman.

The next subject on which our author touches, is that of the professions of the people of India. He tells us that all the professions of advanced civilization are represented in India, and that caste renders these hereditary. "Yet" (says he) "the 'unclassed individuals (les individus declassés), who are neither 'land-holders, nor merchants, nor artizans, nor cultivators, nor 'kings, nor porters, form two great divisions (deux grand caté-'gories), the sepoys and the munshis, or as they may be called '(comme qui dirait) the men of the sword, and the men of the 'pen." We had always, in our ignorance, imagined that there *was* a hereditary caste of warriors, and another of writers; but we must hasten to blot out the terms *kshetrya* and *kayastha* from our vocabulary. To us, deeply pondering on this pregnant sentence, there occurred a thought which we humbly presume the world "will not willingly let die." It seems that the two professions of civilization that this country wants, are men of the pen and men of the sword; and hence, according to the principle of compensation, the East India Company have been led to send out men to supply the deficiency, civilians and soldiers, *comme qui dirait*, writers and cadets. But if we might venture to correct so accurate a writer, we would suggest that the list he gives of the classes that exist, indicates a still wider blank. One of the professions of an advanced civilization is that of the physician; but physicians are neither land-holders, nor merchants, nor citizens, nor cultivators, nor kings nor porters; and hence the necessity for the Honorable East India Company's Medical Department. In most civilized communities there is a class of men set apart for the teaching of religion; but these are not comprehended in the classes enumerated by M. Pavie, hence the origin of the Ecclesiastical Establishment. There are no sailors, and hence the Indian Navy has been called into being. We hope M. Pavie will receive the suggestion of an addition to "the crying wants

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of India," as it was previously to the commencenent of our rule, with all the attention that, we feel assured, it richly merits.

But we must follow our author in his description of the second of his unclassed classes. It is somewhat long, but we do not think our readers will regard it as tedious:—

"The second (the munshis) have for their characteristic 'the peaceful pen-case, similar to the ink-stand, which the 'Copts of Egypt push into the folds of their girdle. The 'munshi is a valuable man. Have you a letter to write in 'beautiful Persian character,—a letter with very little matter 'in it, as is customary in the East, but which must abound in 'flattering metaphors and anxious wishes? The fine reed-'pen, which moves under the nimble fingers of the native, will 'trace the characters as by magic. Do you wish to learn 'the language of the country? The countenance of the 'munshi is lighted up with joy. With spectacles on nose, and 'a roll of paper under his arm, he approaches you with the 'mild and polished air of a needy *savant*. His feet bare—'he has left his slippers at the door—the turban over his eyes—'he sits upon a chair with the embarrassment of a man accus-'tomed to fold his legs under him, and the lesson begins. The 'munshi is not deficient in knowledge; he speaks and writes, 'indifferently well, three or four languages; but as he has 'learned them all, his own included, by rote, it is exceeding-'ly difficult for him to teach them with any method. Fortu-'nately, the lesson degenerates into conversation; the munshi, 'changing places with his pupil, graciously allows himself to 'be questioned; and, provided the interviews are continued 'for some months, one knows enough to make himself under-'stood by the servants—who speak English. In short, the 'munshi will teach you many things which are not in the 'books. For example, he will tell you that the Government 'of the Honorable Company is very much liked by the '*natives*, except in four particulars:—stamped paper—the in-'terference of the state with that part of the code which 'respects women—the tax which is imposed on all lands and 'tenements—and the employment of the Persian language 'in all the courts of justice. The Hindu, who is fond of 'money, is well aware that the result of a law-suit is always 'doubtful, and he scruples to incur the expense of a sheet of 'stamped paper of the enormous price of one franc, sixty 'cents. Was justice less costly under the nawabs? Then 'again is it an evil that the English law prevents a Hindu 'husband from retaining by force the wife that demands to be

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'separated from him? The question of taxes is one that 'is not easily judged of in any country;—and as to the em-'ployment of a uniform language in the courts of justice—'be it Persian or Hindustani—it is a measure whose object 'is to give more unity to this vast country, composed of so 'different elements. On taking the place of the Great Mogul, 'the Company has undertaken to rule as he did—and more 'than he did—over all India; and as Islamism had penetrated 'everywhere, and as Persian was the language of the nawabs, 'it became natural that the new Government should adopt this 'prevalent idiom. These are questions of detail; yet it is easy 'to see that they touch the natives in their prejudices and inter-'ests. It matters little to the Hindu what master governs him, '*clitellas dum portem meas;* but he shrinks from the taxation 'which lays hold upon a share of the gains of his toilsome 'occupation. He is attached to the dialect of his district; 'and he dislikes laws which restrict the omnipotence of the 'master of the house, the *pater familias* of Indian society."

This is a long extract; but we do not think that our readers would have wished us to break off a single sentence short of the end. Indeed, we wish that we could fill our tri-mensial two hundred and fifty pages with matter that is so sure to amuse and instruct them. This is altogether a masterly and life-like sketch. To make it complete, we should mention that we learn from the sentence following our extract, that the original is a Mussulman, and that he is employed as a school-master, and a public writer, and as a secretary to the Mussulman princes. No wonder, though the conversation of so important a personage should be a rich treat; and such it assuredly is. In these days, when the Charter discussions are going on, and while it may still not be too late to make grievances known in the proper quarter, we cannot but wish that our author had been a little more explicit in stating the four grounds of offence of our honorable masters. As to the stamped paper, it is clear enough. Litigation is to the Hindu the staff of life, and a tax upon it is to him a tax upon daily bread; but what the munshi refers to when he speaks of "the interference of the state with that part of the code which relates to women," as explained by our author's commentary, that "the 'English law prevents a Hindu husband from retaining, by force, 'a wife that demands to be separated from him," and, again, that the laws "restrict the omnipotence of the *pater-familias*"—we cannot for the life of us make out. If he had said just the opposite, and had told us that the law prevents the co-religionist of the munshi from abandoning the wife whom he

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wishes to discard, and obliges him to maintain her, then we could have made something of it; but as it stands, it baffles us altogether. As to the third ground of complaint, we are made painfully to feel the pitiableness of our exile in this remote land, cut off from all sources of recent intelligence. We have heard that a worthy clergyman in St. Kilda, though a staunch Protestant, was found praying most devoutly for His most gracious Majesty, William the Fourth, after his august niece had been a full year and day on the throne; but that was nothing in comparison with our ignorance of the state of matters. The very ink in our pen blushes to record the confession, that for the last fourteen years we have been under the impression that the Persian had been superseded by the Vernacular dialects of the several provinces, in the proceedings of the Courts. But of course they know better in Paris. How touching, too, is the candour of our munshi, who, as a scholar and a Persian writer, must have an interest in the continuance of the Persian system, yet who is quite eager to make it known that it is universally unpopular. Ah! if the world were peopled with such men, we should have eldest sons pleading for the abolition of the privileges of primogeniture, and bishops lending the influence of their lawn to a measure for the equalization of livings, and lawyers of all grades combining to excogitate a plan for simplifying and expediting the administration of justice, and agriculturists eloquent for the abolition of protection, and Irishmen entreating to be allowed to pay the income tax. Seriously, however, we should not pass over the good feeling that M. Pavie displays in vindicating the English Government from the imaginary charges preferred against it by his imaginary munshi. It is in pleasing and creditable contrast with the feeling displayed by some of his countrymen towards that Government, and toward all that is English; and we thank him for it.

As a companion to the sketch of the munshi, our author next presents us with a portrait of the pandit. It is painted in a much tamer style than the preceding. Indeed, it is not very different from what an artist *who had been in India* might have painted. But still, that our readers may be in possession of the *pair*, we shall present them with it also:—

"The pandit is a Brahman: he has studied the sacred books,
'the religious legends, the philosophical treatises. In the
'service of the rajas he fills the office of spiritual director,
'leaving to the *purohit* (the family priest) that of sacrificer
'and officiating priest. In the large towns he devotes himself
'to teaching; it is he who transmits from generation to genera-

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‘ tion the knowledge of the Vedic doctrines ; he it is who has ‘ transcribed, with a reed-pen, so many valuable manuscripts ‘ on palm leaves, and has thus preserved to our day the monu- ‘ ments of a literature more ancient than that of Greece. The ‘ pandit is, in truth, a man of letters. In the libraries founded ‘ at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, by the Asiatic Societies, ‘ he is employed in revising the texts and arranging them. ‘ When the printing of a Sanskrit work is in hand, the editors ‘ find in him a conscientious and competent corrector. Devoted ‘ to study by condition and duty, the pandit is content with ‘ a moderate salary. Though very proud of his knowledge, ‘ he scarcely seeks to be appreciated, and finds in the work ‘ which he accomplishes the greatest reward of his labor. His ‘ conceit is flattered by the anxiety which Europeans display ‘ to study the languages of his country, and the systems of belief ‘ of which he is himself the representative. For the strangers ‘ who make use of his services, he has neither hatred nor affec- ‘ tion, but contempt, which he knows how to dissemble to ‘ suit his own purposes. The pandit is, above all, a Brahman ‘ who holds by the privileges of his order. Provided he can exert ‘ his influence over the minds of men, provided that in his ‘ person honor be done to the man of letters and the theologian, ‘ he submits to the foreign occupation without a murmur.”

This, as we have said, is but a tame sketch in comparison with the other, and seems to have been abstracted from the portfolio of some *Indian* artist. Certainly, it exhibits little of M. Pavie’s usual brilliancy of coloring.

The next subject that attracts our attention is the description of the pilgrimages of the natives of India to certain places of sanctity. There is nothing in Chaucer to be compared with the following:—

“In this immense extent of country—” extending from Ceylon to the peaks of the Himalaya—“how many places there ‘ are, which are celebrated by the poets, towards which a crowd ‘ wends its way in pilgrimage! These families, which travel ‘ slowly in small chariots drawn by bullocks—these old Brah- ‘ mans with white beards, who march in the dust—each with ‘ an antelope skin upon his back—these horsemen, with fine ‘ moustaches, who trot along on their pretty little horses, the ‘ buckler dangling from their shoulder, the sabre from their ‘ girdle—these bands of poor people, singing and crying at ‘ the pitch of their voices, who drag themselves along from ‘ village to village, with no baggage but a cocoa-nut, in which ‘ they collect the rice that they beg from door to door—these ‘ troops of laborers and petty merchants, who lead weary

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‘ children by the hand, or carry them astride on their necks—
‘ all this crowd proceeds to plunge with enthusiasm into the
‘ waters of the Jumna or the Ganges.”

Brahmans with white beards! Brahmans clothed in skin! These are new ideas to us.* So is also that of a Hindu, or indeed any Asiatic, *trotting*. How we wish that M. Pavie had recorded the conversation of some of his groups! If he had done them but half the justice that he does to that of the munshi, he would have thrown Chaucer into the shade entirely.

After a detailed description of the fair or méla at Hardwar, which occurs, so he tells us—at the vernal equinox once in twelve years!—by an easy transition, our author passes on to enquire into the condition of the natural rulers of the people. “ They live,” (says he, truly and well,) “ even they, as their fa-
‘ thers lived, and yet, to say the truth, they exist not. I know no
‘ spectacle more sad than these rajas, these nabobs, whose arms
‘ are bound, and before whom men bow down, saying, *Hail, O king.*” A sad spectacle truly, and one which it were scarcely right to introduce into an article written in the vein of the present. Before leaving the subject altogether, we may just mention, that the only two of these “ puppet-kings” whom our author specifies, are the Emperor of Delhi, and *Runjit Singh!*

The mention of these “ monarchs without authority,” (amongst whom, as we have just stated, he includes Runjit Sing,) with their state and display, leads our author to a dissertation on the elephant, the camel and the horse, in which he shows a good deal of ingenuity; and then he gives a description of cheeta-hunting; and then he passes on to an account of the musk-doe and the black bear of Kashmir; and so he passes out of India; and on the confines we take our leave of M. Pavie, from whose article we have really derived much amusement and some instruction. Of the amusement we have endeavoured to make our readers partakers, of the instruction the sum amounts, as nearly as we can estimate it, to this, that if a man wishes to write well upon a subject, his chances of succeeding will be none the less, if the subject be one about which he knows a little.

And now we must pass “ from lively to severe,” from the Magazine article, to the two-volume work, from M. Pavie to

* It is quite true that amongst the Sanyassis, whom M. Pavie is here attempting to describe, there are some Brahmans, or, to state the matter more correctly, men who have been Brahmans. These men allow their beards to grow, and wear the antelope’s or leopard’s skin. But this, not in their Brahmanical capacity. In fact, the life of a Sanyassi is incompatible with the duties of a Brahman, and the Brahman who becomes a Sanyassi, *ipso facto* relinquishes all the privileges of his caste.

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the Baron B. de Penhoën, and from the style of good-natured banter to that of earnest examination as to the truth or falsehood of charges advanced against one of the most important institutions in the world. First of all we would enter our protest against a practice that cannot be too strongly reprobated, of which the work before us affords an instance. On the outer cover, the author is styled *Representant du peuple*, and the date of the publication is given as 1850; but in the proper title-page there is no such "handle" to the author's name, and the date of publication is 1844. This is not difficult to account for. The book was published in 1844, but the copies remained unsold. In 1850 the agitation about the renewal of the Company's Charter began in England, and the interest taken in Indian affairs by the people of England, and communicated in some degree to intelligent men on the continent of Europe, was greatly encreased. Advantage was taken of this enhanced interest, in order to dispose of a few copies of the Baron's still-born work; a new cover was printed, and the book was re-issued as a fresh publication. It may be said that there is no great harm in this; that a book written in 1844 might be just as good as one written in 1850. But to this we reply that, at all events, the thing is *a lie*, a false pretence to induce people to buy what they would not otherwise have bought. But, besides this, we maintain that while a book written in 1850 might have been quite *as bad* as any written in 1844—no one written in 1844 could, by possibility, be *so good*, for the purpose of giving its readers a correct view of the present state of India, as one that *might have* been written in 1850. Independently of the actual changes that took place in the interval, it is no small matter that a great deal of information was accessible at the later date, which was not at the former. Were there nothing else—we say it, not by way of boasting, but as a simple fact, directly bearing on the point in hand—it was something, that between the beginning of 1844 and the end of 1850, there were issued no fewer than fourteen volumes of the *Calcutta Review*, containing, we must be allowed to say, a larger amount of correct information respecting the peculiarities of the Indian Government, and the condition of the people under the British rule, than the Baron B. de Penhoën, in 1844, had collected from all sources put together. We hope the fraud is entirely the work of the publishers, and that the Baron was not cognizant of its perpetration.

From the Preface we learn that the work now before us is a sequel to a previous work by the same author, a history of the conquest of India by England; and this work seems to

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have been in six octavo volumes. The present work is a natural and necessary supplement to the former.

To give our readers a general idea, at the outset, of the spirit in which the work before us is composed, we shall present them with a short extract from the preface :—

"The English, on landing in India, were concerned with 'one sole interest, that of commerce; they proposed to themselves but one end to their policy, that of peace. But wars 'speedily give birth to wars, conquests are continually added 'to conquests. Scarcely have they ceased to find themselves 'under the protection of their cannons around Madras and 'Calcutta, when their chief care is not to extend their dominion, but rather to contract it; and yet an irresistible force 'impels them, drags them, bears them on, in some sort, 'beyond the limit which they designed to maintain. It is 'because the English genius had found there a field so favorable to its development, that nothing could arrest, or even 'retard it. The West and the East once brought face to 'face under the power of certain conditions, it was impossible 'that the former should not triumph over the latter. The 'one could not but absorb the other by the mere force of attraction. The princes of the East, with their want of foresight and their childishness, could not come into contact with 'the British constancy and tenacity, without being broken to 'pieces—the glass against the brass.

"In all that relates to the consolidation of their rule, the 'English see their efforts equally frustrated, but in the 'opposite direction. The best, or rather the only possible 'foundation for this rule, would be the happiness of the people 'who are subject to it; what it has hitherto effected is their 'misery, their ruin, their desolation. England is wrong in all 'her calculations, she is disappointed in all her expectations, she 'cannot wish any thing without immediately realizing the 'opposite thing. She proposes, for example, the reform of a 'judiciary organization which is repugnant to her European 'ideas, and the result is the destruction, the annulment, of all 'justice, and the consignment of millions of men to despotism, 'violence and oppression. She proposes a corresponding reform in the financial administration, and she takes from a 'people, already miserable beyond all expression, their last 'morsel of bread, their last grain of rice. She has a fancy to 'create off-hand, for Bengal, a territorial aristocracy, and she 'destroys utterly an aristocracy already existing, which she 'throws, poor and plundered, into the bosom of the multitude, 'with which its remains must be mingled. She tries at Madras to

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‘ introduce a proprietary democracy, and the result is a violent,
‘ oppressive, brutal aristocracy. She wishes to introduce into
‘ the Indo-British army the same discipline which has been to
‘ her worth so many victories—she destroys the *warrior-spirit*,
‘ (l’ esprit guerrier) that formerly characterized it, without sub-
‘ stituting for it the *soldier-spirit*, (l’ esprit soldatesque.) The
‘ affection of the soldiers for their chiefs had been hitherto the
‘ spirit, the soul, the bond of that army ; she seems to take plea-
‘ sure in wounding, in crushing this sentiment. She makes
‘ for herself secret but ardent enemies of those Indian warriors,
‘ who, during a century, have poured out their blood for her on
‘ numberless battle-fields. The distinctive qualities of the
‘ English genius are all turned in opposition to the work of
‘ England. The perseverance, the constancy which drives
‘ the Englishman onward till he reaches the end of the path
‘ on which he has entered, here become mournful. The na-
‘ tional ignorance and prejudices have placed him in a position
‘ where he cannot fail to perfect the ruin of the conquered
‘ population.”

This is the enunciation of the general proposition, which it is the grand design of the Baron B. de Penhoën, throughout his two volumes, to establish ; and the establishment of the proposition he effects, to his own satisfaction, by the usual process of collecting together all the faults that have ever been found with the details of the Company’s administration, and most determinedly ignoring all that has ever been said in its vindication or commendation. This is unfair in every way, in itself, and doubly so, in as much as he culls his charges from books of old date, and represents all the evils charged, as if they actually applied to either the real or the fictitious date of his book, whereas many of the evils had been remedied before 1844, and many more before 1850.

As to the omissions, we may notice that there is not a single word said about the public works constructed under the auspices of the Company ; not a single allusion is made to the existence of the educational department ; no reference is made to the fact, which we hold to be incontrovertible, of the gradual change of the sentiments of the people generally respecting the character of the English and their rule. All these are matters of very considerable moment, and the omission of all reference to them, whether proceeding from intention or ignorance, must vitiate any conclusion derived from other facts as to the character of the British rule, and its bearing upon the interests of the people subject to it.

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It is customary for writers like-minded with the Baron B. de Penhoën, to contrast the niggardly expenditure of the British Government for objects of general utility, with the munificent outlay of some of the Mohammedan sovereigns. But in these comparisons it is always forgotten that the works of the Mohammedan emperors, although they might eventually prove public benefits, were invariably undertaken for private and purely selfish ends. A hundred miles of road were made, and planted on either side with trees, and the ultimate result was that the people might travel on the road and be shaded by the trees; but the sole object of the making of the one, and the planting of the other, was the comfort of the emperor himself. A noble serai was built at an enormous cost, and it became available for the accommodation of travellers; but its original intention was simply the accommodation of the emperor; and so as to tanks, wells, and all the public works of the Mohammedan dynasty. So far as we know, it would be impossible to point to a single public work, undertaken by a Mohammedan sovereign of India, with a view to the comfort or good of the people; although we are quite willing to admit that the people have ultimately profited by the works which these sovereigns undertook for the purpose of ministering to their own luxury. It cannot be denied that the public works of the English have been constructed purely for the accommodation and comfort of the people. The Government have been benefited indirectly, as in the case of the embankments of rivers, but it has been only by a small per-centage on the benefits reaped by the people themselves.

We are at war with the Government in respect to many points connected with their educational institutions, and we have no wish to compromise the strife; but it is a simple fact, that more money is spent on these institutions, and spent more judiciously, than would be spent by any other power, European or Asiatic, under which India could possibly have been placed; and we submit that it is altogether unfair and dishonest for an author, writing in 1844, and still more for one professing to write in 1850, to pass over *sub silentio* the educational efforts of the government. If our author had shown that these efforts are too limited in extent, and to a considerable extent mis-directed, (if the object be the intellectual, moral and spiritual elevation of the people submitted to the sway of Great Britain,) he should have had us as willing, and we trust not ineffective, allies; but we must protest that the account which professes to give a fair statement of the relation which subsists between the

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Government and the people, and which leaves wholly out of view the educational operations of the former, is wholly deceptive and untrue.

As to the estimation in which the English are held by the natives, we believe that there is no man who has ever been in India, that will not bear testimony, that the latter, *as a body*, entertain very exalted notions as to the intellectual and moral character of the former *as a body*. That there are individuals amongst the natives, who are in the habit of bringing sweeping charges against the Europeans, and representing them as stained with every possible or conceivable crime, is most true. But if the accusers be cross-questioned, it will be generally found that the charges resolve themselves into little more than this, that the Europeans have no objection to a well-cooked beef-steak, if the accuser be a Hindu, or that they have not, generally, any very deep-rooted abhorrence of a slice of ham and turkey, if he be a Mussulman. Then again it is equally true, and most deeply to be deplored, that there are individual Europeans against whom the natives in their neighbourhood bring charges of immorality, which are in general well founded. But there are exceptions on either side; and whoever states, as the Baron B. de Penhoën states, and repeats again, and again, and again, that the natives generally entertain a bad opinion of the Europeans generally, he states what is decidedly untrue. Why, we have ourselves known the natives of a district buy up the furniture of a Collector who was about to leave them, at enormous prices, in order that they might have some thing in their possession that had belonged to him; and although this may be an unusual case, it is nothing unusual for the people of a district to feel a firm and impregnable conviction, that the European Magistrate, or Judge, or Collector, will certainly do them justice, if their case come before him on its merits. Now this, we assert, is a new idea altogether infused into the native mind, which for many generations had never formed the conception of abstract justice, or of the mere merits of a case having any influence at all in determining the decision of its judicial arbitrator.

So much as to what our author omits altogether; let us now advert briefly to the positive charges that he brings against our Government. The first is, that they have extended their territories. This, as a mere assertion, is indisputable, and our author is sufficiently correct, in so far as merely secondary causes are concerned, in accounting for it. "It is because the English genius has found here a field so favourable to its development that nothing can arrest or even retard it." As a simple statement

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of facts, this is sufficiently true; but in so far as it is intended as the foundation of a charge against our nation of an inordinate desire for territorial acquisition, it becomes virtually and practically untrue. We have never lent ourselves to the advocacy of the theory, that because the British power is paramount in India, it is entitled, by fair means or foul, to absorb all inferior powers, and swallow up their territories. Nor do we say that every "annexation" has been justified by absolute necessity at the precise time at which it has taken place; but still, call it by what name you like,—the genius of England if you look at the secondary means, or the over-ruling Providence of God if you will look at the higher cause,—an irresistible necessity has led to our successive conquests. We say not this by way of justifying the aggressive spirit. The disasters of Cabul are quite sufficient to read us a lesson that our genius has its limits, that Providence may lead us, but will not be led by us; and there is no truth that we would more constantly have impressed upon our Government than this, that the acquisition of more territory is ever to be regarded as an evil which must be bravely encountered, when the alternative comes upon us of choosing between this and a greater evil, rather than as a good, which should be sought for on its own account.

The next charge that our author brings against the English is, that in their attempts to reform a judiciary organization, repugnant to their European ideas, they have destroyed all justice, and consigned millions of men to despotism, violence and oppression. Now we are perfectly well aware that there are defects in the judiciary organization of the Company, and these defects we have no desire to disguise or to palliate. Our own opinion certainly is, that a more summary process, both in criminal prosecutions and in civil suits, would afford at least as good a prospect of substantial justice being done, and certainly at less cost to plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, and all parties concerned. But to say that the substitution of the Company's Courts for the old native courts has had the effect that our author attributes to it, is simply to say what is not true. But how does the Baron B. de Penhoën contrive to make out this heinous charge? By as singular a concatenation of mis-statements, we venture to assert, as were ever collected in an equal amount of space. Let us just give a specimen or two. In describing the Judges' Courts, our author informs us, that "formerly the pleadings were in 'Persian or Hindostani, at the option of the parties; but of 'late *English has superseded these two languages!* The wit-

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‘ nesses are interrogated, examined *vivâ voce* in public. Their ‘ answers, formerly in the two languages just mentioned, but ‘ now in English, are immediately reduced to writing.” Why, M. Pavie’s munshi was nothing at all to this! As to the proceedings of the Sudder Adawlut Nizamut, we are informed that they are similar in all points to those followed in the Criminal Courts in England! We sometimes see in the Calcutta auction catalogues, an entry of this kind: No. 1547, “ A Plated Candlestick;” No. 1548 “ Ditto to match, differing.” To what extent the articles in question “ match,” and to what extent they “ differ,” we do not know; but we should imagine that between the Criminal Courts of England and those of India, there is considerably more difference than resemblance. Our readers will scarcely believe, and yet we assure them that it is simply true, that our author evidently believes that the Governor-General and his Council are still the Judges of the Sudder Court!

But the ground on which our author mainly rests the charge under consideration, is the exorbitant claims of the Supreme Court. He gives in detail the whole of the “ tame elephant” controversy; and quotes at great length from Mr. Shore, (whom, by the way, he imagines to be Sir John Shore) regarding the mode in which the Supreme Courts of the several Presidencies sought to annihilate the jurisdiction of the Company’s Courts altogether; and *this* is the “ despotism, violence, and oppression,” to which he declares that the millions of the people of this country are consigned. We have no reason to suppose that he is not quite honest in believing that this state of things continues still; but there is a degree of ignorance which, in a historian or a political writer, is not less culpable than dishonesty itself, and we do think that our author has reached that limit.

As to the settlement of the land revenue, which our author asserts to have produced such disastrous consequences, we are forced to admit, what has been again and again asserted in our pages, that in many respects it is far from being satisfactory. But that the exorbitance of the tax has been the means of ruining the body of native gentry, we most distinctly and emphatically deny. That there have been large numbers of sales of zemindaries for default of payment of revenue, is quite true; and it is to be supposed that no zemindar would permit his property to be brought to the hammer, if he had the means of satisfying the claims of the Collector. But we venture to assert, that, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, this inability arises, not from the excessiveness of the

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land tax, but from the foolish extravagance of the zemindars. We know that it is not unusual for a family, who are deeply in debt to Government, and perfectly aware that the sale of their estates will be the result unless the debt be discharged, to expend a sum upon the debaucheries of the *durgá pujá*, which, if paid into the hands of the Collector, would have extricated them from all their difficulties. The credit of the family for liberality was at stake on the one hand, the existence of the family was at stake on the other; and if they have deliberately chosen to incur real annihilation, rather than undergo imaginary disgrace, who shall blame the Government that, in such cases, enforces its claims? We feel a real sympathy for the ancient aristocracy of a country rushing on to ruin; but it is a law enacted by a power infinitely higher than that of the East India Company, that the profligate aristocracy that will not be reformed, must perish. This law is in operation in poor Ireland, and it is in operation in India; and in both countries it is not unusual to ascribe its results to other causes than the real ones. There is no zemindar who does not draw from his ryots enough to pay the Government revenue, and to maintain his own family in a station suited to his position; and if many will squander the money that ought to be applied to these purposes, the ultimate result is as certain as the fall of an unsupported stone to the ground.

It may seem superfluous to point out single instances of misrepresentation in a book where misrepresentation is the rule rather than the exception; but it may be well to give a single example, as a fair sample of the whole. The following is a literal translation of one of our author's paragraphs:—

"The prejudices of the castes, with reference to marriages,
' has occasioned the employment of another method [of realizing
' the revenue] still more powerful. The castes, as has been
' often said, are sub-divided into numerous tribes. These,
' when they are on a footing of equality, form alliances
' with each other quite naturally. At the same time marriage
' is not prohibited between tribes, provided the inequality be-
' tween them be not too great. It is only necessary that the
' inequality be compensated by certain advantages on the one
' side. Thus marriages, in India as elsewhere, may give occa-
' sion for all sorts of calculations of interest and selfishness.
' When the daughters of the superior tribes contract alli-
' ances with the men of inferior tribes, the dowry compen-
' sates for the social inferiority; but it is the dowry of primi-
' tive times, that payed by the husband to the family of the
' bride, in short, the price of the wife. But the genius of

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'fiscality (le genie de la fiscalité) has contrived to turn all this 'to account. A man of a high tribe is in arrears; he has, at 'the same time, a marriageable daughter. The exchequer '(le fisc) puts its hand on an individual of an inferior tribe— 'often much inferior—and proposes him, or rather imposes 'him, as a son-in-law on the defaulter, on condition always of 'his paying a considerable sum as the dowry of his wife, the 'amount being in proportion to the inferiority of his tribe. 'But as it is the exchequer, and not the father, that has, in fact, 'effected the marriage, the exchequer, like an excellent logician, 'and not the father, fingers the dowry. Moreover, if there 'remains any surplus after the arrears are paid, even that 'will not go to the profit of the father, but to that of the ex-'chequer agent (l'agent du fisc). It is the reward of his cares 'and his negotiations."

The authority given for this statement is "*Shore, t. II., p.* 186." This reference, like most of the others, is incorrect; but we have found, after some search, the passage intended to be referred to, and discovered, as we had expected, that this practice, instead of being imputed to "the exchequer," is represented as a trick resorted to by the native tahsildars. Mr. Shore adds, indeed, that some of the Collectors were well aware of the existence of such practices among their native subordinates, and that they winked at them, because they knew that they could not effectually prevent them.

As to the constitution of our native army, it seems to us a matter of little moment to enquire whether it is the warrior-spirit or the soldier-spirit that animates our troops. One thing is certain, that hitherto they have been found capable of accomplishing the various tasks assigned to them, and that those who have seen most of their conduct in the past, have every confidence in their ability to meet all future demands that are likely to be made upon them.

And now we have done with the Baron B. de Penhoën. The chief characteristics of his book are presumptuous ignorance, —rendered all the more striking by its assuming the guise of a deep philosophy,—and deep-rooted malignity, which it is vainly attempted to hide under the cobweb veil of affected candour.

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ART. III.—*Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government—No. IX. Report on the Teak Forests of the Tenasserim Provinces. By H. Falconer, M. D. F. R. S., Superintendent of the Honorable Company's Botanical Gardens, Calcutta; with other papers on the Teak Forests. Calcutta*, 1852.

WHEN once Forest Laws had ceased to be really Game Laws of a most oppressive description—when the old feudal sense of the term had nearly passed away, and the nation, rapidly developing its mercantile instincts, had become a maritime power of importance, it might have been expected that the Administration of the Department of Woods and Forests would have called forth attention, and that the very favor with which the wooden walls, which formed her strength, pride, and defence, were regarded, would have ensured that the oaken preserves, from which her fleets were supplied, met with the utmost care, and were under the most efficient regulation. Such, however, appears never to have been the case in England. Whether it were owing to the circumstance that the Forest Laws were never wholly disembarrassed of their feudal combination with vexatious Game Laws, the royal forests being even now partially under this sort of complicated jurisdiction, or whether it were that the spread of commerce and colonization, by affording peculiar facilities for the timber trade, appeared to open up such inexhaustible sources of supply, that the value of the national woods, from their comparatively insignificant extent, seemed scarcely worth the trouble of being well looked after,—certain it is, that maritime England, whose vessels of war, afloat and in ordinary, amount to about six hundred and fifty, bearing an armament of eighteen thousand pieces of artillery, and whose vessels, engaged in her foreign and coasting trade, baffle all attempts at correct estimation, will not stand comparison in her forest administration with some of the Continental nations, who have, in reality, very inferior motives for the conservancy of their forests. Even her rival and neighbour, France, surpasses England in this respect; for, although, by the law of the 7th August, 1850, the alienation of forests, to the amount of 50,000,000 francs, was determined, and in the President's Budget of 1852, the Minister of Finance was, in accordance with that law, authorized to alienate forests to the amount of 15,000,000 francs; yet, it is well known that the state is only parting with its least valuable tracts, and that the civil, military, and naval constructions of the Empire

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are abundantly provided from the forests which remain under state management. Not so with the corresponding department of maritime England, whose "woods and forests" are become a proverb, whilst her dock-yards, in the matter of timber, as in almost all other points, betray an utter want of knowledge, forethought, economy, and system. One of the Parliamentary papers lately issued, tells its own story. Let it be remembered, that the number of vessels, afloat and in ordinary, is a known quantity; that the number of vessels on the stocks is also so; and that to the number of the new vessels, the construction of which is likely to be undertaken in any one year, whether of peace or war, a pretty correct approximation can be made—bearing these few simple facts in mind, look at the fluctuating amount of contracts for the supply of English oak timber to the Admiralty. In February, 1840, an agreement is made for 24,000 loads of timber; then it is reduced to 16,000; but, ultimately, a contract is made in 1841, for 13,812 loads; in 1843, for 20,000; in 1845, for only 2,625 loads; in 1846, for 20,000; in 1847, for 800 to 1,000; in 1848, for 5,000; in 1849, for 940; and in 1850, for 16,500 loads. Oscillations in the annual supply from 800 to 24,000 loads in times of peace, can only originate, either from want of system and ordinary arrangement, or else from gross jobbery. Where, however, an annual expenditure of from £5,200 to £156,000, for the single item, English oak, takes place in the dock-yards, over and above the value of the oak received from the Department of Woods and Forests, there would have been no harm in such a management of the latter, as should have secured that the cost of the oak from the King's Forests, instead of averaging £8-12-7 per load, should have been no higher than the average contract cost of £6-6 per load. In spite of the ominous forebodings of many, and the preparations of Napoleon III., we may still indulge the hope that "Britannia rules the Waves," but that she rules her dock-yards, or the fifteen royal forests, very few would be bold enough to assert. If the helmed Lady can, however, for a few minutes, lay aside her spear and shield, and dip into the volume whose title is given at the head of this article, she may derive some little consolation from the discovery, that her worthy progeny, Anglo-India, like a dutiful daughter, follows in the wake of so revered a parent, evincing no intention, by the display of a precocious and invidious wisdom, of shaming Madam Mother-Country.

We have been led into this digression from the fortuitous circumstance, that much about the same time that Lord Dun-

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can was engaged in the agreeable task of exposing to the House of Commons the misrule and mismanagement prevalent in the Department of Woods and Forests, Dr. Falconer and Mr. W. R. Baillie appear to have been at work, drawing up Reports and compilations upon the subject of the teak forests of the Tenasserim Coast. Neither of these gentlemen, it is true, had exactly the same object in view that animated Lord Dun-can; this, from their positions, was not to be expected. Incidentally, however, they reveal a good deal more than they express, and as the Bengal Government has considerately published these gentlemen's papers for general information, accompanied by a summary of papers relating to the Madras and Bombay forests, the public is afforded an insight into the Anglo-Indian administration of its Department of "Woods and Forests." The publication of this collection of papers is therefore well-timed, both with respect to our new appropriation, Pegu, and also with regard to the increased attention which the English public is, at the present conjuncture, giving to all East Indian affairs. For Pegu it is important that, at the moment when its elastic and indefinite boundary is made (conveniently enough) to comprise many a broad tract of goodly teak forest, the act of forest administration should be set forth, if not by an authoritative canon of successful administration, by the equally instructive warning of authentic failure; whilst, for England, it will be convenient to be furnished with an irrefragable instance of the amount of foresight and ability displayed by her Anglo-Indian administrators, superior and subordinate, in a department in which English management, as exemplified in the administration of the King's forests, has, in one sense, not only been rivalled, but surpassed.

Commencing then with the Madras and Bombay forests, the first in the order of time which came under the attention of the British authorities, we shall premise that the meaning of the compiler is not clear, when, alluding to the voluminous papers from these two Presidencies, he states that "the 'information they contain on the early history of the Madras 'and Bombay forests, is not so complete as that which has 'been obtained regarding the Tenasserim teak forests." Our earliest acquaintance with the latter forests only dates from the cession of the Tenasserim provinces under the treaty of Yandaboo, in 1826, and the reports of Dr. Wallich on the Salween and Attaran forests, in 1827; whereas our acquaintance with the Madras and Bombay teak forests is synchronous with that critical period, when the fall of Tippú made us masters in the South; and is therefore a good quarter of a

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century anterior to our conquests from Burmah, and our connection with the forests on the Tenasserim coast. Accordingly, so early as 1800, we find the Court of Directors authorizing the assumption of the sovereignty, as it was termed, of the forests which had fallen under our jurisdiction :—

"The principal forest districts are those of Malabar, ' Canara, Travancore and Gúzerat, on the Western Coast of ' the Peninsula of Hindostan. There are also, in the neigh- ' bourhood of Rajahmundry, on the eastern side of the Penin- ' sula, extensive forests, which stretch inland in a westerly ' direction, towards the territories of the Nizam. The abun- ' dant stores of excellent ship timber, which were supposed ' to exist in the Malabar forests, very early attracted the ' notice of the Bombay Government, to which the province ' of Malabar was subject for some years after its acquisition. ' At first the forests were regarded as private property, but ' shortly after, there appeared ground for believing that, during ' the dominion of Tippú Sahib, the right of felling timber ' had been (as it was up to 1840, in the neighbouring coun- ' tries of Cochin and Travancore) an exclusively royal privilege. ' Accordingly, in August, 1800, the Court of Directors autho- ' rized the Bombay Government to assume this right on behalf ' of the East India Company. The province of Malabar, ' having, however, been made subordinate to the Presidency ' of Fort St. George, the Court's instructions remained some ' time without effect. In 1805, the Bombay Government, to ' which the control of the forests had been intermediately ' restored, appointed commissioners of survey to ascertain the ' limits of what might be considered public forests, and to ' distinguish them from groves and plantations forming part ' of private estates. In 1806 an officer was appointed con- ' servator, but it was not till the 20th April, 1807, that a pro- ' clamation was issued, asserting the Company's right of ' sovereignty over the forests, and forbidding the felling of ' the timber by private individuals."

This assumption of the sovereignty of the forests, or royalty, by the orders of the Court of Directors, was an arbitrary act, in imitation of their predecessor Tippú, a person whose examples they might have been slow and circumspect in following. Further on, at page 203, we read :—" On the sub- ' ject of royalty, Mr. Underwood states, that under the former ' Rajahs the trade was free, and the right of private indivi- ' duals unfettered, the owners of forests working them or not, ' as they pleased—the only interference by the ruling autho- ' rity being the levy of a small duty of about one rupee per

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'candy. When Tippú Sahib took possession of the province 'of Malabar, he, in the exercise of his rights as conqueror, 'annihilated this private right, and created the forests into a 'monopoly, working them himself. From Tippú's own state- 'ment, it appears that, by this measure, he gained a revenue 'of Rupees 90,000 annually, exclusive of charges. He, 'however, so far recognized the rights of the proprietors as to 'make them an allowance of two fanams per tree of ten inches 'diameter. Tippú appears to have first assumed the roy- 'alty of the forests in 1784-5, and it is argued that, on the 'cession of the country by him, the Company's Government 'acquired the same rights, and, in fact, on the transfer of the 'territory, did assume and temporarily exercise those rights, 'but afterwards threw open the trade, and levied a duty of 'two rupees per candy. The monopoly, however, was re-esta- 'blished, first by the proclamation of the Collector in 1806, 'which prohibited the felling and exportation of timber; and, 'secondly, in the proclamation of the Madras Government, 'dated 25th April, 1807, wherein the sovereignty of the forests 'was assumed, and all persons prohibited from cutting or des- 'troying trees, or young plants, under the penalty of being 'treated as plunderers."

Considering that Malabar was ceded to us by Tippú, on the 18th March, 1792, when only seven years had elapsed since, in the exercise of what he deemed the rights of conquest, all private forest rights had been abrogated by that unscrupulous ruler, time can scarcely be said to have established a prescriptive right to the continuance of a measure, the act of an arbitrary despot; and it seems passing strange that it should have been adopted by the Court of Directors, for good policy pointed to the expediency of contrasting our rule with Tippú's, in the lately ceded districts, by respect for well established rights, and a reversion to a more conciliatory mode of administration than that which he had so lately introduced. It is true that the compiler (page 178) asserts "that the instructions 'of the Court of Directors of August, 1800, show that their 'object was to receive a regular supply of timber for public 'purposes, from unappropriated lands, to which alone the pro- 'clamation was intended to apply,"—but as the words, in which the instructions were conveyed, are not quoted, the validity of this apology for the conduct of the Court of Directors cannot well be admitted; for it is clear, that those who received the orders in question, did not thus comprehend them, but carried them into execution with as wide a scope, and as general an application as Tippú himself could have done; and what

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is more, as militating strongly against this apology, they were long permitted, without check or hindrance, to act in conformity with their own reading of the instructions.

That the proclamation of 1807, which formed the basis of the conservator's authority, contained no definition of the term "sovereignty," and that the forests over which the sovereignty extended were not therein specified, appear but lame reasons for shifting responsibility from the shoulders of the Court of Directors and Bombay Government, to those of the conservator; particularly after having specially stated, that the rights which the Bombay Government were authorized to assume in behalf of the East India Company, were those which Tippú Sahib had exercised. A clearer and more matter-of-fact definition of the word "sovereignty" could not very well have been hit upon: and it is difficult to understand how, with such an unmistakeable comment on the meaning of this comprehensive term, the conservator can be alleged to have assumed much larger powers than were entrusted to him. Still more difficult is it to comprehend how, under the supposition that he had exceeded his powers, the conservator was not at once checked, instead of being allowed, for twelve years, to carry on operations which are thus described by the compiler.

"But the conservator, acting upon his own views on these 'points, succeeded, in a short time, in establishing a monopoly of 'all the timber of the two provinces of Malabar and Travan- 'core. He cut down and appropriated to the use of the Com- 'pany, not only the trees of the private forests, but even those 'growing on cultivated lands, paying revenue to Government, 'while the proprietor himself, unless expressly permitted by 'the conservator, was prevented from cutting a piece of wood 'on his own property, or removing the young seedling plants 'that were injuring his land. It does not clearly appear whe- 'ther any payment was made to the proprietor for the timber 'taken by the conservator from his estate, but he was obliged, 'nevertheless, to pay duty upon the timber growing upon his 'own property, when he made use of any of it for his own 'purposes. The trade in timber was almost annihilated, 'for even if the merchant could obtain the conservator's per- 'mission to purchase private timber not required by Govern- 'ment, he had no longer the same means of disposing of it, 'its exportation having been prohibited soon after the esta- 'blishment of the new system. Finally, the peasantry were 'deprived of the privilege of cutting wood for fuel and other 'ordinary purposes, a privilege which they had enjoyed from 'time immemorial, and which was stated to be particularly

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‘ prized in the rainy climate of Malabar, where large buildings ‘ are required by the peasants, for the protection of themselves ‘ and their property.”

It is clear, that measures of the kind here depicted, could not be carried on by the conservator for a dozen years, without the co-operation of other departments, and the sanction of superior authority ; and therefore we cannot approve of the attempt to cast the onus of such hyper-Tippú-an measures upon the luckless conservator, Captain Watson, whom the compiler would make, in lieu of the Court of Directors and the Local Government, a propitiatory sacrifice to the *odium publicum*. A revulsion came at last, however, in favor of the victims of this strain upon the “ royalty ” prerogative. The office of conservator, and the whole prohibitive system, not even excepting its operation in the forests which were indubitably Government property, were swept away in 1822, as inconsiderately and unconditionally as Tippú’s Forest Code had been adopted in 1800. Rajas and landholders recovered their ancient possessions, and permission being granted by Government, to any one, on the payment of a small duty, to fell and carry away timber *ad libitum*, there was a ten years’ run upon the forests, before Government began to apprehend that they had passed from one extreme to another, and that the profitless devastation of the forests was proceeding with a rapidity that, unless measures were promptly taken, must speedily “ issue (to use the compiler’s words) in the entire dissolution of the forests.”

In 1830, therefore, the reaction commenced. The Bombay Government called upon the Indian Navy Board to submit a report on the Malabar forests, with a view to arrangements being made for their preservation and improvement, and that body recommended the re-appointment of a conservator, “ whose ‘ attention should be solely devoted to the preservation of the ‘ forests, on the same principle as that part of the duty of the ‘ conservator was formerly exercised.” We have shewn what those principles had been, and how they were exercised ; it is therefore not very surprising that the Bombay Government took to consulting the Madras Government on the subject ;— nor is it more so, that the latter transferred the correspondence, in 1831, to their Board of Revenue, for “ consideration and report.” Having lodged the question safely with an Indian Board, where of course it slept securely for six years, that is, until 1837, we must now turn to the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, to trace what was doing about this time with the teak forests of our newly acquired possessions, the provinces lopped off in 1826 from the Burman Empire.

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In 1827, Dr. Wallich, the Superintendent of the Honorable Company's Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, having been deputed to examine and report upon the resources of the Tenasserim provinces generally, but especially upon their available supplies of timber, ascended the Salween and Attaran rivers, and after examining some of the forest tracts upon their banks, lost no time in submitting to Government the information he had collected, and the opinions he had formed.

Para 32.—" On the 25th April Dr. Wallich submitted his ' report to Government, and at the same time forwarded a ' copy of it to Sir Archibald Campbell, whose attention he ' called, particularly, to the value and importance of the teak ' timber resources of the province, and to the necessity of ' measures being adopted *by the Government*, for their preserva- ' tion and extension. On these subjects the opinions and sug- ' gestions of Dr. Wallich are especially deserving of notice, as ' they show that he foresaw how the forests would be exhaust- ' ed, by the very causes which afterwards produced that result. ' His views and suggestions will be found in the following ' paragraphs, which have been taken from his letter to Sir ' Archibald Campbell. After stating that the forests con- ' tained extensive supplies of excellent teak, which had been ' proved, by experiments, to be better adapted for gun-carriages ' than the teak of Malabar and Java, and that the country ' afforded very great natural facilities, by land and water, for ' transporting the timber to the seaports, Dr. Wallich wrote: ' 'No forest exists which can, with propriety, be called in- ' exhaustible,—at least none that is liable to constant and ' extensive demands for timber. The quantity of teak used ' for public purposes, both military and naval, is so great, and ' it will go on increasing to so great an extent, in proportion ' as new sources of supply are opened, that the Martaban ' forests, ample as they are, would be soon impoverished, ' unless they were placed under a vigilant and strict super- ' intendence, their supplies regulated with economy, and ' their extent gradually augmented. I hope I take a correct ' view of the case if I consider all the teak forests which ' grow in these provinces, as the exclusive property of the ' state, applicable only to public uses, and not to be interfer- ' ed with by any private individual whatever. Unless this ' principle be acted upon from the very outset, I will venture ' to predict that private enterprise will, very soon, render ' fruitless all endeavors to perpetuate the supplies for the ' public service, and one of the principal and most certain ' sources of revenue will thus he irrevocably lost. The most

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'important step towards establishing a proper system for the 'management of the forests, and without which all others can 'be of no avail, will be a public declaration to the above effect, 'strictly prohibiting all persons, not duly authorized, from cut- 'ting down any of the trees. But this done, the detail of the 'future management may be accomplished with comparatively 'trifling expense, and with little trouble.

"'In the first instance, it will be proper to cut down all the 'full-sized teaks as soon as ever it is possible, in order that a 'large consignment of valuable timbers might be speedily 'realized, and room afforded for supplying fresh additions to 'the number of trees in the forests. All the young and un- 'der-sized trees should be allowed to stand unmolested, and 'their growth facilitated; any individual among them which 'was found decayed, should be at once cut down. Every 'other description of trees, in the least interfering with the 'teak, ought to be removed, so far as this would be compatible 'with safety, with reference to the necessary shelter from high 'winds. The places vacated by all these thinnings and fell- 'ings, ought to be forthwith supplied by seedlings, which will 'spontaneously spring up under the teak trees in every direc- 'tion, and which should be allowed to grow up, only removing, 'from time to time, such among them as stand in the way of 'others, or do not promise to become good trees. I will go 'one-step further, and recommend that the limits of the na- 'tural forests themselves should be extended, and that some 'of the high tracts of land, so well adapted for the growth of 'teak, which are to be met with in such abundance along the 'rivers, should be converted into plantations. It may, at first 'sight, perhaps, appear premature to propose the adoption of 'an undertaking, the expediency of which is not supported by 'immediate urgency, and the ultimate benefit of which cannot 'be realized within half a century or more. To these two 'objections the answer is very simple—the first of them ap- 'plies to many other public undertakings, which would prove 'the more beneficial, for not being procrastinated until the 'unwelcome day of necessity. The second objection is appli- 'cable to plantations of all other sorts of timber trees, with 'this advantage in favor of plantations in India, that they are 'reared with less expense and trouble than those in Europe, 'and become, in general, available in half the time required 'by them. Millions of money would have been saved to 'Great Britain, if, by early attending to the importance of 're-inforcing and enlarging the internal resources of timber, 'the necessity of foreign importation had been superseded.

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'Surprising as it may be, the fact is not the less true, that 'our Indian forests of standard timber have, within the last 'twenty years, become very perceptibly deteriorated; the 'forests, which were looked upon as holding forth the pros- 'pect of unceasing supplies, have become exhausted, and even 'the vast saul forests of Hindostan have begun, of late, to fail. 'It is a circumstance worthy of being remarked here, that 'this tree, the saul, grows perfectly wild at Moulmein.'"

There could be no doubt, whatever, of the correctness of Dr. Wallich's view as to the forests being state property; here it was no question of accepting and acting upon a Tippú-code of forest appropriation and "sovereignty;" large tracts of wooded wilds, abounding with valuable timber, and in which the sound of the axe had scarcely been heard, had fallen into our hands, unembarrassed by a single claim upon the "royalty." In fact, the laws and customs of the country established the "royalty;" for numerous as were the canoes of Burmans and Peguers, not a tree was cut down in the forests, with the view of being turned into a canoe, without written permission being first obtained from the local authorities. A wild and timid race, who wandered about in the mountain ranges, and shunned contact with their Burman oppressors, proved, indeed, not easily amenable to this law, for they would clear and burn patches of forest, in order to raise a crop of rice, wherever the site suited their fancies; and their nomadic habits rendered this migratory mode of culture more destructive to the forests than would otherwise have been the case, as the numbers of the Karen population was small; still, as the places best adapted for a stray patch of rice cultivation were not those where the best teak was to be found, the injury done was not very serious. The Government, therefore, had a clear field, unencumbered by the consideration of vested rights; with the prophetic warnings of Dr. Wallich, borne out by the experience resulting from the saul forests of Hindostan, and corroborated by the result of the no-code system, which had replaced the Tippú code in the Malabar forests, there was nothing to prevent, and much to induce the Bengal Government to organize a suitable Forest Code, and a system of management that should preserve the state property from rapid exhaustion or utter destruction.

Government measures, however, afforded no indication that the dear-bought experience acquired in other parts of India, was to be turned to advantage on an occasion in every respect so favorable for its application. Dr. Wallich, whatever his merits as a botanist, was, evidently, not much of a practical timber-cutter, and he formed the ludicrous idea of proceeding

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with an artillery sergeant and six pioneers, at the beginning of the monsoon, up the Attaran river, with the view of felling and floating to Moulmein a supply of teak timber, that was to be despatched to Calcutta, "in order to enable the Govern-'ment to decide on the expediency of having, at Moulmein, 'such an establishment as that which he had recommended," namely a Commissariat Timber Yard. This initiatory step was thoroughly impracticable, both as to means and season, and betrayed no great knowledge of wood-craft in Burmah. Although his experimental measures were laughable, Dr. Wallich's general views were sound; and Government, approving of his researches, so far acted on his suggestions, as to direct Mr. Maingy, the lately appointed Civil Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces, to hold the forests as Government property, and to protect them from depredation or injury by individuals. These instructions being rather vague, Mr. Maingy solicited more specific orders for his guidance in the management and working of the forests. He was of opinion, that the forests were, by no means, so extensive as to be considered inexhaustible, that the plan of extending them would be difficult in a country over-run with elephants, and that, instead of incurring the expense of establishments for preserving them for the sole use of Government, the most advisable course would be "to issue licenses to private individuals, to cut timber, on 'condition of paying to Government a duty of ten or fifteen 'per cent. upon the value of the timber, when brought down 'for exportation, the value to be fixed by arbitration, and it 'being always optional with Government to take any portion 'of the timber at such valuation." Mr. Maingy also suggested that "a general and equal duty of a certain sum upon 'each tree cut, would be a good mode of preventing the smaller and less valuable trees from being cut down;" and that "a regulation also, confiscating all timber cut under specified 'dimensions, would tend to preserve the young trees." Whether it were that Government took alarm at the prospect of its conservancy of forests having to come into conflict with Mr. Maingy's ideal swarms of elephants, or that they doubted which were likely to prove the most destructive and unmanageable, the wild elephants or the license bearers, they put off decision under the convenient plea, "that the matter would 'be considered on the receipt of further information." Having thus shelved the matter satisfactorily for a while, they left Mr. Maingy to act on the original orders, under which he made the costly and very ill-managed experiment of sending a cargo of 511 logs of teak from Tavoy to Calcutta. What

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led him to select Tavoy for the experiment, is not explained; it may have been dread of the elephants, or any other equally weighty reason, but whatever it was, Tavoy was manifestly a bad selection, and the cargo, when sold in Calcutta by public auction, instead of covering expenses, showed a loss on the transaction of about Rs. 250. After all, this was no great loss on a first and ill-conducted experiment, but the failure is stated to have induced the economical Government of the day to adopt Mr. Maingy's repeated suggestions, to throw open the forests to private individuals, on the terms of rules much in accordance with what we have stated above as Mr. Maingy's original proposals. He was accordingly authorized, in May, 1829, to carry this measure into effect; but as Government had, apparently, found themselves all adrift upon the subject, they were considerately inclined to afford the Commissioner every latitude, not only in departing from their own original instructions, based on Dr. Wallich's suggestions, but also in wandering from his own proposals, if he pleased; for licenses might be granted either on the terms of his rules of 1829, or with such modifications of them as he might deem it expedient to make. From this time,—the Government having thus evaded its own duty of definite legislation on the subject of the forests, and shifted the responsibility of doing so to the shoulders of the Commissioner,—uncontrolled felling of teak commenced; and we shall presently see that the work of destruction advanced with much the same rapidity and result as had been the case under somewhat analogous circumstances in the Malabar forests, when the no-code system succeeded Tippú's. Indeed, Mr. Maingy himself appears to have modified his views as to conservancy, and though, of course, still advocating his own mode of administering the forests, to have become aware that there was an imperative necessity for counteracting the unchecked felling and portage of timber; for, in 1833, he obtained the sanction of Government to entertain a conservancy establishment, consisting of one head man and eight or ten coolies, for the purpose of planting and rearing teak seedlings, and to see that the wood-cutters, who were employed in the forests by the holders of dehmats or licenses, felled the teak trees fairly, and did no damage to the forests. The establishment might, with equal propriety, so far as efficient performance of its avowed duty was concerned, have been entertained for the purpose of catching, and taming, and educating the herds of wild elephants which had formed Mr. Maingy's bug-bear in 1829, for a glance at the map of the Tenasserim provinces, or at that which accompanies the volume of Selections under notice, will

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satisfy any one as to the ridiculous inadequacy of such a measure, and also as to the accuracy of a remark in a former No. of this *Review*, that "the conservancy establishment of one 'forester and eight or ten coolies was not well calculated effici-'ently to enforce any set of rules: and the revocation of per-'mits for abuse of trust and destruction of forests could not 'well be enforced, when the forests were unvisited by any Euro-'pean functionaries, and no pains were taken to ascertain the 'conduct of the parties holding the permits." Matters, however, were permitted to remain in this state, (notwithstanding that "Mr. Blundell became alive to the necessity of affording 'some degree of protection to the long neglected forests, and in '1837 suggested a revocation of permits and the establishment 'of a conservancy department,)" until 1841—that is, closely following the example set them by the Bombay Government, which had allowed, from 1822 to 1837, or fifteen years of unchecked license in its forests,—the Bengal Government, with like energy and vigilance, granted fifteen years of uncontrolled and unscrupulous destruction of forests, *i. e.*, from 1826 to 1841; in both cases, after a fifteen years' liberty of exhaustion, a pretence to grapple with the subject was made, and we must now proceed to examine how, on the part of both Governments, this was done. For this purpose we revert to the Malabar forests, which we left in the limbo of the Madras Revenue Board, where, after a refreshing nap of upwards of six years, the subject of their management was again mooted. The revival of the question originated, it must be observed, from foreign influence, and not from the spontaneous activity of the administrated functions of that valuable body, for it would be difficult to surmise the period of undisturbed repose, which the Malabar forest question might have enjoyed on the shelves of the Madras Revenue Board, had there been no movement from the side of the Resident of Travancore. When that gentleman, in September 1837, addressed the Madras Government respecting the forests in the province of Travancore, and led that Government to give the Board of Revenue a gentle flapper with regard to the letter of 22nd April, 1831; again, with exquisite and exemplary patience, requesting the Board's consideration of the general question of adopting measures for the security and improvement of the timber forests, the reply of the active Board, on the 26th October following,—"to the 'effect that the attention of the authorities on the Mala-'bar coast had been especially directed to the subject, 'and that on receipt of information from them, the Board 'would not fail to submit their sentiments on the measures

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'required for the preservation and improvement of the forests," —must have proved singularly satisfactory to the Government. Close upon seven years had passed, during which time the forests were, of course, on the no-code diet of exhaustion; and yet the Board, after such a protracted spell of mature consideration, were still avowedly as far as ever from having arrived at any opinions, or formed any sentiments that they could state. In September, 1838, the Board was at length delivered of the report, on the hatching of which so much deliberation had taken place. The result of this tedious incubation was in no wise proportionate to the time that the operation had taken: the Board wrote, with the reports before them, of the Principal Collector of Malabar, of Mr. Monro, the Conservator of the Travancore forests, of Captain Cortlandt Taylor, of the Acting Principal Collector of Canara, and of the Collector of Rajahmundry; but as there was great variety of opinion among these gentlemen, the Board were puzzled. The Malabar Collector was a stickler for private rights, and objected to any interference, beyond the imposition of a heavy duty on all teak timber measuring under three candies. Mr. Monro, on the other hand, writing from his own personal observation, and the experience of nearly twenty years in the woods, was for the Travancore system, where the teak was considered the property of Government, and a conservator had always been employed for its preservation and improvement; pointing out that "the sys-
'tem of throwing open teak forests to all who wish to cut,
'or giving them to contractors, is in the highest degree *ruinous*.
'They cut indiscriminately all that comes in their way; any
'range of forest, however extensive, would be destroyed, if
'left to their tender mercies. They never think of planting,
'and all that such speculators calculate on, is present profit or
'loss, without troubling their heads about depriving future
'generations of the benefit *they now enjoy*. The teak forests
'in Malabar are, I am told, in this predicament, and if the
'British Government do not oblige them to plant, and also
'leave some large trees here and there for seed, this valuable
'tree will be extinct. There are two ranges of hills in our
'forests, that were formerly rented to a Parsí, and if the con-
'tract had not been taken from him before it was too late, he
'would not have left a teak tree standing. It will take forty
'or fifty years before the forests recover the effects of his
'avarice." Captain Taylor was for prohibiting the felling of trees below a certain girth in the Malabar forests, under direct penalty, or by a high additional duty. In the teak forests of Canara, the Collector reported that Government had assumed

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the sovereignty of the forests, and that persons were prevented felling trees without permission. The Rajahmundry Collector reported that the forests were seventy miles beyond the extreme frontier of his district, and in the territory of the Nizam, and that he could therefore give but scant information. Amid these somewhat conflicting views, the Board came to the conclusion that, "with reference to the measures to be adopted 'for the preservation and conservancy of the teak forests, that 'interference, if at all necessary, should be exercised through 'the channel of the revenue officers, and not through 'a conservator, with distinct and independent authority. 'That the Collector of Malabar might be required to issue 'local orders, requiring all landholders to obtain permission 'previous to the felling and indiscriminate cutting of timber, as 'in Canara, and might be authorized to take such steps as seem-'ed necessary to prevent the cutting of small timber and un-'der-sized trees, with a view to the preservation of this valuable 'product, as well as to secure a future supply by planting and 'protecting young trees. Regarding the Rajahmundry forests 'the Revenue Board said nothing."

Having tried one Board with such encouraging rapidity and success, it was evidently advisable to try another, so the question at this stage was referred to the Madras Military Board for their views, whilst the Resident at Travancore, and the principal Collector at Malabar, were again addressed. The Military Board deputed Lieut. Miller into Canara, there to collect information *de novo*.

Reports now began to be plentiful, for the Bombay Government was moving, upon the spur of their Commissary General; and in June, 1838, Captain Harris of the Indian Navy submitted a report on the Malabar forests. In the same month a report from Lieut. Thresher, and a letter from Mr. J. Fell, were added to the list; but as there was great diversity of opinion in these communications, the Bombay Government, instead of acting, had recourse to the usual expedient. Copies of the reports were forwarded to the Court of Directors, as also to the Government of Madras, for any suggestions or arrangements which that Government could make, calculated to assist in obtaining the required supplies of timber. The Madras Government, of course, made the whole over again to the Revenue Board, who sagaciously pointed out to Government where Mr. Fell and Lieut. Thresher agreed or disagreed in their views, and concluded that, as both were against contracts, and for an agency, therefore, *if* a duly qualified agent were appointed to inspect personally, and report upon the extent and condition of the timber, much

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benefit might be anticipated from his labors; and that *if* the continuance of the then existing system was leading to the speedy exhaustion of the forests, and *if*, as Mr. Pell stated, the free trade in timber had been anything but a benefit to the country, no time should be lost in taking steps to reform a system which must ultimately prove so injurious to the interests of the province, in the destruction of one of its most valuable products.

It is clear that the Madras Government, although possessed of the wisdom of their Revenue Board, sublimated into the three preceding "ifs," were at a loss how to proceed, and might have continued lucubrating upon the responses of their oracle for an indefinite period, had not a step, taken by the Bombay Government, enabled them ostensibly to do something towards escaping out of this dilemma. The Government of Bombay, pressed by the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, Sir R. Oliver, had, at the end of January, 1839, deputed Lieut. Williams to the coast of Malabar, to secure a supply of timber for building steamers; and as a request was at the same time made, that the revenue authorities of the coast should be directed to render every assistance, the Madras Government seized the opportunity to suggest that Lieut. Williams should be also "entrusted with the duty of obtaining more accurate in-'formation respecting the state of the forests and their re-'sources," avowing, that as regarded the Malabar forests and their proper management, nothing decisive towards that end had been done, in consequence of the limited nature of the information that had been supplied by the local officers on the coast, as well as of the difficulties which seemed to stand in the way of such improvement.

Mr. Farish, the Governor of Bombay, seemed inclined to deal with the subject in earnest, and on the 4th April, 1839, recorded a Minute, advocating the location permanently of an agent on the Malabar coast; a survey of forests, to distinguish Government from private property; and the purchase of the "royalty" or forest rights, where desirable, either on Captain Watson's plan of 1807-8, or in some other way. He defined what he meant by the term "royalty or forest rights," he disapproved of the high export duty proposed by Captain Taylor, with the view of making it the interest of proprietors to fell large, rather than small timber; and stated his opinion:—"We are now, 'in 1839, perceiving the effect of the retrograde movement of '1824, and it will not be till the approach of 1860, that the 'advantage of any changes now adopted will be well appreci-'ated," and that, therefore, the measures to be adopted "must

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‘ not be ephemeral or liable to be changed by future Govern-
‘ ments; they must be continued for at least thirty years, to
‘ show their effect, and any record of their success must be made
‘ with reference to that distant period.”

Again, on the 25th June, 1839, Mr. Farish, having received reports from Lieut. Williams, recorded another Minute, in which he observed that the reports of Lieut. Williams established the error of the representations made by some of the Madras Collectors, that there was no deficiency of timber, and that the resources of the forests were as abundant as formerly; and again urged the necessity of measures for the preservation and improvement of the forests, and considered that if no method of obtaining the royalty of the forests, as recommended in the Minute of the 4th June, could be devised, that the proposition should be adopted of purchasing trees on the ground from the proprietors, by payment of the fee per tree (called *kooty kanum*), provided the purchase were extensive, so as to embrace all exhausted teak tracts situated favorably for water carriage, and to include a right of controlling the management of the forest, in order that the burning of the jungle might be prevented, as it is in the Travancore forests, and measures adopted for planting young trees and preserving them during growth:—a judicious proposal.

The reports of Lieut. Williams and the Minutes of Mr. Farish being communicated to the Madras Government, the latter, nothing daunted by former experience, referred to its Revenue Board, for aid in forming a judgment on the measures to be adopted. The Revenue Board, of course, again fell back upon the Malabar Collector for information, who, in a report of the 12th September, 1839, under the heads of Royalty, Conservator, Re-opening of the Timber Forests, and Proposed Measures for preserving the Forests, went over the whole ground so repeatedly beaten over before by his predecessors. It was not to be expected that the Collector, Mr. Underwood, could add much that was new, or afford any really valuable additional information as to the condition of the forests; but he shewed the result of what Mr. Farish had designated the retrograde movement of 1823, to have been very much what Mr. Monro and others had stated as always the case under similar circumstances, the promiscuous felling of trees, large and small, and the rapid exhaustion of the teak forests.

If there was a good deal of practical ingenuity in Mr. Farish’s scheme for turning, by an exhaustive purchase, the fee per tree, or *kooty kanum* payments, into a mode of virtually obtaining from the proprietors the exercise of the “royalty” of large tracts, there was a still more refined ingenuity,

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though of a hazy and metaphysical cast, in Mr. Underwood's views on the same subject. He considered the Government as being, in reality, the proprietors of only three forests, which had lapsed to them from failure of heirs, and that, whilst conservators had existed, their acts, and the system pursued by them, had received the support of the Bombay Government, "under the idea, that a large portion of the forests of Malabar 'was the undoubted property of the Company, whereas, in 'truth and fact, they did not possess the right of property in 'one." Yet he advocated the equity of Government assuming the royalty over all private forests, stating, that "they belong 'so far to Government, that their destruction cannot be permitted, as this would be an infringement of their rights; and 'on the other hand they are *bonâ fide* the property of individuals, who are entitled to the entire profits to be derived 'from the timber; this latter right has been freely exercised, 'so as nearly to extinguish the right of Government, and it is 'now high time that they should take prompt and immediate 'measures to preserve their interests from destruction, by the 'entire exhaustion of the forests." In para. 82, Mr. Underwood's views, and the grounds on which they are based, are still further detailed:—"*Re-opening of the timber trade.* The 'conservator and his establishment were withdrawn in April, '1823, and Mr. Underwood says, 'the first effect of withdrawal of the monopoly was the assumption, by private 'proprietors, of the right of property in the entire forests, 'and no sooner were they in possession of their rights, than 'the rage for teak timber was such, that it was felled promiscuously, and trees, small and large, cut down in every direction.' These proceedings were entirely subversive of the 'rights which Government had asserted in the proclamation 'of 1807, and yet Mr. Underwood could not discover that 'those rights had been relinquished by any subsequent public 'act or proclamation of the Government, or by the measures 'of the conservator. He did not think it was intended that 'liberty so unrestricted of felling timber and destroying saplings was meant to be conceded to the people; and this opinion is confirmed in a great measure by the terms of the Government order for the abolition of the office of conservator, 'for it directed the collectors to submit such suggestions as 'might seem to them most proper for preserving the trees in 'the public forests, and for procuring supplies of timber for 'the public service, without encroaching on the rights or comforts of the people at large; and in a later order of Government to the Board of Revenue, dated 17th October, 1823,

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'it is laid down that, next to protecting the people from 'obstruction in the enjoyment of their property, and in the 'exercise of their prescriptive privileges, (which it is hoped 'has already been sufficiently provided for) the first great 'object is to secure the valuable property in the public forests, 'from fraudulent or wanton injury, and the second to render 'the produce of those forests available for useful purposes."

There is a good deal of confusion in this admission of a *bonâ-fide* private property of forests vested in the proprietors, an absolute negation of the right of property on the part of the Government in any one of these private forests, and yet as positive an assertion of a co-existent right of the Government in these forests, which they were entitled to preserve, and which the proprietors, in the exercise of their undisputed private rights, were destroying. The explanation of this apparent confusion of ideas would seem to be, that Mr. Underwood, with the fundamental idea that in India the Government is the lord of the soil, regarded the forest proprietors as merely usufructuaries of the forests, and not as having the fee simple of the tracts, with liberty to deal with them as they pleased. The measures he proposed were :—

1. The revival of the Company's right of royalty in the forests, by a proclamation.
2. The revival of the office of conservator, with abridged powers.
3. The purchase of tracts in exhausted forests, with a view to their re-plantation.
4. That Government should work their own forests, cutting down all timber, but teak, in order to re-plant them with teak.
5. The appointment of a joint-agent by the Governments of Bombay and Madras for the purchase of timber.

The Madras Board of Revenue objected to Mr. Farish's proposed survey of the forests, on the ground, that as Government could claim the proprietary right in no more than three forests in Palghaut, it would be a work of useless labor and expense. They agreed generally with Mr. Underwood's opinions, but objected to the third proposal, the purchase of tracts of forest lands, in which the teak had been totally exhausted, for the purpose of re-plantation. They raised the doubt, however, whether the right of royalty, after having been abandoned for a considerable period, could be legally revived by means of the proclamation which was recommended to be issued, and advised a reference to the legal authorities, and a careful definition of the term royalty, on the issue of a proclamation. Their own definition of the

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term appears to have been "merely the right to prevent the 'indiscriminate felling of timber, and to enforce regulations for 'securing a perpetual supply of trees, and not to include any 'privilege of monopoly, pre-emption, or fixing of the price."

Between 1800 and 1840, the Court of Directors seem to have refrained from disturbing either themselves or their servants, by the issue of instructions on the forest question. For forty years the subject had been revolving in a circle of repeated references, from Government to Board, from Board to Collector, from Collector back again to Board, and Board to Government, varied occasionally by the addition of another element, a deputed officer, or an agent for purchase of timber, turned into a collector of information, and a reporter on forests; or the wheel of reference had got an extra spin by contact with the Bombay Government, whose maritime aspirations could never, however, succeed in effecting more than to cause another whirl of the reference machine. At length, however, after a somnolency of forty years, the Court awoke, and, in February, 1840, wrote to the Government of India. If our readers suppose that, after reviewing the conflicting reports of conservators, of special officers, of collectors, of Military and Revenue Boards, and of Governors of Madras and Bombay, the Great Council of Leadenhall-street, taking a comprehensive survey of the facts and information before them, sketched the form and details of a suitable enactment, laying down clear and specific principles for the guidance of the Supreme Government, they must, we fear, be disappointed. The wisdom of that august body could devise nothing more efficacious than again to set in motion the various circles of reference, still further complicating their motion, by bringing them into contact with that great wheel of references, the Government of India, which they charged with the duty of giving the whole subject *early* and attentive consideration, and of exercising their own discretion with regard to the instructions to be issued to the Local Governments. The emphasis on the word *early*, is our own, for, both retfospectively and prospectively, it was of humorous application. The Court does not seem to have been very lucid upon the moot point of "royalty," or, indeed, upon any other; but they gave one sound piece of advice, namely, that where a conservator was appointed, his position and powers should be strictly defined. We must allow them to speak for themselves.

"The forests of the districts of Palghaut, in Malabar, as 'well as others of considerable extent in Canara, are admit-'ted to be public property, and if these are inadequate, or

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'unfit to supply the demand of Government, a properly 'qualified person should be deputed to select other and more 'conveniently situated tracts, of which Government should 'endeavour to obtain the complete ownership. The Bombay 'Government, indeed, proposes to purchase merely the royalty 'or forest right, which is described in a Minute by Mr. Farish 'as the right to exercise the conservancy of the forests, and 'to forbid the felling of timber at a fixed rate, which it is pro- 'posed to secure to Government, and with the further obliga- 'tion imposed on the proprietor to abstain from cutting teak 'wood, even for his own use, without permission. This would 'place Government nearly in the position of a perpetual lessee ; 'and, though all public purposes might thus be answered, room 'would be left for dissatisfaction on the part of the pro- 'prietor, who might naturally complain, if, in consequence of 'a rise of prices, he found himself compelled to dispose of the 'produce of his estate for less than the market rate. At the 'same time, there will be no advantage in purchasing more 'land than may appear sufficient to supply the average quan- 'tity of timber required for the public service. The forests 'not required for this purpose should still be left in the hands 'of the actual tenants, and we would suggest for your con- 'sideration, whether it might not be desirable to prevent ma- 'terial injury to the timber, by legislative enactment, forbid- 'ding the felling of teak trees under a certain size, except on 'payment of a high rate of duty.

"We shall merely express our anxious wish that, in the pro- 'secution of the survey, if such a measure should appear ne- 'cessary, and of the ulterior operations, the utmost care may 'be taken to avoid any infringement of the rights, or any un- 'necessary interference with the convenience, of private per- 'sons. It will, probably, be found expedient to commit the 'management of the Government forests to a conservator, 'and to subject him, in matters connected with the official duty, 'to the orders of the Government of Bombay ; but with the 'view of guarding against a recurrence of the evils which 'formerly flowed from the particular office, the conservator 'should, at the same time, be made responsible to the local 'authorities, and his powers should be so strictly defined 'as to afford no pretext for exceeding them."

As a matter of course, the Government of India referred to the Madras and Bombay Governments for information, suggestions, and advice. This, in due course, produced replies from Madras and Bombay, chiefly remarkable as containing a novel proposal by Mr. Conolly, the acting principal Collector

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of Malabar, and a Minute, marked by Mr. Farish's earnest good sense, and the enlarged views with which he sought to embrace the subject. Mr. Conolly advocated a high rate of duty on under-sized trees, as the most effectual mode of preventing the total destruction of the private forests. After the virtual relinquishment of the royalty, in 1823, he was opposed to its re-assumption, as calculated to cause great and general discontent, and as unnecessary, if a prohibitory duty were established. He advocated the acquisition of private forests sufficient to supply the average quantity of timber required for the public service, by taking forests on the usual mortgage tenure of the country, and that by advancing nearly the value of the estate, the Government could secure themselves against any intrusion, as in Malabar mortgages were never foreclosed, but by a common tenure (kooty kanum), the proprietor, in case of reduction, being bound to pay for all improvements made by the mortgagee.

The Madras Board of Revenue approved of Mr. Conolly's proposal to rent forests, as a plan that "would effectually re-
'move all difficulties that might arise from the assertion of the
'proprietary rights of the people, in opposition to the modified
'title of royalty, which it is proposed (alluding to Mr. Under-
'wood's views) to revive on the part of Government, and that
'it would, at the same time, give the Government the entire
'command of the forests, enabling them to obtain an abundant
'supply of the best timber, and to nurse the forests." Mr. Farish also approved of the suggestion of Mr. Conolly, but pointed out that, unless the mortgages were for a certain period, there was a danger that the wealthy merchants of Bombay, when the most valuable forests should have been preserved and carefully nursed by Government, would step in, and by redeeming the mortgages, secure for themselves all the advantages for which Government had labored and incurred expense. Mr. Farish's details, as to sites, planting, shelter, thinning and the like, need not be entered upon; but the following shows that he was sensible, that the characteristic of our rule and its bane, frequent changes of Government officers, was as applicable to the management of forests as it is to all other departments.

"The extensive planting and judicious rearing and care of
'young trees, and the prevention to felling those proper to be
'preserved to maturity, must, as far as possible, be made to
'depend on arrangements not liable to be affected by the fluc-
'tuating tenure of our local managers, or the frequent changes
'of the officers of Government itself. The Government must
'never forget that a period of not less than thirty years will

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‘ elapse, before the beneficial effects of these contemplated ‘ improvements can be fully appreciated, and that their ulti- ‘ mate object is for years far more distant.”

He recommended, therefore, the permanent appointment of a sub-conservator under the collector, the ex-officio conservator, with a salary progressively increasing with length of service; as also the appointment of an agent for the purchase of timber, who was to be distinct from the sub-conservator; and that from both these functionaries correct information, relative to their several charges, should be annually rendered. Looking “beyond Indian interests in this national question,” Mr. Farish proposed that the Admiralty should be furnished with copies of these reports, justly considering that the subject was one in which the Royal Navy of Great Britain might be interested.

We cannot concur in all the views propounded by Mr. Farish, but it is agreeable to find a person in his position, with entire freedom from all clap-trap, and equivocal pseudo-liberal generalities, fairly, honestly, and earnestly grappling with the subject, in no narrow or short-sighted spirit, but with somewhat of a statesman’s grasp of its magnitude and importance. The Minute of Lord Auckland, of the 29th August, 1840, forms a painful contrast. We subjoin its abstract in the words of para. 107 of the work under review :—

Para. 107.—“ Upon these papers Lord Auckland wrote a Mi- ‘ nute, dated 29th August, 1840, in which he expressed his ap- ‘ proval, generally, of the measures that had been taken for the ‘ preservation, prospectively, of the Malabar teak forests, but ‘ objected to measures of prohibition, or to duties contrived, ‘ so as to discourage the felling of small trees, in the hope that ‘ the prospective supply of long timber would thus become more ‘ plentiful; and disapproved, in fact, of any minute interference ‘ by Government, as it would not be compatible with a good ‘ system of forest cultivation, in which saplings should be made ‘ to succeed to large trees, and should be thinned at intervals, ‘ until the large timber trees should, in the end, occupy their ‘ natural space.” He added, that “more good might be done ‘ with the Rajas and greater proprietors of woods, and they ‘ might, perhaps, be tied down to conditions of management, ‘ by the purchase of their growing trees, or upon other consi- ‘ deration, and be made to introduce a good system.” How- ‘ ever, His Lordship put off the further consideration of the ‘ subject, until the receipt of more information from Bombay ‘ and Madras. A communication, in the terms of this Minute, ‘ was accordingly made to the Governments of Madras and ‘ Bombay, on the 2nd September, 1840.”

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We have in vain endeavoured to arrive at the sense of this Minute. It approves generally of the measures taken for the preservation, prospectively, of the Malabar teak forests, yet eliminates prohibitory duties, which formed the main stay of the system under consideration, and disapproves of any minute interference by Government, which was exactly what Government was laboring to attain, by renting forests on mortgage tenures! After thus objecting to all that constituted the essence of the system, without offering to supply any remedy in lieu of those discarded, the general approval really amounted to nothing, but a civil exordium to an absolute disapproval. The theory, that a prohibitory duty was incompatible with a moderate and timely thinning of saplings, was an assumption contrary to reason and probability. Experience had proved that, without a check, private forests were worked up with a blind cupidity, heedless of all other considerations but present gain. A high rate of duty on under-sized trees would certainly, by acting on this cupidity, tend to control its mischievous action. The "perhaps" that more good might be done with the Rajas and greater proprietors of woods, by tying them down to conditions of management, by purchase of growing trees, or other considerations, was not only launching the whole question anew upon a sea of chances, and very improbable chances, but was also in absolute contradiction to the sentiment which abjured any minute interference on the part of Government, whilst the idea of looking to the introduction of a good system by Rajas and great proprietors was eminently Utopian, if it applied to the petty Rajas and proprietors of forests, against whose misuse of their rights there had been but one series of complaints for twenty years.

Mr. Farish had pointed out one danger attendant on renting private forests on the mortgage tenures of Malabar, but neither he nor the Government of India appear to have adverted to the fact, that the whole of Mr. Conolly's scheme was based on his own version of the mortgage custom of the country; so that Government were to suffer their "royalty" to pass into oblivion, and to have recourse to an expedient in lieu thereof, not based upon any written law, but upon Mr. Conolly's opinion of the custom of mortgage in that part of the country, an opinion from which other Collectors might differ, and which is not stated to have been affirmed by any higher authority. Nor do the proprietors themselves appear to have been at all eager, when Mr. Conolly consulted them on the subject of renting their forests to Government, to engage in the system of contracts which Mr. Conolly proposed.

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Passing over sundry reports, minutes, and minor measures, as also the purchase, made by the Madras Government, of four private forests for 15,000 rupees, from an owner who held the forests in fee simple, and made them over to Government in perpetuity, we come to a despatch of the Court of Directors, of the 30th November, 1842, received by the Government of India in February, 1843. In this communication the Court arrived at the conclusion, that former accounts of the devastated condition of the Malabar forests were, by no means, exaggerated. They were also satisfied that the Government had little or no pretension to the proprietorship of the forests, that in the time of the ancient Rajas the forests were held as private property, that they were indeed seized by Tippú Sahib after his conquest of the country, and after its cession to the Company they were taken possession of on behalf of the latter; but, having for many years been abandoned to the original proprietors, the Court were of opinion that it would be no less unjust than impolitic to revive a claim to them, which seems never to have had any other foundation than Tippú's usurpation. They approved, therefore, of renting forests on the mortgage tenure system, but held that a tract of 260 square miles was larger than was requisite to furnish annually 6,000 candies, or about 2,000 trees for Government purposes. They advocated the contract system for felling and conveying the Government timber to the coast, the advantages of this course having been "remarkably illustrated by the history of the timber 'trade in the Tenasserim provinces. Since that trade has been 'in the hands of private persons, it has proved highly profita-'ble, although burthened with a duty of 15 per cent., whereas, 'during the short period in which it was engrossed by Govern-'ment, timber obtained by Government officers, from forests 'belonging to the state, seems not to have paid one-half of its 'expenses."

The Court, accordingly, desired the employment of the contract system, whenever it could be found practicable, and expressed their gratification at finding that no intention had been evinced of acting on the suggestions of Mr. Underwood, and the Board of Revenue at Madras, for re-asserting the right of Government to the conservancy of all forests, whether held by private persons, or made over to Government, in so far as to prevent the indiscriminate felling of trees, and to secure the planting of others in succession. Approving of the imposition of a duty on the exportation of teak wood, which should vary only according to the length of the logs, without any reference to their girth, as such a duty, while it would

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tend to prevent young trees from being cut down expressly for sale, would not, like a tax on the felling of timber, present any obstacles to the clearing of land for cultivation, or to the thinning of plantations, neither would it subject the forest-holders to any interference from Government officers,—the Court, therefore, recommended the matter for the consideration of the Government of India.

From the language of the Court, it would seem, that they never clearly understood the principle at issue in this "royalty" controversy; Tippú's usurpation of the ownership and sole profits of private forests was an arbitrary act, wholly distinct from a legitimate exercise of the "royalty," which came to him by conquest with the lands;—and it was as ignorant and ill-considered an act, to adopt the Tippú Code in 1800, as it was tacitly to renounce, in 1843, under the error-suggestive misnomer of "ownership of forests," the legitimate "royalty." This amounted to a virtual abandonment of the fundamental principle on which the entire revenue system of India is based. Forest land is held, when held by private persons, subject to the same radical principle as cleared and cultivated soil. It is admirably laid down by Elphinstone; and as his statement of the agitated question of property in the soil is not only sound, but remarkably pertinent to the matter in hand, we offer no apology for quoting it:—"Property in land seems to consist 'in the exclusive use and absolute disposal of the powers of 'the soil in perpetuity, together with the right to alter or 'destroy the soil itself, where such an operation is possible. 'These privileges combined form the abstract idea of proper-'ty, which does not represent any substance distinct from 'these elements. Now the king possesses the exclusive right 'to a proportion only of the produce. This right is perma-'nent, and the king can dispose of it at his pleasure; but he 'cannot interfere with the soil, or its produce, beyond this limit. 'If he requires the land for buildings, roads, or other public 'purposes, he takes it as a magistrate, and ought to give com-'pensation to his fellow share-holders, as he can, on emergency, 'seize carts, boats, &c., and can demolish houses in besieged 'towns, although, in those cases, he has no pretensions what-'ever to property.

"As much of the produce as comes into the hands of the 'land-holder, after the king's proportion is provided, is his; 'and his power to dispose of his right to it for all future 'years is unrestrained. The tenant has what remains of the 'produce after the king's proportion and the land-lord's rent 'are paid; and this he enjoys in perpetuity, but the right is

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‘ confined to himself and his heirs, and cannot be otherwise
‘ disposed of.

“ Neither the land-holder nor the tenant can destroy, or
‘ even suspend, the use of the powers of the soil; a tenant
‘ forfeits his land when he fails to provide a crop, from which
‘ the other sharers may take their proportions; and a land-
‘ holder, guilty of the same default, would be temporarily
‘ superseded by a tenant of the community’s, or the king’s,
‘ and, after a certain long period, would be deprived of his
‘ right altogether.

“ From all this, it is apparent, that where there are village
‘ communities, and permanent tenants, there is no perfect pro-
‘ perty in any of the sharers—where there are neither com-
‘ munities nor permanent tenants, the king, doubtless, is the
‘ full and complete proprietor: all subsequent rights are de-
‘ rived from his grant or lease. The extent of those grants
‘ varies with circumstances, but where they are given without
‘ reserve and in perpetuity, they constitute a perfect form of
‘ private property.”

Now, in the case of teak forests, teak is the crop, and the land-holder or tenant of that kind of arboricultural soil has no more right to defraud Government of its share, by failing to provide that crop, and permitting forests to be annihilated, than have the land-holders and tenants of the ordinary agricultural soils. “ Royalty,” as applied to forests, is merely a concise term, expressive of the Government right to adopt such measures as may be necessary, both for the time being and prospectively, to secure that neither land-holder nor tenant defraud the Government of its share. To renounce this right, is to make a serious inroad upon the fundamental principle of the revenue of India, and an error, of which the ultimate consequences cannot be foreseen. It may be doubted whether Tippú’s stretching the “ royalty ” to the extent of only allowing the forest-holders two fanams per tree, were really so prejudicial, even to the forest-holders themselves, as the entire abandonment of the “ royalty.” Both were grave errors, but the one preserved, while the other utterly destroyed, the coparcener property of ruler, land-holders, and tenants. To perpetuate and give deliberate sanction to this destructive error, does not seem wise, either with reference to the special case, or to the general principle which is involved. The rebound from one extreme to the other, encroaching in the one instance on the rights of the community, and on the other pusillanimously abandoning the rights of the state, does not constitute judicious administration. It must be observed, too, that even where jagírs are

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granted in India, and the sovereign thus alienates his share in favor of the jagírdar, either during the life of the latter, or so long as there are heirs *ab stirpe* to the jagírdar, the sovereign does not, and cannot, part with the *dominium*. The jagírdar is merely what the civil law would call a usufructuary of the sovereign's share, and enjoys it with regard to forests, either in coparcenery with the subordinate land-holders and tenants, where there are such, or without partners, where these do not exist; but in either case, whether as sole holder or co-partner, the forests are held almost exactly on the terms of Articles 590 and 591 of the Civil Code. "Trees may be taken 'from part of the usufruct, provided the usufructuary follows the 'custom of the property in planting others in their stead. He 'derives the profit, conforming always to the terms and customs 'of former proprietors, of such part of the timber trees as have 'been put into regular falls, whether such falls take place perio-'dically upon a certain extent of land, or consist of a certain 'quantity of trees taken indifferently over every part of the 'estate." Wanton deterioration of the jagír is a valid ground for resumption, exactly as the usufructuary may forfeit his usufruct for abuse, either by doing injury to the property or letting it perish.

In framing their Tariff, the Madras Government had, of course, to correct the error into which the Court of Directors had fallen, when they directed that the export duty should vary only according to the length of the logs, without any reference to their girth: Mr. Conolly observed that this was a mistake of the most vital importance, and quoted a letter from the timber agent, Captain Williams, in support of his opinion.

"To show the fallacy of fixing the duty with reference to 'length, instead of thickness, it is only necessary to mention, 'that the teak tree attains two-thirds of its extreme length 'before the bole acquires any considerable thickness. The 'small teak wood, sold under the denomination khial, or 'kyle, is generally twenty-five and thirty feet long, but not 'more than five or six inches in diameter, whereas, of the 'entire quantity of full-grown timber brought to Calicut, not 'an eighth part will average twenty-five feet in length. Trees 'that are only half grown, will produce longer timber than 'those that are full grown, because the branches are sound, 'and cut off clean, and so allow of the branchy portion of the 'bole being taken into the length. But in a full-grown tree, 'the branches are hollow, and the hollow runs into the trunk 'or bole of the tree; consequently, the length of a full-grown 'tree is only that portion contained between the root, and the

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'part where the superior branches commence. Though timber 'of thirty-five and forty feet in length (full-grown) is some-'times produced, it is but seldom, and not in greater proportion 'than one to five hundred timbers of twenty-five feet and under. 'Again, many long and large timbers grow in places whence 'they cannot be brought entire, owing to their great weight; 'these are now cut into short lengths, and are thus rendered 'capable of transport; these are the kinds of timber which 'I procure for, and are best suited to, the gun carriage manu-'factories, where length is no consideration, and great girth 'only is required. The imposition, therefore, of a heavy duty 'on such timber, merely because it were short, would be de-'trimental to the interests of Government.

The Tariff, by imposing a much higher rate of duty per candy or kol, on small timber, than upon that of larger growth, and by classing beams and planks of the fourth and fifth sorts, at a higher valuation than the fourth and fifth classes of timber from which they were cut, was supposed to fulfil all desired objects of a prohibitory check on the felling and cutting up of small timber. On the 7th October, 1843, the Government of India sanctioned the Tariff in the provinces of Malabar and Canara.

Having thus led the reader through a vicious circle of forest legislation, beginning with the hasty adoption of the Tippú Code, in 1800, passing on to the no-code system of 1823, thence to the reactionary tendencies of 1830, lulled into repose on the shelves of the Madras Revenue Board until 1837, we have, by carrying the reader through six more years of reports, minutes, and despatches, terminating in the approval of the mortgage tenure scheme, and the Tariff of 1843, shown how one of the Governments, after the fifteen years' liberty of exhaustion first allowed, making a pretence of grappling with the forest question, suffered six more years to elapse before any thing was done. This cursory review cannot have impressed any one with a very exalted idea of the administrative wisdom displayed on so really simple a matter. It is true that, in the case of the Malabar forests, correspondence was complicated by the circumstance of the subject being one on which both the Madras and the Bombay Governments had to intercommunicate and be consulted; but the action of the Bombay Government, spurred on by the necessities of its maritime establishments and commercial instincts, and guided in its operation by the honest, practical good sense of Mr. Farish, appears to have been persistently favorable to the more speedy adjustment of the forest question, and, therefore, to have been beneficial on the whole, rather than retardatory. No excuse can

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therefore be founded on this consideration, and, though, doubtless, the political events of the period between 1837 and 1843, and the manner in which these engrossed the supreme Government, would be advanced by the apologists of the latter as sufficient to cover a multitude of sins in affairs of minor importance, they cannot very well be urged by the subordinate Presidencies, and least so by Madras.

Let us now return to the Tenasserim provinces, made such favorable mention of by the Court of Directors, in the despatch last cited, and taking up the thread of forest management where we left it, follow its course, as far as the work before us, and information long in our possession, will enable us. It was advisable to take the Malabar and the Tenasserim forests in the order we have taken them, because, as Lord Auckland referred, in 1838, to Madras for information on the management of the two great districts on the Western Coast of that Presidency, suspending decision on Mr. Blundell's proposals, until he should have before him the result of the experience on the Malabar Coast: unless the reader knew the precise value and character of that experience, he could not so well institute a comparison between the courses pursued in the Malabar and Tenasserim forests, and would not be in a position fully to appreciate the provident forethought and legislative and administrative ability displayed on either coast.

Merely calling attention to the palpable contradiction and absurdity of talking of "apparent private rights," when he had already clearly shown that none such existed, except upon permits "revocable at pleasure," and that therefore they necessarily terminated with the revocation of the permits,—also directing observation to the strange notion of "justice," which would saddle Government with the expense of giving compensation to the holders of such permits "for their outlay toward facilitating their operations in the forests," when it was clear, from his statements, that these holders of permits had grossly abused their privileges, and were exhausting the forests, and that if compensation were due to any one, it was due to Government from the "permit holders," who had enjoyed fifteen years' profit of the license to destroy the Government forests, with only such outlay of capital on the permit holders' part as was necessary to pay the wood-cutters and raft-men engaged in this work of wholesale spoliation,—we subjoin para. 42 and 43, showing Mr. Blundell's views and proposals :—

"42. In April following, 1837, a correspondence passed be-
' tween Government and Mr. Blundell, on the subject of the con-
' servation of the teak forests, and the means by which it could be

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‘ best effected. Mr. Blundell pointed out that, under the rules ‘ of 1829, parties who desired to cut timber, were allowed ‘ permits’ or licenses to do so in certain localities, to the exclusion ‘ of all other cutters from these particular localities; care being ‘ taken to make it known to them, that the permit was revocable ‘ at pleasure: and though the transfer of these permits had ‘ been allowed, yet they had never been recognized as conveying aught but permission to cut timber in certain situations. ‘ So long as the timber was procured near the banks of the ‘ rivers, and while the market for it was in its infancy, this system answered very well; but as competition and the number of ‘ cutters increased, it created great confusion regarding boundaries, as no survey was made when licenses were granted, and ‘ it was impossible to have defined, correctly, any other boundary ‘ than the banks of the river. As parties went farther inland, ‘ they trenched on each other’s imaginary boundaries; this caused disputes, and led eventually to suits in the Courts, which Mr. ‘ Blundell stated, ‘ we have not the means of deciding with any ‘ satisfaction, either to ourselves or to the litigant parties.’ He ‘ added, ‘ the distance of the forests from the town, their great ‘ extent, and the want of an efficient conservator, invested with ‘ adequate powers to notice and decide on the spot all infringements of the rules framed, both for insuring proper timber being ‘ cut, and the preservation of the young trees, must lead, I fear, ‘ ere long, both to bring the Moulmein timber into bad repute, ‘ and to exhaust the forests, without providing for their renewal ‘ in after years.’ To remedy these evils, Mr. Blundell suggested ‘ the appointment of some individual well acquainted with the ‘ state of the timber market in India and England, as at least a ‘ temporary conservator of the forests, with full powers to decide on the spot all cases of infringement of rules, and all suits ‘ relative to boundaries. This person should also be directed to ‘ draw up a report on the state of the forests, and, above all, ‘ on the eligibility of resuming the permits to cut, and re-constituting a monopoly. These measures, he thought, would ensure the cutting of only proper-sized timber of good quality, ‘ the preservation of the young trees, and the planting of ‘ others, and would also enable Government to send supplies of ‘ timber to her Majesty’s building yards in England; but at the ‘ same time, Mr. Blundell very fairly stated, that one of the proposed measures involved ‘ the interference with apparent private rights accompanying the original permits to cut timber, ‘ sanctioned by eight years’ adherence to the present system, and ‘ would lead to expense, which, in justice, must be incurred in ‘ compensating the holders of the original permits for their outlay

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‘ towards facilitating their operations in the forests.” He added, ‘ that if the monopoly of the forests was to be resumed, the port ‘ might be thrown open to foreign timber, either free of duty alto- ‘ gether, or with a much less duty attached to it than he had before ‘ recommended for each timber imported from Rangoon and other ‘ places; and if it was resolved not to resume the monopoly, it ‘ would still be absolutely necessary to have a survey of the ‘ forests, in order to define boundaries, and to continue a conser- ‘ vator to preserve the forests, and provide for their renewal. ‘ Accordingly, Mr. Blundell recommended the following esta- ‘ blishment for the sanction of Government:—

	Rs.
‘ One conservator of forests	500
‘ One native assistant, (the present man)	40
‘ Six peons, (to act also as boatmen,) at rupees 10 each	60
Total, Rupees...	600

“ For the office of conservator, Mr. Blundell recommended the ‘ appointment of a gentleman in the service of the Hon’ble Com- ‘ pany, one who is strictly prohibited from engaging in trade, ‘ and who will, consequently, be above all suspicion of favoring ‘ his own interests. He also proposed to employ convict labor ‘ in forming nurseries, if these were to be established for renew- ‘ ing the forests.

“ 43. With regard to the interference with ship-building ‘ speculations, which would attend the resumption of the mono- ‘ poly, Mr. Blundell remarked, that this could be considered by ‘ the person who might be appointed to report on the forests; ‘ but he was of opinion, that so long as Government would not ‘ require to send supplies of timber to England, the market might ‘ always be adequately supplied by the Government cutters, with ‘ all materials requisite for ship-building, and that contracts ‘ could be made with the conservator, by ship-builders, for their ‘ private supplies, which would, in no way, be affected by the ‘ Government demand.”

It was in consequence of these communications, that letters were addressed on the 27th June, 1838, to the Government of Madras, for information regarding the teak forests in that Presidency, whilst Mr. Blundell was, at the same time, told that Lord Auckland, not having sufficient materials before him, was unable to decide on the question of the appointment of a conservator of forests, and therefore called for further information upon every point connected with the teak forests, and their proposed management. Dr. Helfer’s reports were, however, at that time before Government, and the Doctor had been

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specially charged with reporting on the resources of the Tenasserim provinces—among other facts, he had clearly announced, that the continuance of the system then in force would, in a short time, lead to the extermination of all available teak forests and had strongly supported the views and recommendations of Mr. Blundell, urging that it could "not be expected that indivi-
'duals, whose only care it is to render themselves independent
'in as short a time as possible, should care about the preser-
'vation of the forests; and experience has taught, that far more
'trees are destroyed than used."

From 1838 to 1840, there is, what Mr. W. R. Baillie, the compiler, terms with official courtesy, "a great hiatus" in the records regarding teak forests, *i. e.*, *anglice*, nothing was done; but on the receipt of a despatch from the Court of Directors, having reference to the teak forests of Malabar, the Government of India again addressed the Madras and Bombay Governments, and received in reply a voluminous mass of papers.

The Government of India had now before them the results of the no-code period on the Malabar coast, and the unanimous opinion of all those engaged in futile lucubrations on the best mode of recovering the denuded forest tracts, upon the working of the no-code system:—all now concurred that no doubt could be entertained of the correctness of the Travancore conservator's opinion already quoted, namely, that the system was in the highest degree *ruinous*. The Government of India had, moreover, the experience and the deliberate opinions of Mr. Blundell, their Commissioner, Dr. Helfer, their scientific reporter, and Captain Halsted, an intelligent naval officer, that the no-code system was proving equally *ruinous* in the Tenasserim teak forests, the unrestrained working of which was fast leading to their extermination. Yet we read that this condition of affairs "convinced the Government of the necessity of an
'efficient system of conservancy, though the evil at that time
'did not seem to justify the resumption of the forests, or a
're-constitution of the former monopoly, as had been recom-
'mended by Mr. Blundell." This may, and doubtless will, surprise many of our readers, who may find it difficult to comprehend what degree of "evil" the Government was awaiting, before it felt justified in acting; short of that "extermination" of the teak forests, which would, of course, conclude the "permits" to cut teak, one would have imagined avowedly impending total denudation, about as great an "evil" as could exist in teak forest life; they may feel puzzled to understand why the Government should hesitate, as, after fifteen years' license, every day would enhance the difficulty of hitting off, with precision,

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the line of demarcation between total and fast approaching total annihilation of teak forests. Here, therefore, it may be advisable to observe—as likely to afford some clue to much that would otherwise be incomprehensible—that, in the course of these fifteen years of license, the timber trade had fallen mainly into the hands of some of the then leading agency houses of Calcutta; that these houses, both collectively and individually, commanded great influence, not only in the official and mercantile communities of Calcutta, but also in the Court of Directors, and that, therefore, if the rights of Government were to be asserted, and the belly of the Tenasserim goose not to be allowed to be ripped up at once for its golden eggs, a very dominant interest must, in spite of its all-pervading influence and weight, be curbed, and made to respect the interests of the state as well as their own. The Government that did this, must be firm enough to control and subdue this influence, where working through official instruments; and it must be bold enough to face the unpopularity and vituperation, which, in consequence of the hold this interest had at that time over the Calcutta Press, was sure to be heaped upon the Government and the officers to whom this duty might be entrusted. It has been shown that no doubts existed as to the "royalty" on the Tenasserim coast; there were no Rajas, Zemindars, or ryots, to advance proprietary claims to forest rights; the proprietary rights of the state were wholly incontestable, both by Burman and Tullain law, and by the law of conquest, which had given us large tracts of almost virgin forests, scarce ever traversed, but by a few wild Karens. There were none of those difficulties which beset the question of forests on the Malabar coast, in consequence of conflicting claims, and the vacillation of the views and practice of Government as to its "royalty" rights. But though, in these respects, free from the local embarrassments (self-imposed in a great measure) of the Madras Government and its Collectors, the measures of the Bengal Government were not distinguished by a particle more of energy or wisdom; on the contrary, an influence, whose interest it was always to frustrate effective legislation or action on the forest question, on the plea of investigation and the collection of further information, betrayed Government into adopting a course not a whit more efficient than the no-code system of Madras, at the same time that it was accompanied with far more of pretension.

In an article on the Tenasserim provinces, in the fifteenth No. of this *Review*, we gave so condensed and correct a summary of the forest mismanagement, from 1841 to 1846 inclusive,

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that it would be sufficient for our present purpose, simply to refer to the abstract of events and information given in pages 96 to 102 of that Article, and then to proceed to the consideration of the later measures, which the volume under review makes us acquainted with. This course would, in every respect, have been the most convenient; but as the statements in that Article are impugned in a few particulars by Mr. W. R. Baillie's summary, we are under the necessity of beating over a good deal of ground once before traversed, in order to correct Mr. Baillie's abstract, and to prevent our readers, when forming a judgment upon Government measures, from being misled by the volume of Selections where the latter is in error.

Government being, according to their own account, convinced of the necessity for an efficient system of conservancy, stumbled upon an expedient which, if inefficiency were their object, was admirably adapted to its fulfilment. Let any one, for a moment, consider what the duties of an executive officer, in the Department of Public Works, are; that he is not, as engineer officers in the Crown Colonies are, merely the planner of works and the supervisor to see that contractors carry them properly into execution, but that he is also a *bonâ fide* clerk of the works, whether as to the execution of new, or the maintaining in good repair and order of old works, and that, wherever there are cantonments with European troops, a multiplicity of details can only, according to rule, be dealt with by the executive officer himself in person—and then the amount of efficient conservancy of forests to be anticipated from the following arrangement, may be at once known.

" With this view, it was determined, in November, 1840, to
' appoint to the Department of Public Works, in the Tenasserim
' provinces, an executive officer, who, in addition to the duties
' of that department, instead of a separate conservator, should
' have the charge of the Government teak forests. A moderate
' establishment was to be allowed him for their preservation,
' and for regulating the cutting of timbers in those forests,
' where the Government could, without injustice, interfere with
' the grantees, and he was also to act as agent for providing tim-
' ber for Government shipping purposes at Moulmein, or for
' consignment to the Presidencies. Captain Tremenheere, of
' the Bengal Engineers, was selected for this appointment, and
' the Military Board were desired to instruct him to complete
' a survey of the existing teak forests, and of places suitable
' for fresh plantations, and to report on the condition of the
' several forests, their capabilities under proper management,
' and the means of increasing and perpetuating the resources

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‘ of the province, by the appropriation and plantation of new ‘ tracts. The Military Board were desired also to request ‘ Captain Tremenheere to submit a scheme for the supervision ‘ of the forests, consistently with the rights of the grantees, ‘ to define and note the boundaries of each existing grant, ‘ and, as far as possible, to discourage the practice of cutting ‘ up valuable timber into pieces.”

These were pretty comprehensive instructions, but this sort of paper work flourishes in India—long instructions, longer reports, and nothing done, except to give additional instructions, receive still longer reports, and, probably, to undo what little had been done, may be taken as a definition of what is deemed administration in this paradise of procrastination. We do not remember that the classic pantheon has a divinity of this name; neither are we aware that she figures in Hindu mythology; she seems a purely Anglo-Indian creation, and should have her image, as the palladium of the Empire, under the dome of the palace of our Viceroys, in this our Indian Capital. Great is the goddess of the Anglo-Indian rulers and officials, and her sway, omnipotent in all departments, except those of civil salaries and annexation, makes torpor the characteristic of all the others. One would think, that not only did the Government monopolize the sale of all the opium, but its consumption too, and that very little of the pernicious drug, judging from the departmental lethargy, got further on its way to China than the Government godowns. It does not signify whether it be a question of forest laws and management, or anything else of greater or minor importance, motion consists either of a tardy revolution round a centre, without progress, or if movement be perceptible at all, the odds are just as much in favor of its being retrograde as progressive. The *constitutional* Government of India is so habitually the embodiment of procrastination, save in the matter of salaries and conquest, that a few miles of completed Railroad at Bombay, and a few miles of experimental Electric Telegraph at Calcutta, are surprising events, puffed and trumpeted by a grand chorus of acclamation! Let us trace, however, the kindly influences of the Calcutta Government-goddess upon the subject in hand.

Mr. Blundell, evidently calculating on the fixed habit and system of procrastination, indicated by Lord Auckland’s opinion, that “it was doubtful whether it would be necessary or proper ‘ to give to such officer (a conservator) full and independent ‘ magisterial powers for the conservation of the forests, as was ‘ contemplated by Mr. Blundell,” had, meanwhile, taken advan-

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tage of so much as was tangible and clearly expressive of any definite mode of action; and as the Governor-General had said that, "in the first instance, there should be rather a temporary 'reporter on the forests than a conservator of them on any per-'manent footing, and in this event, the first object would be to 'obtain a full account of the present state and management of 'the forests, their progress towards exhaustion, the encroach-'ment of cultivation, or of mere grass jungles upon their site, 'and the measures which such officer would recommend for their 'preservation and improvement,"—Mr. Blundell had deputed Captain O'Brien to survey and report on the forests of the Attaran.

Two reporters were thus, at the same time, in the field, Captain Tremenheere and Captain O'Brien, whilst, at the same time Mr. Seppings, Captain Johnston, and Mr. Blundell were engaged in considering the question of the establishment of a naval dock-yard at Moulmein. It would be waste of time to follow Captains O'Brien and Tremenheere through their several routes and reports, which were merely confirmatory of the rapid exhaustion of such forests as were conveniently situated for the operations of felling and floating. It was clearly a no-code system, for "some forests had been completely worked out without any authority whatever"—other forests, held on "permits," had been neglected and abandoned from the difficulty of transporting timber—no capital had been expended, except where trees felled had been left on the ground,—and all three gentlemen, Captain Tremenheere, Captain O'Brien, and Mr. Seppings, concurred in their views, that no more licenses should be granted, and that Government should retain the forests which had escaped in their own hands. On the 2nd June, 1841, Mr. Blundell was desired to convey the thanks of Government to Captains O'Brien and Tremenheere, and Mr. Seppings, for the information supplied by them; and Mr. Blundell was authorized, in conformity with Mr. Seppings' recommendations, to secure the site at Mapoon for forming a timber depôt, and if it should be so resolved, for building ships. Mr. Blundell was also authorized to collect for Government all the timber he could get at moderate prices—he was to employ the Government elephants of the Commissariat Department in the collection and conveyance, and Captain O'Brien was to be retained for further exploring of forests in the Shan country.

Mr. Blundell, when forwarding the reports of these gentlemen, had submitted a set of rules, known as those of April, 1841. Upon the details of these rules, more especially those

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in the 1st Section, it is not our purpose to remark; good or bad, whether in too much or too little detail, such as they were, these rules met with the approval of Government, but saddled with the very singular proviso, that the only penalty clause they contained should not be enforced. Lest our readers should suppose that we are inclined to be jocular, we quote para. 74. On the 8th September, 1841, the "rules, dated 12th April, ' 1841, were approved by Government, but Mr. Blundell was ' informed of the wish of Government not to disturb the occu- ' pancy of the grantees, unless on very strong grounds; he ' was, therefore, desired to report on the practical operation of ' the rules, before he proceeded to enforce the penalty clause, ' especially with reference to the prohibition against cutting ' up the timber, which, so far as it was designed to protect the ' Government duty, it was thought, would admit of relaxa- ' tion, if that duty could be previously secured by any other ' arrangement. This object was eventually effected by calcu- ' lating the duty on the cubic contents of each log, without ' reference to its size, and levying the *ad valorem* duty of ' fifteen per cent. on a commutation price of thirty rupees per ' ton of fifty cubic feet. It was decided, at the same time, ' (with reference to the proposed resumption of some land ' in Mapoon, which was in the occupancy of Aunnund Chunder ' Mittra, and was required to form the depôt recommended ' by Mr. Seppings,) that the occupation was one of mere suf- ' ferance, and could be withdrawn at the pleasure of the public ' authorities."

Under these instructions it, of course, became necessary to promulgate the rules, (to report upon their practical operation being clearly impossible, unless they were generally known), and, accordingly, though not so stated in the volume before us, we have proof that this was done, for the rules may be found printed in the *Moulmein Almanac and Directory* of subsequent years. There does not appear, however, to have been any public notification, that the penalty clause of the rules was not to be enforced. We find them published to the world in the form subjoined, without a hint that the penalty clause was *pro-tempore* a sham, a sort of hollow turnip, with flaming eyes and mouth, to scare off bad boys, who might be soft and timid enough to be thus acted upon. The Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces may have felt puzzled as to the propriety of making known this qualification of the rules; it was a delicate case of conscience; the practical operation of the rules was to be tested, and as they were intended to be remedial of gross abuse of forest privileges, their effect, evidently,

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hinged on the dread inspired by the penalty clause; it was a case of the utmost perplexity, for it would not have been courteous to point out to the Governor-General, that his reservation insured the inefficiency of the rules, which had met with his approval, and that their publication, under such circumstances, was to expose the authority of the Commissioner to contempt and ridicule. Probably, Mr. Blundell argued, that as the penalty clause was not wiped out, but only he forbidden to carry it into execution, he might leave the community to make this discovery for themselves; and proceeded, therefore, to hang up his terrifying turnip with the most dignified composure and gravity. Unless we are mistaken, this is one of the most remarkable instances of forest legislation on record; an instance perfectly unique in the great orb of legal wisdom, and for which we might seek in vain for a parallel. That it bore fruit, and very curious fruit, we shall presently see.

RULES OF APRIL, 1841.—"Notice is hereby given, that from 'and after the first proximo, the permits, under which individuals 'are now allowed to fell teak trees within certain localities, will 'be cancelled and resumed, and such localities will be leased or 'farmed out to the same individuals, for a period of twenty 'years, under the following rules:—

"1. That the farmer keep up such an establishment for the 'preservation and working of the forest as may be considered 'necessary by the Government superintending officer, in order 'that the trees be felled without injury to those surrounding 'them, by having proper ropes, &c., for lowering them; and 'that the requisite assistance of men, elephants, trucks, carts, '&c., be provided for removing them when felled.

"2. That no trees shall be killed or felled of a less girth or 'circumference than six feet, measured round the bark, ten 'feet from the ground.

"3. That every tree shall be killed by a broad rim of the 'bark, say one foot, being taken off round the trunk of the tree, 'near the root, at a height not exceeding two feet from the 'ground; and, further, by cutting to the spine, or through the 'hard wood, to prevent the least portion of sap from rising. 'This process is only to be done during the months of January, 'February and March, before the sap commences to rise, and 'at no other period of the year.

"4. That no tree shall be felled, till the expiration of, at 'least, two years from the period it has been killed, in the 'manner pointed out in rule 3.

"5. That every tree felled, be removed from the forest with 'the least possible delay.

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"6. That for every tree felled and removed, five young 'trees, of a proper size, shall be planted by the farmer, or by 'the Government, at the expense of the farmer.

"7. That no tree shall be, on any account, cut up into short 'lengths (called loozars) but that every tree shall be removed 'as felled, and be brought in that state (after removing the 'branches) either down the river, to the town, or to saw-pits 'established in the forest.

"On proof of breach of any of the above rules, the locality, 'wherein such breach may have been effected, will be at once 'resumed by Government.

"The transfer of a lease of any forest, from one party to 'another, must be registered in the office from which the leases 'are issued, and no transfer will be valid without such registry.

"The duty on timber will continue to be levied as usual."

Sundry reports, of more or less value, but not particularly bearing upon the forest administration, may be passed over, until we arrive at one founded on the visits of Mr. Maling, the Assistant Surveyor, and Captain Tremenheere, to a part of the forests, for the purpose of ascertaining what degree of attention these rules had met with. The result is best given in the words of Mr. W. R. Baillie:—

"In all these grants, the forest rules, framed by Mr. Blun-'dell, had been entirely disregarded." "The explanations 'given by the grantees were, chiefly, that they had been done 'by the native contractors, or before the promulgation of the 'forest rules, or from ignorance, or in consequence of the 'appearance of decay in the tree felled. In one case (Mr. 'Richardson's) that gentleman stated, that he had instituted 'a suit in the Commissioner's Court, against some of his native 'contractors, for damage sustained in his grant, by their violat-'ing the rules." The observation which follows these remarks, is a perfect *non-sequitur*. After perusing the abstract and quotations of details from reports, we should have said that it was patent that the grantees had made no endeavour, whatever, and no pretence, to attend to the rules, which were violated on every point. It is not stated what the decision of the Commissioner may have been in the case instituted by Mr. Richardson, but we may hope, that as the teeth of the rules had been extracted in so far as the European grantees were concerned, the poor native contractors, against whom Mr. Richardson proceeded, were not made to feel the fangs of the penalty-less law. "It was evident" (says Mr. W. R. Baillie) "however, 'that as far as the forests above noticed were concerned, the 'rules had been inoperative, notwithstanding that the grantees

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'themselves had endeavoured to observe them. Captain 'Tremenheere attributed this to the character and habits of 'the Burmese timber cutters, who always followed their own 'practices, in killing and felling; and to the fact, that only 'the extreme penalty of immediate resumption of the grant 'was provided by the rules in question, for any breach of 'them, as it was generally believed by the natives, that the 'Government could not desire to have all the forests thus 'thrown on their own hands."

Then follows a series of rules, dated 11th July, 1842, with which Captain Tremenheere proposed to supersede those of April, 1841, having noticed, in detail, the practical effects of the clauses in the rules framed by Mr. Blundell, with the manner in which each had been disregarded. They appear more embarrassed with petty details, and interference checks impossible to carry out, than the rules of Mr. Blundell; nevertheless, they met with the approval of the Government of India, which sanctioned them, with the alterations, that five young trees should be planted in place of every tree felled, and that the Commissioner should exercise appellate jurisdiction in the case of fines, which the Superintendent of forests, invested with magisterial powers, was allowed to impose, to an amount not exceeding 500 Rupees.

These rules, however, though sanctioned, were never promulgated, for, in February, 1842, the orders of the Court of Directors were received, and as they did not approve of the rules which had been before framed by Capt. Tremenheere, the latter was again called upon to report upon the arrangements to be made for the general management of the forests. The views of the Court were as follows:—

"*Para.* 83. The Court reviewed the measures of the Go- 'vernment, and the local authorities, for the management of 'the teak forests, from the earliest period, down to Capt. Tre- 'menheere's appointment, and expressed doubts as to whether 'the rules which had been framed by him would be sufficient to 'meet all the difficulties which had arisen. The Court were of 'opinion, that a proper survey of the forests was an indispen- 'sable preliminary to any new system; but they thought that 'it was scarcely possible for the conservator, with the aid of 'any establishment which could be allotted to him, to exer- 'cise so minute and searching a superintendence over such 'extensive forests, as would enable him to prevent the felling 'of other trees than those selected by himself, or to see that 'the business of planting was properly attended to. But 'even if such interference were practicable, the Court consi-

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'dered it would be still undesirable to commit, to any indivi-
'dual, powers so liable to abuse.

"*Para.* 84. In order to insure the preservation of the 'forests held by private persons, the Court were of opinion, 'that it should be the object of Government to make it the 'interest of those persons to take care of them, and to remove 'all temptation to injure them. For this object long leases 'should be granted, on condition of the payment of a per-cent-'age on all timber felled, and under an obligation not to clear 'the land for cultivation, or to employ it for any other pur-'poses, besides plantation. The felling of timber, below a cer-'tain size, should be strictly prohibited; and a modification of 'the duty might be made to check the wasteful practice of cut-'ting up large timber. The farmer would, then, have an inter-'est in the improvement of his forests, and would, probably, be 'inclined to plant of his own accord. Even if he neglected to 'do so, the self-sown plants, which he would no longer have 'any object in destroying, would, in most situations, in-'sure, to some extent, the perpetuation of the forests. The 'Court also suggested that it should be made obligatory on the 'farmer to supply the places of the trees felled by him, by 'forming new nurseries, and carefully rearing the young plants, 'until they attained maturity; the Government should reserve 'to itself the right of forming nurseries at the farmer's ex-'pense, in the event of his failing to do so; and that the 'conservator should be allowed to exercise such a limited con-'trol over private forests, as would enable him to see that these 'conditions of the lease were observed. The conservator 'should also attend to the forests retained for the public ser-'vice, and Government should reserve to itself a resource 'independent of the market, by selecting for itself, from the 'ungranted forests, such as were conveniently situated, and suffi-'ciently extensive for all purposes, and placing them under pro-'per management, so as to afford a constant supply of timber, 'both of teak and of otheru seful kinds indigenous in the country.

"*Para.* 85. With regard to securing supplies of timber for 'the Royal Navy, or for building vessels of war at Moulmein, 'the Court stated that Lord Auckland's despatch of June, 1841, 'representing the advantages possessed by Moulmein for these 'purposes, had been laid before the Lords Commissioners of 'the Admiralty, but that their Lordships had declined to re-'commend the employment of the timber of the Tenasserim 'provinces, on the ground that there was reason to think it 'possessed no desirable qualities. In consequence of this in-'timation, the Court desired the Government to abandon the

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'idea of forming a building yard, or of collecting a stock 'of timber, at Moulmein, for shipment to Europe, and simply 'to confine their attention to supplying the demands of the 'Indian Governments, and to the preservation of the Tenasse-'rim forests, in the manner that had been suggested."

This produced orders for the discontinuance of forming the stock of timber ordered in June 1841; for retaining the unoccupied forests, to supply the wants of Government; for working them by contracts in preference to any other system; and for the report above mentioned.

Thus, it will be seen, notwithstanding the experience on the Malabar coast, and that on the Tenasserim coast, the Court could still talk of long leases, and the farmer having an interest in the improvement of his forests;—language which reads plausibly, but which, as applied to the Tenasserim provinces, was a palpable fallacy. In practice, it is well known, that even where there exists an hereditary nobility enjoying large entailed estates, and where there is every motive that the mind of man can conceive, as likely to actuate a present possessor to a wise use of his paternal estates, woods and forests have often enough fallen before present necessities, without much advertence to posterity or their rights. Weak as the argument of the Court is, in old countries, the most favourably circumstanced for its application, it is utterly invalid when applied to such a country as the Tenasserim provinces. The permit holders, grantees, or whatever was to be their designation, were well known; whether Calcutta agency houses, or mercantile men of minor pretentions and positions, present gain was, as every one knew, their sole object; and no one was better aware of this than the Court of Directors. None, too, could have more easily calculated the average existence of Calcutta agency houses between crash and crash—none knew, or ought to have known, better than themselves, the ephemeral life of such farmers as these; and that to talk of long leases, expecting them to plant, and the like, was to invest these parties with attributes of stability which, unfortunately, experience every five or six years negatives. The years 1847 and 1848 wound up several of these transitory farmers, and it was ridiculous to expect, from such establishments, keenly alive to the conditions of their existence, to act for the future and for posterity. The annals of the Insolvent Court form the best comment on the soundness of the views expressed in the Court's despatch.

"*Para.* 89. In September, 1844, a despatch was received 'from the Court of Directors, dated the 26th June, in which

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‘ the Court noticed Captain Tremenheere’s revised rules of ‘ 1842, quoted in paragraph 78 of this summary, and approved ‘ generally of them; but they objected to those clauses which ‘ required lease-holders to report, at the beginning of each ‘ season, the number of men and animals each proposed to ‘ employ in his forests, and placed restrictions in regard to the ‘ felling of trees.

“ ‘ These regulations,’ the Court remarked, ‘ must often prove ‘ exceedingly vexatious, and they can only be enforced by ‘ means of a number of petty officers invested with powers ‘ which ought not to be placed in such hands;’ they, there- ‘ fore, repeated their suggestion for giving long leases, on such ‘ conditions as would make it the interest of the lease-holders ‘ to preserve the forests, and maintain a succession of timber ‘ trees on their lands. The Court, at the same time, expressed ‘ their approval of the intention of Government to retain the ‘ ungranted forests in the Tenasserim provinces, for the supply ‘ of the wants of the public service.”

As the prior orders of the Government had, as we have seen, prevented the rules referred to from being promulgated, these instructions only left the matter exactly where it was before; and as Government, when directing (18th March, 1844) the abolition of the duty which Major Broadfoot had levied on Shan and Martaban timber, had given instructions, with regard to Government forests, to continue levying rent from the lessees, for the privilege of felling trees under the rules of 1841, it is clear that both sets of Captain Tremenheere’s proposed rules were deemed entirely quashed, and that those of April, 1841, were regarded as in force.

Between the instructions given in 1843 and 1846, there is, to use the official term of courtesy, an *hiatus* in the record of any Government measures for the administration of the forests; but there was no lack of local activity, for Captain Guthrie having succeeded Captain Tremenheere as Superintendent of forests, had turned his attention vigorously to this part of his charge. Although large extracts are given, in the volume before us, from Captain Guthrie’s reports, what it was very essential to show is omitted, namely, the scandalous destruction of the forests, which he brought to the notice of the Government of Bengal, and which led him to take steps to check this shameless waste of valuable property, by bringing before himself, as Superintendent of forests, two of the worst cases. From page 98 of No. XV. of this *Review*, we can, however, supply the omission, and we will therefore repeat what is there stated:—“ Captain ‘ Guthrie, after a thorough and most careful examination of

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'the forest, found that the permit-holders utterly neglected 'the forest rules in force, and were destroying the Govern- 'ment property in a shameful manner, utterly regardless of 'every consideration but present profit. Conservator and 'Superintendent of forests, he very properly brought the 'delinquents forward, and it happened that the first, or 'amongst the first, were the agents of the firm of Messrs. 'Cockerell and Co., in whose hands was the Megwa forest. 'No better instance of the manner in which the occupiers 'of Government forests fulfil their trusts could well have been 'brought forward, for the firm is one of the leading ones, hav- 'ing an establishment at Moulmein, and is known to be in- 'fluential in Calcutta, and to stand high, and deservedly so, in 'general estimation; if from any, attention to conditions was 'to be expected, their agents might be anticipated to set an 'example. This did not prove to be the case, or, at any rate, 'the example set was a very bad one. In the course of *ten* '*hours*, the officials of the forest department measured and re- 'corded upwards of 600 under-sized trees killed, but not felled, 'and upwards of 260 under-sized trees felled, making, in all, 'above 860 under-sized trees killed. Besides the foregoing, '164 full-sized trees, ninety-three under-sized, and ninety-nine 'crooks (valuable in ship-building) were found burning!!

"The Megwa forest contained, at the time, about 2,400 'growing teak trees, six feet girth and upwards, and 2,000 'under that girth, besides the 2,000 killed and ninety-four 'felled under the proper girth. The rapid exhaustion of 'the forests, under such a mode of procedure, may be easily 'understood, as also the necessity for checking such waste of 'valuable public property.

"Captain Guthrie decided, that the Megwa forest should be 'resumed. In the meantime, Messrs. Cockerell and Co. appear 'to have addressed themselves to the Deputy-Governor of Ben- 'gal, Sir T. H. Maddock, complaining against the proceedings 'of Captain Guthrie, and to have succeeded in obtaining the 'transmission of an order to the Commissioner, directing him, 'on its receipt, to restore to Messrs. Cockerell and Co. the 'forest resumed.

"These instructions—passed, we may presume, in entire igno- 'rance of the merits of the case, except, perhaps, as these 'might very naturally be represented by the firm, whose 'pecuniary interests were at stake—reached Captain Durand, 'after he had passed his decision on the appeal made to him 'by Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and had remitted the award,— 'having found, on examination of records, that the penalty

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'clause, the only one by which the rules promulgated for 'observance, could be enforced, had been temporarily suspend- 'ed, though not abrogated, and that, therefore, neither the 'Commissioner nor the Superintendent of forests, had any 'power, whatever, to check the most unscrupulous violation of 'the rules nominally put forth for the preservation of the 'forests! In remitting the award, however, Captain Durand 'did not conceal his entire approval of the decision of Captain 'Guthrie, passed as it was, in ignorance of the trap undesign- 'edly laid for him by this secret qualification of the publicly 'notified rules of 1841, and intimated that these rules would, 'in future, be enforced—naturally anticipating that it required 'but a clear statement of the facts of the case to insure im- 'mediate instructions to enforce, where in future requisite, 'the penalty clause.

"The holders of forests were but little pleased that such a 'warning should be given, and such an exposure made of the 'care and attention paid by them to their trust. The utter 'neglect of the Government stipulations was further well 'exemplified by the fact that, in consequence of Captain 'Durand's temporary removal of the prohibition on the work- 'ing in the Thoongeen forests, 8,922 trees were brought from 'thence, out of which 4,497, that is, about two-thirds of the 'whole amount, were under-sized, and therefore ought, by rule, 'to have been confiscated. Captain Durand ordered that a 'small extra duty should be levied on this under-sized timber, 'remitting the extreme penalty of confiscation, but warning 'the public, that the ensuing season it would be enforced—a 'measure absolutely necessary on public grounds, and favor- 'able to the real interests of the timber market, but disagree- 'able to the short-sighted selfishness of many private 'interests."

We are compelled to make this lengthy quotation, because para. 105 of Mr. W. R. Baillie's summary, which is subjoined, is in direct conflict with the statement above quoted :—

"*Para.* 105. Before Captain Guthrie submitted to Govern- 'ment his report above noticed, he had summarily resumed 'several forests under the penalty clause of the rules of 'April, 1841, for alleged breaches of those rules, by the 'felling of under-sized trees, and the failure to propagate 'others in their places. Against this measure, Cockerell 'and Co., and Mackey and Co., of Calcutta, (as the 'holders of extensive forest grants, some of which were re- 'sumed by Captain Guthrie) appealed to Government, when 'instructions were immediately given to the Commissioner,

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'Captain Durand, to restore the sequestered grants to the 'holders,' until Government are in possession of such infor- 'mation as will enable them to pass final orders' on the sub- 'ject. But, notwithstanding this order, and the intimation 'of the opinion of Government on the subject, just previous- 'ly made to Captain Durand, that it was not intended 'to 'monopolize the forests, or to restrain the free trader, or 'trench on the rights of grantees or lessees of the forest 'lands,'—Captain Guthrie, with the concurrence of Captain 'Durand, continued to enforce, rigidly, the penalty clauses of 'the rules of April, 1841. These proceedings elicited from 'the merchants of Moulmein (represented by a Committee, 'formed of Messrs. Creaton, Austin, Paterson and Maurel) a 'petition, dated 12th June, 1846, of appeal to the Commis- 'sioner. The petitioners complained of—

"1. The resumption of occupied forests, under charge of 'breach of rules promulgated under date the 12th April, '1841.

"2. The seizure of all wood brought down during the 'present season, under six feet in girth, and the subsequent 'levying a fine, equal in amount to the Government duty, on 'all such wood being released.

"3. The prohibition to private parties from working timber 'out of the unoccupied forests, with the avowed intention of 'working all such forests on Government account.

"4. The recent regulations issued by the Superintendent 'of forests, in regard to the collection of duty on, and the 'passing of wood at, the Government station of Kadoe.

"Captain Durand, however, upheld the measures of Captain 'Guthrie, and reported to Government his having done so. 'Upon this, the Government took into consideration the whole 'subject of forest management, and after briefly reviewing 'the history of the forests, from the time that they were 'thrown open to the public, by Mr. Maingy, in 1829, down 'to the period of Captain Guthrie's appointment, communicated 'the following observations and orders to Captain Durand."

Now, before either proceeding to compare this summary with our own, or to point out the nature of the statements contained in the letter of the 7th September, 1846, we shall subjoin an extract from the *Friend of India* of the 28th October, 1847, in order to point out the close coincidence between para. 105 and the extract in question. Commenting on the article in our No. XV., the *Friend of India* says:—

"The reviewer says, that these orders reached Captain 'Durand after he had passed his decision on the appeal made

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'to him by Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and had remitted the 'award. With what surprise will he learn, that so far is this 'from having been the case, that Captain Durand, in announc- 'ing the remission of the award, in consequence of the orders 'of Government, stated that he certainly would have confirm- 'ed it, but for those orders! The reviewer further states, that 'it was remitted, because Captain Durand, on examination of 'the records, found that the penalty clause 'had been tem- 'porarily suspended, though not abrogated,' whereas the fact 'is, that the clause had not been suspended, because it had 'never been sanctioned, and that Captain Durand received 'the first intimation of the abeyance of that clause from the 'Bengal Government itself."

Although it was in our power to have refuted, not only the foregoing animadversions on the article in No. XV. of this *Review*, but also the whole series of statements which the *Friend of India* paraded against it, it was not deemed worth while at the time. It was perfectly well known who supplied the *Friend of India* with his inaccurate information. We did not care to lay bare a malice and spite which could have recourse to deliberate *falsehood*, in order to blacken the good name of an officer absent in England at the time. Some of the leading men, civil and military, belonging to the service, had thanked us for publishing the article, and assured us, which we well knew to be the fact, that there was a verisimilitude pervading it which no jesuitical casuistry could shake, and that we had done a *public service* in boldly coming forward, to defend an injured and misrepresented man. The bureaucratic spirit, however, learns no lessons, takes no warnings, and seeks to stereotype its petty prejudices and hate, even at the expense of its veracity. Forbearance, under such circumstances, is synonymous with the countenance and encouragement of all that is mean and base; and now that, after the space of six years, we find exploded falsehood re-asserted, we feel it a duty to place the demi-official mis-statements of 1847, alongside of those given to the world in 1852, and after showing their common origin, shall proceed to prove their utter inaccuracy.

One thing now appears clearly, that the *Friend of India's* statements were in accordance with the information furnished him, and that the paternity of this attack is not chargeable upon him, however blameworthy he may be for lending his columns for the purpose of conveying it to the world.

It will be observed that both para. 105, and the extract from the *Friend*, coincide in giving the same verbal extracts

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from the Secretary's official letters; with this difference of course, that the *Friend of India* did not mark its quotation by inverted commas. It will also be noted, that both coincide in asserting that Captain Durand received the instructions of the Bengal Government (Sir T. H. Maddock) prior to having passed his decision on the appeal made to his Court by Messrs. Cockerell and Co.; and that both found their statement upon Captain Durand's own acknowledgment of those orders from the then existing Government. It is seldom, that ostensibly distinct parties, like a press and a Secretariat, one of whom could not have access to official documents, without the sanction of the other, concur exactly in making the self-same quotations, and founding on them the self-same line of argument, unless there has been a coalition, and a pretty intimate one too. Let us now test the *bona fides* with which these parties acted towards an absent man.

Had the Bengal Secretariat been good enough to give the dates of the two Secretariat letters quoted in para. 105, the public would have been made aware of the fact, that the two letters in question were written, that containing the first quotation, "until the Government, &c.," on the 6th June, 1846, and that containing the second quotation, "to monopolize, &c.," on the 8th June, 1846. Further, had it been hinted that there was only one monthly steamer despatched to Moulmein, and that that steamer reached Moulmein on the 18th June on that occasion, the public would have naturally concluded, that both letters were delivered at Moulmein at the same time. Para. 105 notes that Messrs. Cockerell and Co. petitioned Government, but it omits the fact that Messrs. Cockerell and Co. appealed to Captain Durand, as Commissioner, on the 18th May, 1846. Had the Secretariat volume avowed that the appeal was heard on the 13th June, after having been twice deferred at the request of the appellant, on the 23rd May, and 5th June, and that Captain Durand's decision, remitting the award of Captain Guthrie, was passed on the 16th June, the public would have seen that Captain Durand's decision was given two days before, not after,—as stated by para. 105, and the *Friend of India*,—the receipt of the two letters from which both these commentators quote; and knowing these things, the public and our readers would have been satisfied of our absolute correctness in the statement made in No. XV. of the *Review*, which is impugned by the Secretariat and the *Friend of India*. We were, indeed, surprised by the unblushing assertions of the newspaper, for the decision of an Appellate Court, publicly given out, on a certain

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date, is a fact of such notoriety, that the attempt to falsify the date of such public delivery of a decision, can only be made, where distance and unfrequency of communication favor the chance of such a mis-statement passing uncontradicted; but we were far more surprised to find a publication issued by the Bengal Secretariat, not, indeed, in a direct manner, but by implication, supporting the newspaper mis-representation.

There is, however, another point, on which, had the Bengal Secretariat shown a little more candour in this publication, it would have lost nothing in general estimation; but bureaucratic animosity is always blind, and usually finishes, as in this instance, by cutting its own throat. The *Friend of India*,—when it states "that Captain Durand, in announcing the remission 'of the award, in consequence of the orders of Government, 'stated that he would certainly have confirmed it, but for 'those orders!"—evidently would have it inferred that the words of that officer are quoted, and quoted correctly; and para. 105, which drops any advertence to the remission of the award, and asserts that Captain Durand, notwithstanding the orders he had received, continued to enforce, rigidly, the penalty clauses of the rules of April, 1841, upheld the measures of Captain Guthrie, and reported to Government his having done so, leaves the same to be inferred, though in a more involved manner, and with greater lubricity of purpose. Now, had the *Friend of India*, when quoting, or the Bengal Secretariat, when mystifying, borne in mind what was apparent to every body else, namely, that we were minutely informed, and that any tampering, however ingenious, either with dates or language, would inevitably meet with exposure, they would scarcely have hazarded the course they have pursued.

The letters from the Bengal Secretariat, of the 6th and 8th June, delivered on the 18th June, were replied to on the same day.* The Government letter of the 6th June called for a full report upon the circumstances under which Captain Guthrie had acted; and, in compliance with the request of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., ordered, that on receipt of the letter, the resumed forest should be restored to them. Captain Durand's reply was, that he would submit the report called for as soon as possible, but in the mean time, he at once informed the Secretary, that the case of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. having been brought in appeal before him, the award was remitted on the 16th instant,

* The Blue Book on "Teak Forests (India)" contains the Government letter of the 6th June, and Captain Durand's replies of the 18th June, both to it, and that of the 8th. But the letter of the 8th is omitted. Captain Durand's decision of the 16th June is given at length.

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though, had he not been in possession of the orders of Government, and the expression of its views, in a manner which the Superintendent of forests was not, the wanton destruction of forests, and most unscrupulous violation of rules brought to light by Captain Guthrie, would have made Captain Durand deem it his duty to uphold his decree.

From this reply, it would have been clear to ordinary minds, aware as the Bengal Secretariat necessarily were of the date of the steamer's arrival on the 18th June, and of the short stay prescribed for it at Moulmein, that the appeal had been made, and the decision on the appeal passed, two days before the arrival of the letter, ordering what had already been decreed, and that, therefore, the orders of Government which the Commissioner was in possession of, when he passed his decision, remitting the award, and which Captain Guthrie was ignorant of, when he decided, could not be those of the 6th June, which, at the time of Captain Guthrie's decision, on the 5th May, a month before, and Captain Durand's, on the 16th June, had not been received at Moulmein. To seek to apply Captain Durand's language to orders not before him, when he decided the case, is a palpable perversion of its meaning, as elucidated by the context; and were we to adopt this mode of quoting the words of writers, without reference to dates, facts, or context, there would be no difficulty whatever in proving, as in this instance, from a man's own words, the contrary of what he stated. The device is not new, but we have seldom seen it officially resorted to, in a more unpardonable manner than on the present occasion, for the Parliamentary Blue Book shows that, in reply to the other letter quoted (that of the 8th June) Captain Durand, on the same date, the 18th June, informed Government that he was about to address them at length on the forest question; and, in fact, did so, combining a report on the case of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., with a report on the forest question generally, which it illustrated; and in this report he clearly informed the Government, that the decision remitting the award had been passed before the receipt of the orders, summarily putting a stop to proceedings, at the request of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and ordering the restoration of the resumed forest. This report is dated the 24th June, and was in the hand of the Deputy-Governor, Sir T. H. Maddock, when the letter of the 7th September, 1846, was penned—for the latter is in reply thereto. We repeat, therefore, that these mis-statements are unpardonable, for they were originally made and promulgated by a journal supplied with its information by a Government official, and after the space

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of six years again repeated "by authority," almost *totidem verbis*, without a possibility of the error being accidental, Captain Durand's report having precluded the shade of an excuse for such gross and malevolent mis-statements.

We consider para. 105 a curiosity, as containing, in short space, a greater number of mis-representations and sinister omissions than we ever recollect counting up, as occurring within such moderate limits. They are as follows—mis-representations:—

First.—Captain Guthrie's award was *remitted*, and the penalty clause *not* enforced.

Second.—This was done *before*, and not *after*, the receipt of the two letters quoted.

Third.—Both the letters quoted came on the same day to hand, and the word "previously," as applied to their reaching Captain Durand, is incorrect.

Fourth.—The word "previously," as applied to the issue of the letter of the 8th June, before that of the 6th June, is incorrect.

Fifth.—The rules of April, 1841, only contained one penalty clause, and therefore, as in the only case, Cockerell and Co.'s, in which Captain Guthrie had sought to enforce it, the award was remitted: the assertion that the penalty clause continued to be rigidly enforced, is a mis-statement, in its general, as well as in its special, application to Cockerell and Co.

Sixth.—The petition, dated 12th June, 1846, was *not* elicited by the rigid enforcement, with the concurrence of Captain Durand, of the penalty clause, for it was given in before Captain Durand had passed his decision on the appeal case, and, therefore, before the petitioners knew whether the resumption would be upheld, or as was the case, the award remitted.

Seventh.—The orders of the Government, quoted from the letter of the 6th June, referred simply and singly to Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and did not refer to Messrs. Mackey and Co.

Eighth.—The order was, to restore the grant in question, to Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and not to restore sequestered grants to the holders, which would imply that many had been sequestered.

Ninth.—The appeal was against the resumption of the Megwa forest,—one, and not some, which would signify more than one.

Tenth.—It is left to be inferred that the letter, from which the quotation "to monopolize, &c." is taken, had respect to the general question of resumption of grants, and restraint on the free trader, whereas it referred to a wholly different mat-

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ter, namely, whether the orders of the Court of Directors to reserve forests for the supply of the public service, were to be attended to or not.

The omissions are :—*First.*—All note of dates of letters, or dates of receipt, so that there ensues a convenient confusion.

Second.—Any note of the dates of Captain Guthrie's decision, or of the Commissioner's.

Third.—A blending of things and persons wholly distinct, without hint of such being done.

Fourth.—Entire suppression of the orders of the Supreme Government, on the subject of purchasing timber for the Admiralty—and of the measures consequent thereon.

Fifth.—No note of discrepancy of orders of the Supreme and of the Bengal Government.

Having thus dealt with para. 105, we might have left the long extract from the Secretary's letter, dated 7th September, 1846, without notice, were it not that it, too, challenges remark, from its barefaced distortion of facts, and the *mala fides* which puts forth its head in every paragraph. We are not about to enter upon any longer analysis of this remarkable production, than may be sufficient to prove its worthlessness, whether viewed as an endeavour to cloak the mismanagements of the forest question by the Bengal Government, or as a specious attempt to accumulate, upon the heads of the Superintendent, Captain Guthrie, and the Commissioner, Captain Durand, responsibility for a state of things for which the Bengal Government itself was alone accountable. We cannot but think, that before concluding our brief remarks on this letter, both Captain Guthrie and Captain Durand will feel themselves under a debt of no ordinary gratitude to this volume of Selections, which, at the same time that it gives publicity to mis-statements, affords, unintentionally though it may be, a complete antidote to them.

" *Para.* 24. In the meantime, Captain Guthrie has not been
' slow to exercise the powers which he conceives himself to
' possess, for the punishment of these instances of neglect on
' the part of the grantees, and he has, in several cases, sum-
' marily resumed important grants under the penalty clause
' of the rules of April, 1841, for breach of those rules, by
' felling under-sized trees ; and these proceedings you (Capt.
' Durand) appear to have approved and affirmed.

" *Para.* 25. It will have been observed from the foregoing
' statement, that no confirmation of the penalty clause can be
' traced in the records of Government. If, therefore, any con-
' firmation be forthcoming in the office of the Superintendent

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‘ of forests, a copy should be transmitted for His Honor’s ‘ satisfaction. In the meantime, it would seem that Captain ‘ Guthrie has been acting under a rule of no authority.

“ *Para.* 26. But even if the rule had ever been confirmed ‘ and authorized by Government, it is by no means clear, that ‘ its purport would have given to the Superintendent of forests ‘ any power to enforce so serious a penalty ; he might possibly ‘ have reported the facts, and made his recommendations, but ‘ the infliction of the penalty would have lain with much high- ‘ er authority.

Para. 27. Independently, however, of these considerations, ‘ the enforcement of the penalty of forfeiture of grants for ‘ breach of rules, which have been avowedly and notoriously ‘ a dead letter, ever since they were enacted, and which ‘ the Government has never shown any intention, or given ‘ any notice of enforcing, is a measure altogether oppressive ‘ and inequitable; two mercantile houses of this city have, ‘ as you are aware, appealed to Government against these ‘ proceedings, and Government have been directed to sus- ‘ pend them for the present. One of the houses thus sum- ‘ marily stopped in their works, and deprived of their grants ‘ of forest locations, is known to be under a heavy contract ‘ with Her Majesty’s Government, for the supply of timber ‘ for naval purposes, and the consequences to them must be ‘ very serious.”

On perusing these paragraphs, which were addressed to the Commissioner, the first circumstance, which cannot fail of striking the reader, is the close correspondence between this official despatch of the 7th September, and the extract from the *Friend of India* of the 28th October: the assertions, the line of argument, and the views are identical. From the rules of Government, as to the communication by its servants of official documents, without its permission, to the press, it is clear here, that, with the view of attacking Captain Durand, that permission must have been granted, and not over-scrupulously made use of.

The first thing which occurs to the mind, on perusing these paragraphs, is, that if the Superintendent of forests and his establishment were intended by the Government to be the cyphers which, we are here told, they were considered, what on earth was the use of the appointment being made? It was upon the Government’s own showing a farce and a job, and all the surveys, reports, opinions, and calls for the result of the experience at Madras and Bombay, were fudge and pretence.

That which next strikes us, as utterly inexplicable, is the

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allegation contained in para. 24, which implies that several cases of resumed grants had come in appeal before the Commissioner, and that he had "approved and affirmed" the decrees of the Superintendent; whereas, only one case had, as we have shewn, been appealed to the Commissioner, and that in that one case of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., the award had been remitted, was notorious, and known to the Bengal Government, when it suffered this paragraph to be penned, and signed by its Secretary, Mr. Halliday.

The next thing observable is, that throughout these paragraphs, not only does the Bengal Government drop the fact of the remission of the award, and the grounds on which that remission was made by Captain Durand, about three months before their letter was written, giving no indication that the remission in question necessarily put a stop to further proceedings by the Superintendent; but it seeks to confound the approval by Captain Durand, of Captain Guthrie's investigations in the discharge of his duty, and his concurrence in the general administrative recommendations submitted to the Government for its consideration and orders, with the approval and affirmation of the enforcement of a penalty, which, on the contrary, had been remitted by the Commissioner, in his capacity of Appellate Judge,—thus confounding two perfectly distinct functions, namely, those of judge, and those of commentator upon the opinions of the Superintendent, on points of general administration, on which it was desirable to obtain specific instructions from the Deputy-Governor:—in fact, confounding the Commissioner's functions as Judge, with his functions as legislative adviser on the forest question. To have candidly stated that, in his capacity as Appellate Judge, the Commissioner had, finding the penalty clause suspended, given a strictly legal decision, which remitted the award given in the case of Cockerell and Co., and thereby stayed resumption of grants, though not the execution of the Superintendent's duties, would have been incompatible with the penning of the paragraphs above quoted, by which blame was cast on the Commissioner, for doing that which he had not done, and for not doing that which he had done, whilst it would also have set forth the absurdity of writing *Para.* 25; the Commissioner having himself brought to the notice of the Deputy-Governor, that the rule, under its temporary suspension by Lord Auckland, was of no authority; but this evidently could not have answered the object in view.

The next thing which strikes the reader as a singular avowal to have emanated from a Deputy-Governor, is the statement,

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that the rules had been avowedly and notoriously a dead letter ever since they were enacted, whereas Government had itself repeatedly called for reports on the operation of its emasculated rules, and had, as has been shewn, invested the superintendent with magisterial powers, to inflict fines not exceeding Rs. 500. (Para. 81, page 118.) This assertion of para. 27 is still more surprising, when it is noted that, although the Secretary could overlook this indubitable proof of an intention on the part of Government to enforce penalties and rules, he could, when it suited his purpose, advert, as in para. 32, to the expression of their views which Government had made, when granting these said magisterial powers, and which views are given in para. 82 of Mr. W. R. Baillie's summary, where he notes that "the 'Government appear to have had it in contemplation, and to 'have expressed the intention, in the event of granting leases 'for unoccupied forests, to limit such new leases to twenty 'years, renewable on the expiration of that time, conditionally 'on the lessee's strict observance of the rules. The grant of 'leases for unoccupied forests was, in the meanwhile, prohibited, 'pending the receipt of orders from the Court of Directors, 'on the reference which had been made to them by Lord 'Auckland."

But here, again, the disingenuous manner in which para. 32 alludes to this intention, contingent upon a sanction which was withheld by the Court of Directors, cannot be passed over without observation, and, in order to enable our readers to judge for themselves, we must subjoin paras. 30—33:—

"*Para.* 30. In regard to future management, the Deputy-'Governor conceives the only sound principle to have been 'suggested in the few but apt words already quoted from the 'despatch of the Honorable Court, dated 30th September, 1842, 'viz., that no conservator, with the aid of any establishment, 'could maintain a proper degree of check over such extensive 'tracts; that even if it were practicable, it would be objection-'able to commit such powers to one individual, and that the 'best and cheapest way of effecting the object, would be to 'make it the interest of persons to take care of their grants, 'by giving them long leases.

"*Para.* 31. This appears to the Deputy-Governor to be a per-'fectly just view of the subject. Rules full of petty detail, 'teaching merchants and traders how to carry on the smallest 'details of their business, even to ropes, and trucks, and carts, 'and prescribing small and meddling instructions, to be enforc-'ed under heavy penalties, and this, too, throughout vast, dis-'tant, solitary, and scarcely accessible forest tracts, by one con-

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‘ servator or superintendent, with a few native subordinates
‘ (for it would not pay to have a large establishment) must, in
‘ the nature of things, fail of any good. The rules would not
‘ be observed, their infraction could not be checked, and the
‘ penalties could not be enforced.

“ *Para.* 32. On the other hand, the measures taken with the
‘ grantees have been such as to ensure waste and improvidence.
‘ They have been sent at one time with permits to fell timber,
‘ on given localities, revocable at will; at another, they have
‘ received grants of undefined and disputed tracts for no speci-
‘ fied term, but dependent on the pleasure of the authorities
‘ for the time being. Even the desire of Government to grant
‘ leases for twenty years, as expressed in 1843, seems not to
‘ have been carried into effect; but, on the contrary, Captain
‘ Guthrie, as superintendent, and yourself, as Commissioner, have
‘ taken pains to impress upon the grantees, that their rights may
‘ be resumed at any time, and they have, indeed, been practi-
‘ cally taught that resumption may occasionally be very sud-
‘ denly and very summarily put in execution against them.

“ *Para.* 33. It would be strange, indeed, if, under such circum-
‘ stances as these, the grantees were found carefully guarding
‘ the Government interests in the forests, or establishing nur-
‘ series of young trees, or sparing to cut down whatever might
‘ soonest suit their purposes. The grantees have been obliged,
‘ by their position, to make the most they could, in the shortest
‘ time, out of a very precarious and uncertain tenure, and their
‘ conduct has only been what might have been expected from
‘ them.”

Here it will be at once seen, from para. 82, page 119, quoted above, that it had never been optional, either with the Commissioner, in 1843, or the one in 1846, to act in conformity with the contingent intentions of the Government, the Government having prohibited action on these instructions, prior to the sanction of the Court of Directors. Moreover, it will be remarked, that this contemplated measure of the Government had reference to the grant of leases for unoccupied forests, and not to forests already occupied by grantees or lessees. The use made of this advertence to the “desire of Government,” conveys, therefore, adroitly enough, the fallacies, first, that the instructions of Government were such as the local authorities were at liberty to act upon; secondly, that they had reference to occupied forests, instead, as was the case, of referring to unoccupied or reserved forests; thirdly, that inattention to these desires of the Government, on the part of the local authorities, had caused the waste and devastation of

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the forests by the grantees; and, fourthly, that the superintendent, Captain Guthrie, and the Commissioner, Captain Durand, were peculiarly obnoxious to the charge of not having carried into effect the views of Government as to twenty years' leases, and of having, by the summary resumption of forest grants, furnished a sufficient apology for the cupidity of the grantees, whose conduct, under such circumstances, had only been what might have been expected from them. These fallacies were, of course, intended to defend the Bengal Government against the charge of systematic mismanagement of the forests, and to cast the blame of neglect of the interests of Government, and of the conservancy of the forests, altogether on the local authorities, whose measures are handled, as if the Supreme Government and the Bengal Government were entirely innocent of having given their deliberate approval to the rules which form the subject of animadversion, rules and measures calculated " to ensure waste and improvidence," and exonerating, in the opinion of the writer of this letter, the grantees, for a flagrant neglect of every consideration, but that of their own present interests. At the same time, these fallacies were so arrayed, as to accumulate upon the Superintendent and the Commissioner, not only the mismanagement of their predecessors in office, but more particularly the neglect of compliance with the views of Government, in the matter of issuing twenty years' leases to grantees of occupied forests, and for taking away inducements from the grantees, to observe the conditions on which they obtained their permits, grants, or leases. A more clumsy, or a more unworthy device for attempting to shuffle off, from the shoulders of the Supreme and Bengal Governments, the consequences of their own vacillating imbecility, could scarcely have been concocted. Fortunately, the bungling is too transparent, and the publication of the volume before us sets at rest any question that might be raised as to the real value of this official attempt to dupe the public; for the volume lays bare the real authors of the no-code system on the Tenasserim coast, and effectually exculpates the local authorities, from the time of Mr. Blundell, who first moved for rules and resumption of forests. Whilst the endeavour to cloak the gubernatorial derelictions of duty, by the spiteful sacrifice of the reputations of the two officers, who, as Superintendent of forests and Commissioner, honestly did their own duty, relying on the Bengal Government to do theirs, is defeated as much by the revelations of the publication under review, as by its reticenses. The Bengal

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Secretariat were egregiously mistaken, if they thought that such a course would stand the probe of scrutiny, and impose upon those who have long watched its proceedings on this question of forest management and its associated subjects.

Merely noting that the Cockerell and Co. contract with the Admiralty appears wholly unsupported by any official statements, except the assumptions of the *Friend of India's* informant, and the despatch of the 7th September, 1846, and that the instructions of the Supreme Government themselves, in communication with the Admiralty, through the home authorities, when ordering the purchase of timber at Moulmein for the navy, in the manner set forth in No. XV. of the *Review*, never adverted to the existence of any such contract, which, had it existed, must certainly have been known to them; we must be permitted to doubt the fact thus confidently asserted, which, however, is one not at all to the purpose for which it is adduced, as every one acquainted with the Moulmein timber market, and the abundant supply of timber at the period in question, must have been thoroughly well aware of the fact, that the nominal resumption, by Captain Guthrie, of Messrs. Cockerell and Co.'s Megwa forest, from the 7th May to the 16th June, when the Commissioner's decree remitted the award, and cancelled the paper resumption in question, could have had no effect whatever in preventing that firm from fulfilling its engagements, had they existed, and that to talk of the consequences of the temporary resumption being to the firm "very serious," betrayed either entire ignorance, or the intention of conveying false impressions.

We come now to the "obvious remedies," which the sagacity of this despatch had in store for the Tenasserim teak forests. Not wishing to be suspected of mis-representing the nature and extent of this sagacity, we must permit it to speak for itself:—

"*Para.* 34. The obvious remedy is to do as the Court re-
'commend, viz., make the interests of the grantees corres-
'pond, as far as possible, with the interest of Government.

"*Para.* 35. The interest of Government is, that as much tim-
'ber as possible should be brought to market, without injuring
'the forests or destroying their future productiveness. To
'make the interests of the grantee identical with these, he
'should have a permanent property in the forests, and no fur-
'ther restrictions should be placed on him, than, that the grant
'should become liable to the payment of land revenue, if ever
'it is denuded of trees, and brought under the plough. The
'property conveyed by the grant should include not teak

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‘ only, but all trees and products of the forest. The duty ‘ levied in Moulmein should be heavier in proportion as the ‘ logs are below a given size, and all below a certain girth, to ‘ be fixed as a minimum, should be confiscated.

“ *Para.* 36. The Honorable Court have, in the case of the ‘ grants at *Mergui*, claimed by the Countess Nostitz, and Baron ‘ des Granges, sanctioned leases for a term of ninety-nine years, ‘ and the Deputy-Governor does not conceive himself authorized, ‘ without further reference to the Honorable Court, to grant ‘ leases for any longer term. But it is shown in the reports of ‘ Captains O’Brien, Tremenheere, and Guthrie, that teak does ‘ not attain to any large size under eighty years, and it is there- ‘ fore obvious, that grants of such forests should be in perpetuity, ‘ subject to a land rent, on the usual terms, for any part of the ‘ land at any time brought under cultivation. The Deputy- ‘ Governor is strongly of opinion, that the system should be ‘ pursued in regard to these forests, which prevails in the ‘ Crown Colonies, *i. e.*, that the locations should be sold out- ‘ right, and a complete title conveyed to the purchaser. A ‘ recommendation to this end will be immediately forwarded ‘ to the Honorable Court. In the meantime, the Deputy-Go- ‘ vernor directs me to request, that you will communicate with ‘ the existing grantees, and the persons engaged in the timber ‘ trade, in order to ascertain their views on this subject; and ‘ you may also take early measures for surveying and defining ‘ the boundaries of all existing grants, as well as the parti- ‘ cular localities which, in your opinion, had better, for the ‘ present, be resumed for Government purposes. On this part ‘ of the subject, however, His Honor entertains a strong opi- ‘ nion, and will express it to the Honorable Court, that the ‘ Government interests will be best served by attracting private ‘ capital and enterprise to work the forests, and trusting for ‘ Government supplies to the market.

“ *Para.* 37. It will be proper that the superintendent of forests ‘ should take every possible means of establishing teak nur- ‘ series in fit situations, not within the boundaries of occu- ‘ pied grants; and it may be expected that grantees, when as- ‘ sured of reaping the fruits of their own exertions, will them- ‘ selves endeavour to propagate young trees within their ‘ localities.”

Our readers will have seen, that experience had proved the fatuity of such clap trap as that the interests of the grantees could be made to correspond with those of Government, and that the parade of the pseudo-liberal “ strong opinion,” that “ the ‘ Government interests would be best served by attracting private

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‘ capital and enterprise to work the forests,” was a begging of the whole question, by advancing a false plea and arguing upon it. Private capital and enterprise had not been at all backward at working the forests ; in fact, they were fast exhausting many, and had already completely denuded some forests ; the attraction had proved most efficacious, and needed no Government aid : what was needed was, that the action of capital and enterprise should not be synonymous with the annihilation of one of the most valuable products of the provinces. Now let us examine how the “ obvious remedy” contemplated setting about the problem of making the interests of the grantees identical with those of the Government. We see from the despatch, and we know from other sources, that the grantees were not persons attached to the soil by antiquity of tenures and hereditary domicile ; but, on the contrary, they were chiefly Calcutta mercantile firms, or subordinate branch establishments, in close connection with such firms, and whose existence depended upon that of those centres of daring speculation and profligate expenditure. The one or two European grantees, not thus intimately connected with Calcutta agency houses, or to be regarded as mere branches, were, however, scarcely less dependent upon them for their mercantile life. The grantees, therefore, as a body, were of that class, whose period of mercantile life was well known to average no great number of years. It was plain matter of notoriety, and required no very accomplished actuary, but even such a moderate acquaintance with the common rules of arithmetic as it is fair to assume that a Deputy-Governor and his Secretary are possessed of, to arrive at a tolerably correct notion of this average—take it in round numbers at six or seven years, three crashes having taken place in the course of eighteen years.

Here it is plain, that if there were no other element to be taken into consideration than the ephemeral mercantile lives of such grantees, sometimes a consequence of their own conduct, sometimes a consequence of fluctuations in trade, the money market, and credit, over which they have comparatively no control, being swept away at a crisis when the periodical flood of wide-spread bankruptcy scatters ruin over the mercantile community,—it is plain, we say, that this single fact of the condition of ephemeral existence, inseparable from such a class of grantees, renders it absolutely impossible that their interests can be made identical with those of Government. Their interests, manifestly, must be to make the utmost they can, at the moment, of the forests, with an entire indifference

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as to the future. To give them permanent property in the forests, with no further restrictions than that the grant shall become liable to the payment of land revenue, if ever it is denuded of trees, and brought under the plough, is to grant them a license to utterly exhaust the forests in the shortest practicable period. No plough being used in the provinces, and if it were, rocky mountain sides not being the usual soil chosen for the plough, the stipulation as to revenues contingent on the culture, by the plough, of the forest-denuded soil, is stark nonsense. The writer had not the candour to say plainly, " His Honor, wishing to pay court to the powerful ' influence of the Calcutta agency firms, headed by Messrs. Coc- ' kerell and Co., deliberately sacrifices the interests of Govern- ' ment, and hands over to the Calcutta agency houses, uncondi- ' tionally, all the teak in the Tenasserim provinces, besides all ' other trees and products of the forests ;" he therefore cloaked this in verbiage, and thought that, by flattering the Court of Directors, with quoting one of their *ad captandum* general principles so easy to enunciate, he should conceal the intention of departing from it as widely as possible, and cover the deed of spoliation by the artifice of a measure which, under the pretence of studying the reciprocal interests of firms and Government, should hand the oyster over to the former, but not even the shells to the latter. The sagacity of the thirty-fifth para. is, however, lucid and transparent in comparison with that of the paragraph which follows it, for there confusion is worse confounded. What analogy there can be between a lease, such as that granted to the Baron des Granges, or other leases of waste lands, for clearance and cultivation, and a grant of a valuable teak forest, we are at a loss to conceive. In the one case, all the valuable products have to be created, after the land is cleared, by the expenditure of labour and capital ; in the other case very valuable property of a peculiar character exists, and the object is to husband the use and perpetuate the reproduction of the existing property. In the one case, the capital expended can have no return for several years, where laid out, as in the case of the Mergui estate, on coffee, cocoa, betelnut plantations and spices; in the other case capital steps into the immediate enjoyment of a most remunerative return, in fact, one quite disproportionate to the insignificant outlay it may incur, in removing the standing property on the estate. Surely these are essential differences of condition, though a gubernatorial mind failed to observe them, or deemed it inconvenient to do so. What, for instance, would Messrs. Bright, and Cobden, and others of the Manchester school, say to

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the politico-economist theory, which drew no distinction between the conditions of a capitalist who had gratuitously handed over to him, complete in every respect, and turning out its full daily quantity of fabrics, one of those magnificent piles of building, called a cotton factory, and another capitalist, to whom so much uncleared swamp and jungle soil was handed over, and who had to root up, clear, and drain, then to found and build the huge pile, and, lastly, to provide machinery, fuel, the staple, and the factory population, so as to give life and being to the eight or ten-storied monster house, before he could obtain a pound of cotton twist? Messrs. Bright and Co. would open their eyes at such a parallel and comparison; yet this is precisely what para. 36, above quoted, perpetrates with an air of ludicrous gravity. As the Deputy-Governor does not specify the Crown Colonies to which he alludes, he is pretty safe from criticism on the other analogy he propounds. We chance to know something of the matter of grants in Crown Colonies;—indeed, just sufficient to be sure that the discreet reserve we notice, was a safe precaution to eschew a castigation. But it is impossible not to be surprised at the ratiocination, which, knowing who the class of grantees really were, what their average mercantile life, and what the period that a teak tree requires to attain a profitable size, should hit on the device of investing a guardian, with six or seven years of life before him, with perpetuity rights over a minor, who had eighty years to run before he came of age! Under these circumstances, it certainly was a necessary precaution, that the superintendent of forests should keep his teak nurseries as clear of occupied grants as possible; but how such grantees could be assured of reaping the fruits of their own exertions, if they were so good-natured as to propagate young trees within their localities, is one of those enigmas which must be left to the Bengal Secretariat to expound, in some future number of these Selections.

The Court of Directors, to do them justice, do not seem to have been greatly taken with their Deputy Governor's mode of reasoning. Mis-informed (purposely we fear) as to the resumption of grants, which they seem to have understood to have been restored by order of the Deputy-Governor, instead of Cockerell and Co.'s being restored by that of the Commissioner, they approved of the instructions of Sir T. H. Maddock on that point, but observed upon the others, as follows, in a despatch of the 20th October, 1847:—

"*Para.* 6. We are aware that you do not appear to admit the 'necessity for this precaution, and you observe that the Go-'vernment interests will be best served by attracting private

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'capital and enterprise to work the forests, and trusting for 'Government supplies to the market; but we do not concur in 'this opinion. It is quite possible that, not only lease-holders 'for ninety-nine years, but even lease-holders in perpetuity, 'may not think it worth while to form plantations, which must 'remain for eighty years without yielding any returns of value, 'and that after felling the timber on their estates, they may 'leave them waste or bring them under the plough. The latter 'course would, no doubt, be productive of much advantage, both 'public and private; but it might be pursued too far, and in any 'such case a stipulation should be introduced into the leases, 'providing for the payment of the ordinary assessment on 'lands brought into cultivation. It is absolutely indispensable, 'that a certain extent of forest land should be preserved for 'the supply of timber, and that the valuable resources exist-'ing in the Tenasserim provinces should not be exhausted 'through a repetition of the neglect which has proved so ruin-'ous to those of Malabar. For these reasons, Government, as 'we observe in our despatch of the 30th November, 1842, 'should reserve to itself a resource independent of the public 'market; and we must consequently repeat the injunctions 'made in the same despatch, 'that before any further grants 'are made, some forests sufficiently extensive be selected, and 'placed under proper management, so as to afford a constant 'supply of timber, both of teak, and of other useful kinds 'indigenous in the country, for the wants of the Bengal Go-'vernment, as well as of the Royal Navy.'"

These remarks show but a hazy perception of the fallacies involved in the Deputy-Governor's despatch of the 7th September, 1846, but they evince some glimmering of common sense; and when it is remembered that the agency house interests were strong and active in the Court, the head of Cockerell and Co.'s house in England being a friend of the most influential members of the Court of Directors, and, of course, nothing slack in supporting the interests of the Calcutta house, by giving a suitable coloring to the conduct of the obnoxious Superintendent and Commissioner, this paragraph is far more creditable to the Court of Directors than the Deputy-Governor's despatch of the 7th September, 1846, which was evidently written with studious and unscrupulous hostility to Superintendent and Commissioner, and wholly in the interest of the agency houses;—so much so indeed, that they might have been charged with composing the document.

In India we manage these matters differently from the way things are done in England. There, indeed, the peculiar embarrassments of the superintendent of woods and forests render all

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amelioration a matter of difficulty. "Since the Sovereigns gave 'up the immediate management, the offices in the forests had 'been conferred, more as marks of distinction on the neighbour-'ing gentlemen, than with any view of enforcing the forest 'laws; and the consequence had been that the greatest confusion 'had prevailed. One set of officers, viz., those of the Commis-'sioners of woods and forests, had charge of the timber;— 'another independent set of officers were appointed by the 'rangers, and had charge of the deer;—and a third set were 'appointed by the free-holders, to look after their common 'rights. The confusion arising from such conflicting autho-'rities was incalculable. The Commissioners appointed in '1797 had advised a separation of rights in all the for-'ests, but in 1848, when the committee met, no separa-'tion of rights had taken place in the New Forest, Dean 'Forest, Whychwood, Whittlebury and Waltham." From 1797 to 1848, half a century of Committees, Reports, Blue Books, &c., with nothing done, is very homologous with a half century of the revolutions of the reference wheel in connection with the Malabar forests, or the pace observable in a quarter of a century of reports and despatches, with regard to the Tenasserim teak forests. Still Lord Duncan could say that, "when he went down to the New Forest, he found great 'irregularities prevailing. The Deputy-Surveyor was ill, and 'the forest was under the management of the son of his assis-'tant, Mr. William Reid. He found the quantity of timber 'cut was far larger than the amount returned to the office. Mr. 'William Reid referred him to his Solicitor, and shortly after 'left the country for France, where he had since resided. One 'person cut his throat, another bolted out of the forest, many 'other parties in Government employ were implicated, seven-'teen persons were fully committed for trial at Winchester; and 'it afterwards appeared, upon investigation by Major Freeman, 'selected by the Government for that purpose, that a system of 'robbery had been carried on, for many years, without the 'knowledge of the Commissioners of woods."

Now in India, instead of defaulting grantees cutting their throats, or easy-going superintendents bolting to France, or Siam, quite another course is adopted. Had Lord Duncan been in India, he would have been first vigorously snubbed for doing his duty, by the Government; and the Judge at Winchester, before whom the seventeen persons were committed for trial, would have received a missive, based on the disinterested representations of the persons profiting by the misconduct of the seventeen prisoners, ordering all proceedings against these unfortunates to be discontinued. The forests would,

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moreover, have been granted on leases of ninety-nine years, or else in perpetuity, to the mis-employers of the seventeen innocents; and, finally, Lord Duncan, Major Freeman, and the Judge too, (though without awarding punishment, the latter chanced only to have warned the culprits against repetition of offences, and let them go,) would all three have been got rid of as soon as practicable, and replaced by others who were likely to prove more manageable, and not so inconveniently apt at doing their duty. Which system may be most in accordance with the customary notions of good Government, we shall not trouble our readers with discussing.

We now find Mr. J. R. Colvin, as Commissioner, and Captain T. Latter, as Superintendent of forests, and are launched afresh upon a series of reports and despatches. Captain Latter's report, shallow but prolix, need not be adverted to, being full of blunders and crotchetty theories, which an unscientific habit of mind and study could alone account for. Mr. Colvin having been sent over on the "*private enterprise*" interests and views of the Deputy-Governor, appears to have followed suite very subserviently. That gentleman's reports and proposals proceed, judging from the extracts given in the volume before us, upon the same identical principles which form the distinctive qualities of the letter of the Deputy-Governor, of the 7th September, 1846, namely, the rejection of all experience, both that of the Malabar and of the Tenasserim coast, and the acceptance of exploded assumptions, such as the parallelism of interests between Government and grantees, and the wisdom of establishing, in favor of a class of grantees, whose existence is of the average ephemeral duration of six years, leases of ninety-nine years, or as he still more strenuously urged, leases in perpetuity. Nay, he went a step further in the "private enterprise" line, for, not satisfied with wishing to make over the teak forests unconditionally to this favored class of grantees, he was anxious to secure to them a monopoly, and to exclude the native community; for we are informed in para. 114, page 164, that in granting leases or permanent tenures to the occupants of forests on the Attaran, Mr. Colvin thought it would be advisable to exclude "many of the Burmese holders of forest licenses, who had not the means, or the character, from which to look for a useful result, were such a concession made to them." When we bear in mind the longevity of the class of grantees, in whose favor this exclusive monopoly was to be maintained, at the expense of the rights of the Burman holders of forest licenses, few more remarkable instances of a suggestion for a partial class-favoring legislation have ever been made public. The proposed conditions of

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ouster, too, were such as were eminently calculated to open a door to the most nefarious litigation, and to afford an opportunity for the exercise of any amount of knavery. Unintentional this must have been, we should hope, on Mr. Colvin's part; but few things read worse in the whole volume, than this painful instance of deliberate proscription of the native in favor of the European. It is not thus that India should be ruled, or our new possessions in Burmah be managed; and we sincerely hope that this will be a solitary example of such inequitable jurisdiction. It appears to have drawn forth no comment or animadversion, for, after noting investigations relating to a modification of duty, para. 123 proceeds as follows :—

" *Para.* 123. On the 7th August, 1848, Government authorized
' the adoption of the proposed scale of duty, and on the 13th Sep-
' tember following, a full report on the subjects of Mr. Colvin's
' report, dated the 28th October, 1847, of his two subsequent
' communications of the 21st June and 10th July, 1848, and of
' the orders of Government thereon, was sent to the Court of
' Directors, under instructions from the Earl of Dalhousie, the
' Governor of Bengal. The favorable consideration of the Court
' of Directors was solicited to the proposal of Mr. Colvin, for con-
' verting the leases for ninety-nine years into grants in perpe-
' tuity. The Court replied to this report on the 12th September,
' 1849. They disapproved of Mr. Colvin's proposal for granting
' leases in perpetuity, but sanctioned all the other measures
' which had been suggested, and those which had been introduc-
' ed, the modified rates of duty included. On the subject of the
' proposed leases in perpetuity the Court wrote :—

" ' *Para.* 5. We cannot accede to any recommendation which
' would alienate from Government, in perpetuity, the proprietary
' right in these forests. We attach little importance to the argu-
' ment urged by the Commissioner, as we are of opinion, that,
' where the prospect of obtaining any remuneration for the
' labor and expense bestowed on the forests is so distant, as
' must necessarily be the case in regard to the plantation of
' young teak trees, a perpetual tenure would have little, if
' any, advantage over a ninety-nine years' lease, in inducing
' the grantees, voluntarily, to incur that labor and expense,
' where there exists no express condition to that effect. We
' consider that a far more effectual plan for securing a renewal
' of the forests, on the tracts occupied by the present holders,
' would have been to make it a condition of the lease, that
' three seedlings should be planted wherever a tree had been
' cut down, and that any default in this respect (which might
' be ascertained by periodical inspections) should render the
' grant liable to resumption. Such a condition, if faithfully

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'performed, would secure for the future a constant supply of 'teak timber; and it might be held out as an inducement to 'lessees to exert themselves for the improvement of the forests, 'that if they were successful in that object, they might look 'forward to a renewal of the lease at the expiration of the 'present term.'

"*Para.* 134. The Court of Directors further deprecated the 'recognition of any proprietary right in individuals, whether 'European or native, to either the growing timber or the land 'in the Thoungyeen forests. They observed, in reference to Mr. 'Colvin's report on the subject, that 'in the proceedings of the 'local officers, there appears to be a tendency to blend the 'right of property in the timber with the fair reward for 'labor.' The Court thought the Karen inhabitants might 'reasonably expect a fair remuneration for their labor in felling 'and preparing the trees, but they must not be allowed to 'have any right of property in the timber itself, or in the land 'in which it grows."

These orders of the Court of Directors were communicated to the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, on the 14th January, 1850.

This concludes, up to the date of the issue of this volume in 1853, it may be supposed, the measures of Government with respect to the teak forests of the Tenasserim Coast. They amount, in fact, to a license to the holders to destroy the forests as soon as they please, and to an utter absence of anything which deserves the name of administration on this really national subject. Great have been the pretensions, and numerous the reports, references, and despatches, but the results have been even less than those attained on the Malabar Coast. The "*moulinet à lettres*" has indeed been spun with as much industry as the Lamas of Rache-Tchurin displayed before Monsr. Huc, with their "*moulinets à prières;*" in fact, the Lamas in both cases evidently proceed on the same principle, and their machinery is singularly identical. What more correct description could have been given of our "Great Lamas" and their gyratory-epistolar aptitude at doing nothing and taking their ease, than the following, in which the reader must understand *Lamaserie* to mean Presidency Governments? "Dans 'les grandes lamaseries on rencontre, de distance en distance, 'de grands mannequins en forme de tonneau, et mobiles autour 'd'une axe. La matiére de ces mannequins est un carton très-'pais, fabriqué avec d'innombrables feuilles de papier collées les 'unes aux autres, et sur lesquelles sont écrites, en caractères 'Thibétains, des prières choisies et le plus en vogue dans la 'contrée. Ceux qui n'ont ni le gout, ni le zèle, ni la force de

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‘ placer sur leur dos une énorme charge de bouguins, de se
‘ prosterner á chaque pas dans la boue ou dans la poussière, de
‘ courir autour de la lamaserie pendant les froidures de l’hiver
‘ ou les chaleurs de l’été, tous ceux-là ont recours au moyen
‘ simple et expéditif du tonneau à prières. Ils n’ont qu’à le
‘ mettre une fois en mouvement; il tourne ensuite, de lui-
‘ même, avec facilité et pendant long-temps. Les devots peu-
‘ vent aller boire, manger ou dormir, pendant que la mécanique
‘ a l’extrême complaisance de prier pour eux.”

Had the Government, from the time the provinces were ceded to us in 1826, been in the hands of children, blowing bubbles instead of orders, more thorough and hopeless fatuity could not have been exhibited. Dr. Falconer sums up as follows; and though he has fallen into error in some respects in his report, a more just and a more severe condemnation could not have been penned of the inefficiency displayed by the Bengal Government in its forest measures—an inefficiency revealed by the results so clearly and forcibly stated.

“*Para.* 81. The experience of the last twenty years has
‘ shown that the forests have been worked solely with a view to
‘ immediate returns, and with no regard to the future. The
‘ licenses have passed by transfer from hand to hand, and few of
‘ them have remained with the original holders. The timber trade
‘ has been carried on naturally with a view to make the most of
‘ a profitable article, while it lasted. As one source of timber
‘ became exhausted, other more remote tracts were explored,
‘ until the traders went beyond the boundaries of the province,
‘ and drew their supplies from the Shan states upon the Thoung-
‘ yeen, whence the greater part of the timber is now derived.
‘ Fixed capital never appears to have been invested in any part
‘ of the forests, with a view to operations extending beyond the
‘ duration of the timber then standing, or in prospect of being
‘ speedily available for use. The holders were fully awake to
‘ the impending exhaustion of their grants, but in no one in-
‘ stance was a steady effort made by them to maintain the value
‘ of the property for the future, by planting. Instead of this,
‘ the future was anticipated by felling every tree approaching
‘ the regulation standard. It is true that the tenures originally
‘ held were simply licenses revocable at will, and conveyed no
‘ permanent right of property, but I do not believe that this
‘ circumstance had much effect practically in influencing the
‘ operations of the holders; for during the period from 1829 to
‘ 1846, they were never disturbed in their possession; the eject-
‘ ment measures resorted to by Captain Guthrie were imme-
‘ diately discountenanced by Government, and large sums were
‘ paid for the transfer of the licenses, showing the feeling of

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‘ security that was placed in them. The trade, as has been
‘ aptly stated by Mr. Colvin, was conducted in a spirit of gamb-
‘ ling, with a hazardous outlay of capital, and very uncertain
‘ returns. The ultimate gains to most of the forest-holders have
‘ been small, and the profits of the traffic would appear to have
‘ remained with the prudent capitalists at Moulmein, who pur-
‘ chased their consignments on the spot from the adventurers
‘ who had brought the timber to the market.

“ *Para.* 82. If such have been the results of the past, when
‘ the forests were covered with abundance of valuable teak tim-
‘ ber, what reasonable grounds are there for expecting adequate
‘ measures of renewal from the grantees, now that they are
‘ bared ? If the leases had reference to virgin forests stocked
‘ with teak wood, conditions of renewal might have been en-
‘ forced, and the Government could have had the full guarantee
‘ that the provisions were carried out, by periodical inspections,
‘ and by forfeiture whenever planting was neglected. But
‘ with exhausted forests, when the prospects of return are nearly
‘ a century off, how can it be expected that capital will be in-
‘ vested by private parties with annual outlay, in so remote an
‘ adventure ? Fixed capital in the province of Amherst has
‘ still to be created ; there is none available at present for such
‘ an enterprise, and the only party who can be looked to for
‘ undertaking it, is the Government itself, for the prospective
‘ maintenance of its timber revenue.

“ *Para.* 83. It may be urged that, as the proposed leases con-
‘ vey rights of property in the other woods and products of the
‘ grants, some of these ought, in the interim, to yield profitable
‘ returns. But on the other hand, it may be stated with more
‘ effect, that the demand for timber at Moulmein is at present
‘ confined to teak; that for other woods, it has still to be creat-
‘ ed ; while at the same time there is no resident population
‘ in the Attaran forests to work upon the miscellaneous pro-
‘ ducts.

“ *Para.* 84. It appears to me that the principle of the new
‘ leases, however sound in the abstract, is like that acted upon
‘ by Sir Thomas Munro, with reference to the Malabar forests,
‘ much in advance of the existing condition and prospects, for
‘ many years to come, of the country to which it is proposed to
‘ be applied. But there was probably no other alternative open,
‘ besides taking the whole of the forests into the hands of Go-
‘ vernment, under a general system of management, with com-
‘ pensation to the license-holders for their existing rights, or
‘ granting them leases in perpetuity, on condition of renovating
‘ their tenures with teak timber.”

We have here a flat contradiction to the inferences which

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the Deputy Governor, in the despatch of the 7th September, 1846, wished to derive from the energetic conservancy acts of Captain Guthrie; but an erroneous statement as to the "large sums" paid for transfer of licenses, which, however, have been frequent enough, as may be imagined from what we have said. An exaggerated impression would also be the fruit of such expressions as "hazardous outlay," "and very uncertain returns," whilst it is manifestly incorrect to allege, that the ultimate gains to most of the forest-holders have been small. The gains, in so far as reaping, in a few years, the crop of centuries of growth of teak is concerned, have been great, but the forest-holders having usually been speculators in other mercantile transactions, it is next to impossible to approximate, correctly, to the actual profits on the devastation of the teak forests; and of course a scientific botanist, more conversant with plants than with ledgers, could not be expected to fathom such mysteries of the craft. Dr. Falconer appears to have been but too sensible of the ridiculous nature of the new leases, and, therefore, he adverts to them in the last paragraph we have quoted, as courteously as he could, covering the folly of Government by the assumption of a dilemma which, had it ever existed at all, was of their own creation, but which never did exist, and for the remedy of which, had it existed, the alternative of granting leases in perpetuity, or condition of renovating their tenures with teak timber, was palpably absurd, and sure to be wholly inoperative. It is treating the forests, and Government interests in the forests, as the charitable Lamas, quaintly described by sly Mons. Huc, do travellers. "Ce que 'nous envoyons aux voyageurs, ce sont des chevaux en papier. 'Après certaines formules de prières, nous prenons un paquet 'de chevaux que nous lançons en l'air; le vent les emporte; 'par la puissance de Bouddha, ils sont changés en veritables 'chevaux, et se presentent aux voyageurs." So these new lehmats or leases, with their conditions, that at the end of ten years, a certain proportion of the area of forest holdings is to show of planted or spontaneous young teak some 3,097 to the square mile, are on a par with the innocent amusement of charity to which we have alluded; "ce sont des forêts en papier," and need no grave discussion. If Dr. Falconer had spoken out, in plain English, we see that his real impression was, that the only truly efficacious plan was to have taken the whole of the forests into the hands of Government, under a general system of management, with compensation, where due, to license-holders.

Our Commissioners having failed to induce the Burmese envoys to come to terms, and it being now declared to be the

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purpose of the British Government, not only to keep all they have claimed, as belonging to Pegu, which includes some considerable tracts of teak forest, but also, if molested, to annex a great deal more, in short, the whole Burman Empire; it may be hoped that, with the admonitory examples of the Malabar teak forests, and of the still greater failure of the Tenasserim teak forests before them, the Supreme Government of India will not perpetrate a third instance of vacillating imbecility; we trust that they are not contemplating handing over the Burmese forests, the most valuable product of the country being its teak, to the cupidity of Calcutta agency houses, or, in other words, to certain rapid exhaustion. The question is one of fiscal interest with respect to our late and future conquests, and annexations of territory, in a country, which will not, under the most economical administration, pay the expenses of occupation; and also it is of moment with regard to the supply of our naval and marine requirements. What Mr. Norton has stated of our judicial system in India, might, with far greater propriety, be applied to the forest system hitherto pursued. The volume before us shows, (more, however, on the part of Boards, Governors and Governors-General, than on that of conservators or Commissioners, some of whom sought to check mismanagement,) "one dead level of incompetence." Endless resultless reports and references, rules studiously rendered *ab initio* useless by the Government which issued them, and the interests of the state sacrificed to any and every pretext, in order to give free course to spoliation, in favor of "private interests and enterprise," *i. e.*, influential agency houses. We have had enough of this description of forest management, it is time to try another; for the volume for which we have to thank the Bengal Government, is one continued exposition of what has been, however mystified by a perplexing series of reports, scientific and unscientific, either very gross jobbery or very gross imbecility. No other conclusions or alternatives present themselves —the Government, by its own showing, stands convicted of one or other; neither is creditable, and we venture to recommend that the legislative council take in hand jurisdiction on behalf of the teak forests of our new acquisitions in Burmah, otherwise they too will disappear, speedily enough and for ever, under the "private enterprise" and "identity of interests" principles, the working and results of which have been as destructively exemplified by a quarter of a century of the no-code system on the Tenasserim coast, as by half a century of the no-code system on the Malabar coast.

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ART. IV.—1. *Joseph's Map of the Grand Trunk Road, from Calcutta to Benares.*

2. *Ditto Ditto, from Benares to Agra.*

3. *Sherwill's Geological Map of the Districts North and South of the Grand Trunk Road, between Calcutta and Allahabad.* 1853. 8 *Rupees. Surveyor General's Office.*

WE have lately directed the reader's attention to *Calcutta in the Olden Time;* and now start from the city of palaces to Delhi, along a route which calls up vivid associations of the past, along with a view of nature, always blooming amid the ruins of man's handy work.

Our article is not designed so much for the information of Mofussilites, who are, or ought to be, familiar with the facts we shall state; but for those residents in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, or those strangers from England, who wish, in the absence of a North India "Murray" to have a descriptive outline of a country they propose to visit for health or business, and who are anxious to obtain hints and references suggestive of further inquiry—to know what can be seen in a tour of six weeks to the North West Provinces, at an outlay of 400 rupees. In 1850 a single seat from Calcutta to Benares cost 165 rupees, now it costs only 140 rupees from *Calcutta* to *Meerut.* We do not write for those who wish to make a tour in the mode of the London Cockney, "getting over the greatest possible amount of ground in the smallest possible amount of time," irrespective of what is to be seen along the way, like the London lady, who, when crossing the Simplon, was occupied with one of Bulwer's novels.

The number of books, descriptive of places in the North West Provinces, is quite puzzling to a traveller, and almost all are, to a great extent, echoes of *Heber's Journal,* which stands pre-eminently the *Magnum opus* as the guide to the traveller in India. His descriptions are generally accurate and true, and, to a great degee, they are suited for 1853. Some slight mistakes occur here and there, which, it is to be regretted, were not corrected by Murray, when he brought out his cheap edition of *Heber* in the Colonial Library. Among the Foreigners who have visited India, we notice *Monsieur Theroulde,* who travelled in 1838—40, "*dans l' interet des etudes literaires et archeologiques de l' Inde ancienne:*" he proceeded as far as Kashmir, and has given us in a volume, 12mo., pp. 252, a lively sketch of what he saw. *Captain Von Orlich* came to India to learn the art of war, as in former days young gentlemen

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visited the Low Countries for a similar purpose; but the Seikh war was all over when he arrived; he has given us, however, an interesting series of letters on India, addressed to Ritter and Humboldt. *Signor Manoulie* was forty-eight years Court Physician at Delhi, in Aurungzebe's time, and has handed down to us a very vivid account. *Honigberger's Thirty-five Years in the East* is valuable for medical men—he was physician at the Seikh Court. Foreigners do not give us as many gossiping accounts of dinners and hunting parties as English writers do; but we get a better description of the country. What English writer, excepting Heber, is to be compared to *Dr. Hoffmeister*, who accompanied Prince Waldemar of Prussia to India in 1845, and has given us such a full detail of what he saw? *Schomberg's Travels in India and Kashmir*—a few years since—alluded to in another place in the present No.—are also useful.

Among the works of modern English tourists, are Lieut. Bacon's *First Impressions*, 1831 to 1836, written in a lively style, describing a sporting life in the North West Provinces, giving a good account of Delhi, Agra, &c.; *Parbury's Hand-Book; Major Archer's Tour*, 1828; *Stocqueler's Hand-Book of India*, 1844, is the work of a practical man, who gives a considerable amount of information. *Mundy's Pen and Pencil Sketches*, 1828—*Skinner's Excursions in India, in* 1826—*Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, 1844, abound with lively sketches of the peasantry and their customs.

Nor have ladies' pens been idle; we have a *Narrative of a Three Months' March in India, in* 1833, by the wife of an officer, giving a full detail of the roughing it on a march, breakage, &c. &c.: she went no higher than Cawnpur, the book is meagre. *Mrs. Montanbard's Year and a Day in the East, in* 1844. *Mrs. Parke's Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*," 2 volumes, 1850, is a mine of information of the most useful kind, abounding in antiquarian descriptions; she is the Lady Wortley Montague of India.

Joseph's Two Maps of the Grand Trunk Road are indispensable—in those are marked the distances, dâk bungalows, chaukies, post offices, &c. *Captain Sherwill's Geological Map* is of the utmost value to every one who takes the slightest interest in the mineral productions of the country. *Daniel's Drawings*, taken in 1788, give a very good idea of some of the magnificent buildings in the Upper Provinces. *Tassin's Map of Bengal and Behar* is good, except that it supplies us plentifully with roads where none such exist—to fill up—just as the Old Dutch filled up the blanks in their maps, by inserting mountain ranges.

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There is little instruction or pleasure in visiting places in the North West Provinces, or anywhere else, unless persons are acquainted with the previous history of the localities; without this, the *genius loci* cannot be realized, and the principle of the association of ideas cannot be called into play. The great cities of the North West Provinces are great from their connection with Mogul times; we would therefore recommend to the intending traveller a diligent preparatory study of *Elphinstone's India*, *Martin's Eastern India*, *Hamilton's Gazetteer*, and *Macfarlane's Indian Empire*. What interest could Delhi have for a man not acquainted with the history of Timur's successors, the Moguls, who styled themselves "the lights of religion, conquerors of the world"? Just as little as St. Petersburgh could have for one who never heard of Peter the Great, or as the Kremlin at Moscow would have for one unread in the deeds of the old Czars.

Some knowledge of the language is requisite, if the traveller does not wish to be cheated and imposed on. Griffins are considered lawful prey, and interpreters are as bad as the guides on the Continent:—read Baron Von Schomberg's experience on this point. The person who knows Bengali will very soon understand what is said in Hindi, as both are dialects of the Sanskrit.

Though the road between Calcutta and Benares has little historic interest, yet the lover of Natural History, Botany, or Geology, may find many objects to delight him, as the works of Jacquemont and Hooker show—there may be "sermons in stones." Prepared by such studies for the enjoyment of country scenery, the traveller may say, with the author of *Childe Harold*:—

"There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,
There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
There is society, where none intrudes,
By the deep sea, and music in its roar,
I love not man the less, but nature more.
From these our interviews, in which I steal
From all I may be or have been before,
To mingle with the Universe, and feel
What I can ne'er express, yet cannot all conceal."

The French Government have published *Jacquemont's Journals and Scientific Researches*, in 5 volumes, 4to.—Dr. Hooker has also published *Notes of a Tour in India*; he was sent by Government on a botanical mission to India. Sherwill, in his *Statistics of Behar*, gives us a list of ninety different trees and shrubs, which line the forests along the Trunk Road in that Zillah. We hope that the intercourse with the North West

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Provinces will lead to a taste being formed for Natural History and botanical subjects, and that the love for country scenery, so natural to Englishmen, will be fostered in India.

Good temper is a great requisite—to allow for contingencies. Our English travellers, who visit Switzerland and the Black Forest, would be often amused at the impatience of your regular Ditcher, when he goes twenty miles from Calcutta: if every thing is not in Chowringhi order, he is highly indignant—Transit and all other Companies have to bear his storm of indignation—he must have his "comforts" everywhere.

The moral and intellectual benefits of travelling is a subject that has been dwelt upon from the days of Cicero to the days of Chesterfield, who enlarges on the benefits of "Le Grand Tour." We cannot make "Le Grand Tour" in India; but we have the Grand Trunk Road; and we trust that independent of the medical benefits resulting from a change of scene, and relaxation from the ordinary routine of duty—the advantages to be realized from seeing men and manners at large, will serve as a stimulus to our denizens of the Ditch, to enlarge their Indian horizon, and see what India really is—not the Calcutta anglicised type of India "overgrown splendour in squalor," but that presented by the energetic population of the North West, and by the remains of the glories of former days. We write with a most earnest desire to persuade all those who have time and means, to pay a visit to the North West Provinces, and there to gain enlarged views of things, and a nearer acquaintance with the condition of the *people*. The Bengali possesses various good qualities, but if you wish to see a specimen of the real Hindu character, you must visit the North West Provinces—you there see a manly bearing, very different from that of the crouching, sycophant Bengali.

The days when the brandy bottle and the Zenana formed the resource from ennui to the European "exile," are passing away—sights and scenery will give an agreeable relaxation to the Indian resident, whether he be sportsman, sketcher, naturalist, &c.—neither need this relaxation be confined, as heretofore, to a visit "*so far* north as Krishnaghur," or a rustication in Chandernagur.

We hope the Railway will soon carry the traveller quickly over dull parts of the road, that it will be to our Ditchers as the Moscow Railway is to the people of St. Petersburgh; but our experience from travelling twice through Belgium by Railway is—if you visit a country not as a merchant, but as

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a tourist, the Railways do not enable you to see the land—you are so hurried from place to place, that memory retains very indistinct traces of the peculiar features of the landscape. Our own recollections of Belgian towns are very dim from that circumstance. Besides, subjects of antiquarian or botanical interest can only be examined by slow travelling—one can gain no idea of the contour of a country from a railroad. We passed through some magnificent scenery between Malines and Aix-la-Chapelle, but seen from a rushing rail-carriage, it appeared all tame.

The Grand Trunk Road—the *only* road in the Lower Provinces, after our possession of Bengal for a century—and that not yet completed, eight bridges being wanting between Calcutta and Benares—has cost fifty lakhs. Last century the line of communication with the Upper Provinces lay along the Ganges route, which was adjacent to the old capitals of Bengal, Gaur, and Murshidabad. It was commenced about 1833, and is a noble monument to Lord W. Bentinck. He received the name of William the *Conqueror* from parts of this road being metalled with *kankar !* Its opening has given us a knowledge of the country, like that the Russians have now by the railroad between Petersburgh and Moscow. Previous to his time there was only a road viâ Sulkea, Bankura, Hazaribhag, &c., on which the Government expended several lakhs, now entirely out of repair ; it contained no hard material, and was merely a line, marked by two ditches, from which a little earth was occasionally thrown to fill up ruts or hollows made by the rain, while bearers were supplied on requisitions made to zemindars. The present one is thirty feet wide, fourteen of which are metalled, and is forty-four miles shorter between Calcutta and Benares than the old one. Eight rivers, however, still remain unbridged, and we have it on good authority, that three times as much money have been spent on the construction of the road in the Lower Provinces, as ought to have sufficed for completing those bridges and keeping the road in thorough repair. It was under the Military Board.

Not only is the Trunk Road a scene for tourists, but it also presents another subject of interest. We believe, notwithstanding Calcutta prejudices to the contrary, that Bombay is destined to be the great steam-port of India, and that Guzerat will be again what it was in Portuguese and Mogul days, when the little port of Tarda, near Calcutta, was large enough to accommodate the trade with Bengal, while Scinde was the seat of a thriving commerce. The route to Europe, viâ Bombay, will probably lie along part of this line—are we to be always doomed to traverse so many miles to the South, and so many to

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the North again, rounding Ceylon, &c., in order, after all, to reach the same latitude as that of Bombay? Twenty years hence, we trust it will be done pleasantly, viâ Mirzapur, Jubbulpur, and Nagpur, or as Mr. Turnbull suggests, by the valley of the Soane, and then along the valley of the Nerbudda or of the Tapti. We are glad to find that the mails between Calcutta and Bombay have, of late, begun to be carried viâ Mirzapur and Jubbulpur, instead of viâ Midnapur, the latter route being through a dense jungly country, of no commercial or other importance, and where the coolies are often carried off by tigers, or the letters are reduced to a state of pulp. Even now four days take the traveller to Mirzapur, the Calcutta of the North West Provinces; from thence a pleasant trip along a good road to Jubbulpur, and from that place, on viâ Nagpur, one can move at his leisure to Bombay.

The Trunk Road to Benares having been commenced only since 1832, and being constructed on the plan of making it as straight as possible, irrespective of towns, there are no cities on the line; you do not meet, as on the old Ganges route, with such places as Murshidabad, Rajmahal, Bhagulpur, Monghyr, Buxar, Ghazipur, yet we trust to show that there are various subjects of interest along this line.

In the North West Provinces police chaukies are located within hail of each other, along every two miles of the road; and in Bengal they have lately adopted this good practice. There is also a *European* overseer of roads stationed at every fifty miles. Medical assistance may be obtained at various places—in fact, a lady may travel along the road as securely as she would along the streets of Calcutta, perhaps even more so.

The *dâk bungalows*, the modern form of the Mogul serais, are very comfortable; they line the road at an average distance of twelve miles; between Calcutta and Benares there are thirty-two. Each is provided with two bath rooms, two dressing rooms, and two bed rooms, with bed-steads, while some have more accommodation: hot water, milk, chapatis, grilled-fowl, curry, eggs, are obtainable at all, and in some you may procure mutton, kid, champaigne, beer, &c., &c. Knives and forks, plates, spoons, tea-pots, salt, are furnished in the dâk bungalows, while a khansama, cook, bhisti, mehter, are also provided by Government. Small libraries of religious books are placed in those bungalows located in the North West Provinces, which are very convenient for travellers stopping in them in hot weather. The increase of travellers is bringing those bungalows more and more into demand; European houses cannot now be turned into "Red Lions."

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Notwithstanding the complaints made against the Transit Companies, of their occasional bad horses, yet the improvement in travelling effected by them has been great and wonderful. Instead of husband and wife having to be boxed up for sixteen days, in those portable ovens, or coffins, "the conveyance, horsed by man," "horrible boxes, open at both ends," and most thoroughly unsocial, yclep'd palkis, a costly and fatiguing conveyance, shaking your poor bones *quantum sufficit*, travelling at three miles per hour, and at eight annas a mile, and having sleep at night completely disturbed by the bearers at every stage poking a filthy torch in your face and crying out for bakshish; independent of this, lying in an irksome recumbent position, you cannot enjoy the view of scenery or of buildings, cannot well read or have any social intercourse; but the days of palkis, of *demurrages, and dishonest pitarra-wallahs*, are passed—on the whole route from Calcutta to Delhi, we meet with few travellers by them. Old Terry would now rejoice that "men are not turned into pack-horses, a thing most unworthy of a man." There is another mode of travelling—marching *à la militaire* twelve miles daily, having to take a tent, servant, hackeries, utensils of all sorts, with the chance of waking in the morning and finding all your wearing apparel and money carried off by thieves. We know the case of an officer and his wife some years ago, who were sleeping in their tents near *Maharajganj*, beyond Benares. Awaking in the morning, their clothes and all their valuables were gone; the lady had to borrow clothes, and by means of a Government officer they got their keys back by purchase from the thieves! We know another case, of a Missionary, who went to a *mêla* to preach, and while sleeping in his tent at night, the thieves came, robbed him of all his clothes, and he was obliged to go home wrapped up in a blanket. The skilful achievements of thieves on travellers in tents, in this road, as well as in the fortress of Fort William, Calcutta, if collected, would form as interesting a volume as ever did the "Irish rogues and rapparees," or the adventures of Jack Shepherd or Dick Turpin. We can now roll along, by the aid of those Companies, at an average of six miles per hour, or 100 miles daily, allowing four hours' stoppage, changing the position at pleasure, from a sitting one to a recumbent, by drawing a board across the seat: or mount morning and evening on the box, to view the scenery of the country. These gharris serve as sitting-rooms by day, as bed-rooms by night, as a wardrobe, a library, and a kitchen, rendering the traveller independent of hospitality. If detained on the road, you can easily make your own coffee in your carriage,

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light your lamp and read yourself to sleep. Horses are changed at about every six miles, and coachmen at sixty; there are 156 stages from Calcutta to Meerut, but our ditch traveller must not expect all the conveniences of Chowringhi, he must be prepared, like *all other* travellers, to rough it a little; he must not imagine, that out of 350 horses, which he will employ between Calcutta and Delhi, and back again, *every one* is to be good. There are ups and downs in horses, as well as in life—he must study the doctrine of chances and also the past—think of the time when Benares was a two and half months' journey from Calcutta, by a budgerow, exposed to all the perils of treacherous sand banks, falling in banks, currents, north westers, roguish mánjis who rove a hole in the boat, mosquitoes, fleas and flies, with an occasional day, perchance, on a sand bank; so that the voyage was attended with more risk and infinitely more trouble than one to London from Calcutta, though sometimes these voyages were very social, when "floating villages" of budgerows, those "inverted cocked hats," sailed in company. Read the Journals of travellers on the Continent, thirty years ago, their descriptions of teazing Custom House officers, roguish inn-keepers, bad carriages, &c. When we consider the difficulties those Transit Companies had to encounter, the mortality of good horses in the hills, the badness of the Bengali attendants on the horses, the state of part of the road sometimes, instead of grumbling, we are surprised that they have succeeded so well. In the course of twelve months they will, very likely, fix their head-quarters at Mangalpur, which will possess the advantage of enabling them to control more effectually the most difficult part of the road, the passage through the hills.

The system of travelling by *horse dâk* originated, as almost all improvements have done, in connection with the Government of the North West Provinces. Ten years ago, Mr. Riddel, the present Post Master General of the North West Provinces, and Dr. Paton, late Post Master of Alighur, commenced the plan. Trucks drawn by one horse, and conveying a palanquin, were first employed; but they soon gave way to the convenient palki-ghari; passengers increased, and this led to the formation of the *Inland Transit Company* in 1849, for running a horse dâk on the road. It was started by a native, Tantimul, the famous contractor of the Allahabad and Cawnpur boat bridges. They ran the mails by contract—the original proprietors were Mr. Gee, a Cawnpur merchant, Mr. McLaughlin, Ex-Post-Master of Cawnpur, now Director of the Himalaya Tea Cultivation Company, and

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Lalla Tantimul. From Calcutta to Burhi they have nine horses at every stage, six from that to Benares, and four from Benares to Meerut. From Burdwan to Meerut the Company hire horses from sircars at about fifteen rupees monthly; they have reduced their fares in 1852, above Benares, from four annas to two annas a mile, and below, from five annas to three annas. In 1850 Mr. Atkinson started a rival Company, but he soon failed—after him Mr. Probett, of Cawnpur, started a Company; and then the *North West Dâk* Company, a Calcutta Company, *but* well managed, providing excellent carriages, and good horses. This Company employ 600 syces, 200 suwars, 80 native writers, 60 coachmen, and 20 European overseers. Their monthly outlay is 12,000 rupees, their operations extend over a space of 1,200 miles. Such have been the benefits from this horse dâk, that letters reached Calcutta from Benares, all last hot season, in 52 hours, instead of 120, under the old system.

The traveller need not limit his time for a visit to the North West Provinces to the cold weather, for though some delay may arise here and there, in the rains, from ferries and swollen rivulets, yet there is the advantage of a richer vegetation clothing the ground, relieving that arid appearance the North West Provinces have in the cold weather; besides, the horses are not so over-worked by the constant rush of passengers.

We started after the Christmas of 1852, and returned on the 12th of February—we therefore give things as they were then. Since that time several changes have occurred. We mention the places in the order they present themselves on the Map, but would recommend, that the traveller "long in populous cities pent," should, when starting fresh, and anxious for exercise, make a long push, and proceed on at once to Allahabad. With the aid of the Railway, shortly to open to the Mangalpur coal mines, Allahabad may be reached in four days. Taking the average rate of travelling, 100 miles per day, leaving Calcutta early on Monday morning, he may arrive in *Allahabad* on Friday morning, spend a few hours in visiting the fort, &c. *Futtihpur* may be reached by Saturday morning; after a few hours' stay, *Cawnpur* may be reached on Saturday evening, the sabbath rest can be enjoyed there. The traveller may proceed at 4 on Monday morning for *Agra*, where he can arrive on Wednesday night, remain there till the following Tuesday afternoon in the third week, then start for *Delhi*, which can be reached on Wednesday afternoon; remain there till the following Monday, then start for *Lucknow*, which can be reached by Wednesday afternoon; remain there for two

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days, return to *Cawnpur* by Saturday morning, and the Sunday may be spent in Allahabad; on Monday evening of the fifth week, Mirzapur is reached, and *Benares* on Wednesday; start the following Monday for *Gaya*, reach that on Wednesday, then to *Parasnath* on Friday, and on Saturday night to *Calcutta*.

Starting from Calcutta, we cross the Barrackpur suspension bridge, over a canal which occupies the site of the famous Mahratta Ditch, near which an engagement took place between Suraj Daula and the English, as celebrated in its day as the battle of Aliwal is now. This canal, excavated in 1822, is the grand medium of communication between the Hugli and Eastern Bengal, and is constantly crowded with boats: between 1843 and 1845, two years, 132,230 boats entered it from the Salt Water Lake, and 31,850 from the Hugli at Chitpur, while 107,390 entered Tolly's Nulla within the same period. This canal yields Government a net revenue of two lakhs, of which very little is expended in preventing its silting up, or in widening it in certain parts.

Passing this canal, the Rubicon of Calcutta, we are clear of Calcutta, with its cliques and fetid odours. We meet on the right hand, half a mile distant, one of those towers, erected for the purposes of the great Trigonometrical Survey. Near it, on the right, are the gardens of Budinath Ray, in which an excellent menagerie was kept. Passing various garden houses of babus, and Chitpur, the Northern *Káli Ghat*, noted, during three centuries, for its human sacrifices, stated by Wilford to have been the metropolis of a district in Bengal, we then leave on the right Cox's Bungalow, and the Governor-General's stables. On the left is the road to the Agurpara school, and to *Kharda*, the residence of the followers of Chaitanya for three centuries.

The road is lined with fine trees, planted by the Marquis of Wellesley, among which are some noble *Acacia*, *Odina*, *Melia*, *Azadirachta*. The first line of Railway proposed, was to have passed parallel to this road, on to the drifting sands of Bhagwangola, requiring a bridge 1,200 feet long, at Ranaghat, and another at Krishnaghur. It is singular how advantages are shifted in Bengal from one locality to another. The left bank of the river has been the favoured side for a century and a half past, now Haurah is to get the preference by its Railway line, and in a few years, the populous districts between Haurah and Hugli, along the line of the Railway, will present as cheering a sight as the Barrackpur road does now.

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We pass near *Titaghur*, famous, forty years ago, for its ship-building; but the river is silting up, and ships could not be built there now. Thus, for instance, in the middle of last century, the Dutch used to bring their large ships up to Chinsurah, but owing to the subsequent shallowness of the river, they were obliged to anchor them at Fulta. Beyond Titaghur, openings in the Park present a beautiful glimpse of Serampur. We come next to the Menagerie and Aviary, which will well repay a visit of an hour—the giraffes, bears, tigers, rhinoceroses, &c., &c. We pass along the parade ground, memorable for the execution of the sipahi regiment, who refused, in 1824, to march to Burmah: they were surrounded here, and a discharge of grape poured into them. We come next to the river; on the left are the powder depôts, and to the right is the site of the old Ostend factory, which was fortified in the middle of last century. Near this, Mr. Simms (*Selections from Records of Bengal Government, No.* X.) proposed placing water-works to convey river water to a reservoir between Belgachi and Calcutta, at an expense of seventy lakhs, with an annual expenditure of five and a half.

We pass over *Pulta Ghât* ferry, reminding us of the days when French, Dutch, and Portuguese proas passed by its shores: now the English flag floats alone here. The grounds of Ghiretti we pass on the right; they once formed the park of the Governor of Chandernagur, and were the Versailles of former days. A mile further on, we come to the ruins of the house, once the scene of revelry and dance, in front of which, last century, 120 carriages have been seen at night, when magnificent balls were given by the French chief to the English élite. We come next to Chandernagur, noted for its healthy situation, with its street on the river side, called by Jacquemont *une delicieuse promenade*; then to the Church of St. Louis, and the Governor's house; turning to the left, we pass close to the ruins of the old fort, battered by the English fleet in 1757; but a guard of twenty-one sipahis, and a few acres of land, are all that remain of the French power in this part of India. Further on, we enter a gate, the boundary of the French territories. What would Monsieur Dupleix say, were he now alive, on seeing the narrow boundary of *la belle France* in India! Next we come to *Biddarra*, where Dutch and English met in the tug of war. (*See Malcolm's Life of Clive.*) We enter Chinsurah, once Dutch; this place had once a fine Dutch fort and handsome gardens, cultivated by the Hollanders—but all has passed away:—they held Chinsurah for 180 years, when they got Java in exchange for it—gold for brass. Passing near the college, originally the residence of General Perron, of Mahratta celebrity, then through a

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populous street, we arrive at Hugli Ghât ; near this, on the left, was the old fort of the Portuguese, which stood a siege, in 1632, of three months and a half. Hugli was the first settlement of the English in Bengal, who traded here in 1640 ; Aurungzebe cherished a deep hatred against the Portuguese, on account of their buying up children as slaves, to make converts of them, and sell them into distant settlements. 10,000 Portuguese were killed during this siege. Had their countrymen in other places showed the same valour, they would not have had the epithet applied to them of *Gallinas dell' Mar—hens of the sea*. We then pass *Bandel Church*, the oldest Christian Church in Bengal, built in 1599. The monks here saw the capture of the fort, in 1633, which resulted from the explosion of a mine opposite to them. (See *Calcutta Review, No.* X., pp. 256—259, for a notice of the Portuguese in Hugli.) The English had a factory at Hugli, in 1640.

We pass through the *village of Satgan*, once a royal city, and emporium of trade, and last century adorned with the country seats of the Dutch of Chinsurah. We cross a bridge, over a stream which once held the Ganges waves, when the river flowed down in this channel via Satgan, and came out near Andul, the Nuddea of the South. (See *Calcutta Review, No.* XII., p. 403.) The first Europeans who came to this country describe two ports, one *Chittagan*, the other *Satgan*. We need not be surprised at few remains of Satgan existing now ; the fate of Gaur, a beautiful city, as late as Akbar's time, larger then than Calcutta is now, but destitute at this time of any inhabitants, shows us the destructive influence of time, and of the climate of Bengal, as well as the effect of river changes.

Leaving Satgan, we enter fairly on the Trunk Road.

The traffic along this road strikes the traveller ; by a calculation made a few years ago, 73,000 foot passengers, 49,000 loaded hackeries, 17,155 empty returning hackeries, 64,415 loaded bullocks, and 339 Government dâks, passed annually between Hugli and Burdwan ; in salt alone, between Calcutta and Burdwan, the trade amounted, in one year, to 12,962 tons. The lake Sambhir, in Rajputana, used formerly to supply salt ; now the Sunderbunds furnish it : the sugar and gur amounted to 18,518 tons. We are glad to find that Government has established, last March, a Bullock Train between Calcutta and Benares.

At *Muggra* we cross over a river in which the waters of the Damuda once flowed—now they join the Hugli thirty miles below Calcutta. The old bed of the Damuda here supplies the Calcutta builders with sand. There is no bridge, and yet there

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is a surplus of Ferry Funds for the district of Hugli, of Rs. 117,578 ! and from the thirty-one districts of Bengal and Behar, of eleven lakhs !

Mile stones on the right hand going up, point out to the traveller the distances. We caution him against trusting to natives' estimate of distances, which will be not according to fact, but according to what they think you *wish*. Monsieur Theboulde gives an illustration of this,—walking, near the Ganges, at Allahabad, he asked a native what the name of the river was; he replied, " the Ganges, Saheb ;" to be more sure, he asked him if it was not the Jumna, the reply then was, " it will be the Jumna, if the saheb wishes it."

Perua or *Pandua*, forty-two miles from Calcutta, a Musalman village, of 2,000 families, noted for dakaiti, marks the Northern limit of the growth of the cocoanut tree, which does not flourish beyond this : it requires the influence of the sea air. A tower on the right hand, 120 feet high, is well worth a visit, for the view to be obtained from its summit, commanding a wide extent of country, as far as Hugli. An iron rod runs up to the top, which the pilgrims, who come here in January, say, was Shah Sufi's walking stick. Nearly opposite it is the tomb of Shah Sufi—the leader of the Musalman troops against the Hindus, who on this spot received a defeat as destructive of their sovereignty in Bengal, as Waterloo was of Napoleon's régime. See *Calcutta Review No.* XX., p. 128 : where an account is given of the Mogul translator of Persian documents, at the Court of the Hindu Raja of Perua, having, at a feast given on the birth of his child, killed a cow, and buried the bones, in order not to give offence. But the bones were dug up by jackals, the Hindus rose *en masse*, and demanded punishment on the murderer of a cow—the people seized the child as the cause, and killed it. The Mogul appealed to the Raja—no redress—on this he picked up the bones and went to Delhi; the Emperor sent an army, who defeated the Hindus in a pitched battle. Pandua was at that period a strongly fortified place, the residence of a Hindu Raja. The tradition goes that the place was impregnable against attack, in consequence of a sacred tank, that possessed the property of restoring life to the soldiers that were killed ; but by a stratagem, a piece of cow's flesh was thrown into it, which removed its power. Pandua surrendered, and this tower was erected as a trophy. Shah Sufi was offered the Government of Bengal, by Firoz Taglac, the Emperor of Delhi, his uncle, but he refused, preferring a life of peaceable seclusion in Pandua, devoted to religious contemplation. A fine mosque near it is 200 feet long, with sixty domes, which increase

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sound like the Whispering Gallery of St. Paul's, London—one part of it is raised, where Shah Sufi used to sit.

On the left hand side, a little West of the village, is a large tank, called *Pir-pukur*, surrounded by *Pir sthans*. There is a fakir here, said to have tame alligators in the tank, that on calling one of them by his name, Fatikhan, the alligator obeys the call, and comes to the surface. We have an account of a similar fact in *Von Orlich's Travels*, where, in a tank near Karachi, he saw thirty alligators, at the call of the fakir, "instantly creep out of the water, and like so many dogs, lie in a semi-circle at the feet of their master." This tank was probably dug 500 years ago; in parts it is forty feet deep: it has a pretty appearance, with the ruined *imambaries* and tombs on its borders, the latter being probably those of Musalmans, who fell in battle at the siege of Pandua: there is abundance of vegetation on its surface.

There is a tank near this called *Shimábasan*, visited by sterile women, who take a *patali* sweetmeat in their hands, dip it in the water, if it floats back to them, they regard it is a sign they will have a son.

Boinchi, a populous village of 15,000 people, is notorious for *dakaiti*—the *patnadar* system, corresponding to the Irish Middle men or Rack Rent system, leads to this. Mr. Dampier, in his last police report, states, that had it not been for the employment given by the Railway embankments, the poverty of the peasantry here would have led to great robberies.

A few miles beyond, we enter the Burdwan zillah, a garden in a wilderness, containing a population of 1,440,000 (see *Asiatic Researches, Vol.* XVI.), one-fifth of whom are Musalmans.

Beyond is *Mimari*, fifty-five miles, likely to be a Railway station. The alluvial soil of Bengal begins to cease, and the land to rise; the streams no longer bear down mud but gravel, the soil becomes sandy, the grass here is a kind of *sachharium*, and forms a beautiful hedge—the *bignonia odoratissima* exhales a delightful perfume, the roads are kept in good order, being metalled with *kankar*, a nodular deposit of limestone, from calcareous springs; it resembles large pebbles, tuberculated on the surface; it binds very well for roads, but forms a disagreeable dust, and after rain, becomes very sticky; it is curious to see in the North West Provinces, gangs of men beating this down, mixed with water, with a wooden mallet, when it speedily forms a surface as smooth as a plastered wall, and as hard as a limestone rock.

At *Dallea Bazar*, the *Damuda* river, a mountain torrent approaches within a few miles of the road, running parallel to it

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on the left, as far as the Barrakur. It rises in the hills of Ramghur, and drains about 7,200 square miles of country. In the rains as much water falls into it as would fill a channel twenty feet deep and two miles wide. We may judge of the rush of its waters, from the fact, that whereas in the highest spring tides in June, the river at Calcutta rises seventeen feet, the Damuda at Ampta, the same distance from the sea, has only an elevation of ten inches.

Approaching Burdwan by a fine avenue of old trees, we have on the left the Mission Church, erected by the late Rev. J. Weitbrecht, at a cost of Rs. 10,000. The Mission, with its interesting boarding schools, deserves a visit. The tank opposite the church, on the right side of the road, was the receptacle of the bodies of many murdered travellers, in days of *thug* notoriety, when they were strangled on the high road, and their warm corpses were flung into this tank.

The ground beyond was the scene of stirring events. 100 years ago, 120,000 Mahrattas lay encamped here: "those military mushrooms, who spread from the Ganges to the Kavery," rivals first of the Moslems, and who, aided by the French, for forty years contested with England for supremacy in India.

A mile to the left lies the *Damuda*, "une mer de sable blanc," which formerly flowed into the Hugli, by a detour as far South as Bundipur, and then North toNyaserai; it now disembogues itself near Diamond Harbour, forming, with its barren sands, those shoals, the James and Mary, which threaten, ere long, to block up the Hugli navigation for large ships—the silt held in suspension in the Damuda in the rains is estimated at two cubic inches per cubic foot of water. In the North West Provinces there is a great proportion of sedimentary deposit in rivers—this also comes down here. We need not be surprised, therefore, at the accounts we have of the Ganges in 1794, filling up, with its sediment, the mouth of the Bhagirathi, five miles in length, containing 900 millions solid feet. Respecting these changes, see *Selections of Public Correspondence, No.* II., *Reports on the Nuddea Rivers.* We have also to calculate on the effects the Gangetic and other canals of irrigation are likely to have on the supply of water which the rivers Jumna and Ganges send to the Lower Provinces. The coal mines give employment to boatmen on this river in carrying 81,000 tons of coal annually to Calcutta, by a detour of 200 miles, at a cost of three annas and a half per maund—its *bunds* have been the great terror of late days, proposed by the Commission of 1836, to be abandoned; but a recent report, *No.* XII. *of Selections of Public Correspondence*, opposes this view, recommending that the

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bunds of the right bank be broken down, and that sluices be opened at intervals in the left bank, to drain the water off, and raise the low country by a silting process.

The Raja of Burdwan's palace is well worth a visit of a few hours—he is the richest landed proprietor in Bengal, drawing a revenue of half a million sterling, out of which he pays to Government twenty lakhs. A new palace has been lately erected by him, superbly furnished. He has a fine menagerie, a splendid tank, thirty acres in extent, and spacious gardens. In this place is laid the scene of the popular Bengali poem, the *Vidya Sundara*.

The Raja's family is of Kshetryia origin, but of modern date —the Raja of Vishnupur, in this district, can trace his regal ancestry for 1,000 years. Burdwan has a population of 50,000: it had the title given to it of *Kusumapur*, or the flowery city.

At *Golgaon*, a few miles beyond the staging bungalow of Sirsole, and twenty-five miles from Burdwan, commences the proposed line of Railway for the "steam port of Calcutta" —Rajmahal, which will then be six hours from Calcutta, by a Railway of 180 miles. The detour of boats in the dry season to Rajmahal viâ the Sunderbunds, is 308 miles. The line crosses the Aji river, a few miles West of Elimbazar, to which large boats can come from the Hugli in the rains. This Railway will enable the traveller to enjoy the views in Birbhum,—the wild and beautiful scenery of the Rajmahal hills,—and to see the remains of Gaur, the Nineveh of Bengal, called by Akbar, the paradise of countries, a city which, three centuries ago, had two millions of inhabitants, and was enclosed by a wall twenty miles in circumference and sixty feet high. The cascade of Mutijirna, and the rocks of Jangira, are also interesting. The whole of a country teeming in the remains of antiquity, so well described by Franklin in his *Jains*, will then be brought to light. Birbhum and Bhagalpur are almost *terræ incognitæ*, while Darjiling, "the natural sanatarium of Bengal," perched 7,218 feet high, will open new views to us regarding Sikhim and Butan:—Sikrigali, Malda, Colgang, Bhagalpur, and its Jain remains, Patarghata, the second Benares, with its sculptures and Buddhist caves—one of which is 136 feet long, and twenty-four broad, without a pillar or beam to support its roof—Monghyr, and Patna, will be accessible. How little do we know of Purnea, Tirhut, and Rangpur!

Birbhum, the ancient *Mallabhumi*, is quite unexplored: it pays Rs. 750,000 annual revenue to Government, but little is spent on the education of the people, though they amount to 700,000, and yet more than 30,000 bigahs have been

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given up to *Devatra* purposes. The worship of *Yam*, the judge of death, is extensively prevalent here. The *Santals*, an aboriginal tribe, abound in the zillah. The famous shrine of *Vaidanath* or *Deoghur* is in this zillah; its temple, built nearly three centuries since, is a mile in circumference: its mela, in March, is as well attended as any one in India. To the North of it lies the *Jangal tarai*, a wild spot, the lands of which were let out on the plan of Military Colonies, by Warren Hastings, to the veteran sipahis: the aborigines here have thick lips.

A steamer can now go as quickly from New York to Liverpool, as from Calcutta to Rajmahal. The Railway will make great changes in the country. We find that, in three years—from 1842 to 1845—49,209 vessels, paying a toll of Rs. 486,600, passed Jangipur—that in another year, 83,493 tons passed down, 95,373 up the river; and of passengers 31,950 down, and 26,428 up. The majority of these will pour down by the rail, and will render Burdwan and its neighbourhood very different from what they have been. We mention a few statistics to show what changes in the line of traffic are likely soon to occur. The annual commerce of the Ganges from Calcutta to Mirzapur amounts to 1,666,000 tons, and 569,000 passengers; from Delhi to Mirzapur 897,000 tons, and 446,000 passengers. Sugar, 100,000 tons, from the North West Provinces to Calcutta; salt, 125,000 tons, from Calcutta to the North West Provinces. The kankar, limestone, building-stone, and saul timber of the Rajmahal district, will find a good sale in Calcutta; in fact, between the Rajmahal and Currakpur hills, the mineral and other treasures are immense, and only require a means of transit.

Near *Caksa*, at the 102nd mile-stone, the road begins to undulate slightly; at the 110th mile-stone we come to a country yielding a large supply of charcoal; the alluvium is left behind.

At *Kyrasole*, 112 miles, the land is 360 feet higher than the sea level, and the view is picturesque; two spurs are thrown off from those elevations, one in the direction of Berhampur, the other of Nuddea; for a full account of these, see *Williams's Geological Report on the Damuda Valley*. From this place the coal measures of the Damuda valley commence, and extend nearly as far as Bagsama, covered extensively with alluvium, mixed with a nodular argillaceous limestone, called *gootin*, used for building purposes.

Copses, with sandstone peeping out, are to be seen before we come to Mangalpur, reminding one of the Hounslow Heath of former days, though without its highwaymen emerging from the bush. Calcutta Cockneys may talk of the difficulties

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of our Grand Trunk Road—what would they have said to English roads thirty years ago? Well do we recollect having to travel from London to Bristol, in 1823, on the outside of a mail coach, of a cold November night, right glad to get a seat on any terms, and having the tedium of the way relieved by the guard's anecdotes of highwaymen's adventures on Hounslow Heath, while his full-charged brass blunderbuss showed that the danger had not altogether passed away.

Mangalpur, situated in a vale, memorable for the forays between the different coal proprietors, is the commencement of the coal district. The mines of Raniganj, so called from the Rani of Burdwan having had the proprietary rights vested in her, are between the Damuda and Aji rivers. The history of monopoly in connection with those mines would, if revealed, unfold many a curious scene in connection with the state of law in the Mofussil. They were opened thirty years ago by a Mr. Jones, and deserve a visit of a few hours. Dr. McLelland, in his *Geological Survey*, gives us some beautiful drawings of the fossils of the Burdwan coal. The dâk bungalow here is prettily situated. From the 125th to the 140th mile, the road passes along the Burdwan Coal field: to the left may be seen *Baharinath* hill towering aloft. The Aji river flows to the right at a distance of twelve miles, running parallel to the Damuda; it is navigable, in the rains, ninety miles from its confluence with the Bhagirathi.

By Christmas, 1854, the Railway will be completed. By that time a fine hotel will be established here—which will make the place a kind of Hampton Court for Ditchers on holidays, when, after a pleasant journey of five hours, they will be landed at the foot of the hills, and be able to realize enjoyments to which the denizens of the Mahratta Ditch are now quite strangers.

A little beyond this, the region of the hills begins—the *Switzerland* of Bengal, the future scene of mineral and metallic enterprize for this country. These hills, once the seats of Buddhist shrines and monasteries, with their contemplative residents and chaunting priests, are destined yet to be the abodes of a bustling, noisy, mining population, to be the Cornwall of Bengal, when the name *Kaila Desh*, or coal country, will be much more applicable than its present one, of *Bahar*, the land of Buddhist monks. The Damuda coal field alone embraces an area of seventy square miles, having 300 feet in thickness of coals. Those hills continue for 140 miles, on to the foot of the Dhanwá pass, a land of hill and dale, wood and water, abounding in scenery, interesting to the geologist, and lover of the picturesque; the climate also changes, the nights are cool and clear,

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the damp and fog of Calcutta are left behind. When the Railway, which, after many blunderings and delays, is hastening to its completion, shall land the inhabitant of Calcutta, who has been for years inhaling the sultry and fetid atmosphere of the Ditch, in five hours, in the land of the mountain and dell—we anticipate a great extension to the pleasures of a residence in India. To the sportsman also it is not devoid of interest, as the district of Pachete, with its trap hills, swarms with tigers and bears, the destruction of which would be a real act of kindness to the defenceless natives. *Palamow*, *Sirguja*, *Chota Nagpur*, and *Pachete*, will afford various subjects of interest to the tourist in connection with their aboriginal tribes, primeval forests and rude border chieftains, who, like the lords of the Rhine, or the Rob Roy's of Scotland, exercised their predatory habits on all defenceless persons who came within their reach; and we trust the knowledge of their condition will also call out the sympathies of the Christian philanthropist. There are, in Behar and Bengal, 150,748 villages, two-thirds of which have a system of vernacular education, but based on superstition. Will a Government, which draws a revenue of twenty millions from India, do nothing to give an improved tone to these? The coal mines and Railway, by giving employment, will have a civilizing effect on the people, and will thus give an impulse to education.

We enter now on a new state of things. Instead of the cunning, cheating Bengali, destitute of any real feeling of patriotism, we meet with a nobler and more independent race. The language of Bengal gives way to the Hindi and Urdu, the manners of the people are more manly, frank, and European, the soil alters, the alluvium of Bengal is no more found—eight centuries ago, this country was Buddhist, and Jain monarchs ruled—the language, Magadhi or Pali, a daughter of the Sanskrit, which is now the sacred language of Ceylon and Burmah, was then used here. On this interesting subject much information may be gleaned from *Fa Hian's Travels* in Bengal in the fourth century, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society. (See also the *Calcutta Review*, *No.* VIII.—*Indian Buddhism*.) The present state of it is as different from the past as is that of Judea now from what it was in the days of Solomon. Bahar is now a place of ruins:—crumbling temples, remains of granite columns, towers, palaces, cities, are found in districts now quite wild and depopulated. Even the site of Palibathra has been assigned to four different localities. Bengal, which in Mogul days was a Botany Bay, is in the ascendant, with its city of palaces *and* hovels, while *Gaya*, *Rajgriha*, and *Bahar*, are only

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names and shadows of the past. Bahar, which once sent Buddhism from its bosom, supplied Gautama as a law-giver to Ceylon and Burmah, and became the cradle of Chinese Buddhism, is now "in the sere and yellow leaf,"—but we trust railroads will open out such a country to the sympathies of Christian minds—now all is darkness. It sends opium to poison the Chinese. For an account of the manufacture of Bahar opium, see *Eatwell's Report, Selections of the Bengal Government, No.* I.

The hills assume a wavy appearance; if one could conceive one of those immense rollers at the Cape suddenly frozen, it would give an idea of this swelling of the ground,—the road reminds one very much of those great military routes constructed by Napoleon in France. The soil is gravelly, and only low jungle to be seen, while to the West, conical isolated hills rise to the height of a thousand feet—a welcome sight to him who has been "long in populous cities spent." Along with this the atmosphere becomes more bracing and cool, and free from the Calcutta damp. Some collieries appear on the right—symbols of the future changes in this now desolate district.

The soil is poor, but it contains within its bosom the germs of great improvement for this neglected country; the mineral resources will draw European settlers here, increase trade, schools will rise, and, we trust, the hopes of Christianity will follow in their train, and that missionaries will take one hint from the example of the Buddhist propagandists in this country—act more on the agricultural population, and adopt an extensive course of itinerant preaching. The coal mines will make the district another Cornwall.

The *Nunia* suspension bridge, a few miles East of Assensole, is a splendid erection, over a khal which drains 150 square miles of country.

On approaching the *Barrakur*, the road passes over an ironstone district. On the eastern bank, close to the road, are three remarkable temples.

The *Barrakur* river, a bed of sand in the dry season, but navigable for boats of 600 maunds in the rains, is crossed at the 146th mile; it divides Pachete from Birbhum. This river rises in the hills of *Házaribhág*, and crossing the trunk road West of *Burhi*, runs parallel to it at the distance of fourteen miles nearly. To the North of it is a fine country, abounding with rich valleys—a full account of them is given by Dr. McLelland, in his *Geological Survey of India.* Santals, Lohars, Ghatwals, and other Hindu tribes, occupy them. Fine timber could be

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procured from these districts. Dr. McLelland gives a list of 492 different sorts of plants which he found in this quarter. The Barrakur joins the Damuda a few miles South of the road. The Pachete Mountain rises beyond, presenting a noble appearance from the river, towering in its dim outline to the height of 1,900 feet, compared by the natives to the shape of an elephant's back.

Taldanga, 148 miles, is near the western limit of the coal bason of the Damuda valley; to the South of it, a few miles, are hot springs in a coal district. A short distance beyond Taldanga, the junction of the sandstone and gneiss rock, forming the elevated table-land of Upper Bengal, is passed over. The jungle here is composed chiefly of thorny bushes of *zizyphus*; the twigs of the *butea frondosa* are covered with "lurid red tears of lac," which is collected here in abundance, from this plant. The coal crops out here at the surface, and many fine fossils have been obtained. According to Everest (*Gleanings of Science*, 1831, p. 133,) these eminences were once, like Europe, islands of primitive rocks, rising in the middle of a large ocean; the debris formed beds of humus, out of which vegetables grew and formed the present soil. As in all coal districts, the soil is barren.

On a clear day Parasnath can be seen from Taldanga, rising majestically with its conical peak.—The Sinai of the Jains, being to them what Adam's peak is to the pilgrims of the Cinnamon Isle.

A few miles beyond Taldanga, we leave the sand-stone, in which the coal lies, and come to a district of primary rocks—the roads are mended with quartz. The country still rises, and hills appear more numerous, until we reach *Bagsama*, the residence of a Deputy-Magistrate. We catch a glimpse of Parasnath, towering far above all the minor hills, in the form of a cone, with a rugged peak. The view is favoured by the clear dry atmosphere of those regions. Bagsama is right in the centre of the Tiger district, and is situated in *Pachete*,* a *terra incognita*, having a curious class of aborigines, fond of eating rats. *Dr. Hooker's Notes* give an interesting view of the botany and geology of this district.

Fitcori, 170 miles from Calcutta, is 1,050 feet above the sea level. Five miles from it, at *Rajafuta*, a new road branches off to *Chota Nagpur*. Another road is being made from *Rajafuta*, passing *Chakya*, to connect the Chota Nagpur road with the Ganges at Surajghur. The coal fields at Kahurbali are

* Bagsama is put down in the maps as part of the Birbhum district.

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also to be connected with the Ganges by a branch road to Chukra.

A little beyond this we enter the *Ramghur* district, wild and rocky, once noted for the border raids of its chieftains—at the head of whom was the Raja of Chota Nagpur—the road here was dreaded as much by travellers, as Black Heath was in the days of our fore-fathers; the zemindars levied their black mail, and entrenched in their jungle fastnesses, bade defiance to the British troops. Dr. Buchanan states, that the Cheros, an aboriginal tribe who lived in Ramghur and the Shahabad hills, were "once lords paramount of the Gangetic provinces"—it would be interesting to examine the data for this statement. This district is rich in iron and coal.

Tope-chanchi bungalow, 188 miles from Calcutta, 1,128 feet above the sea level, lies at the foot of Parasnath. The scenery around is charming; in fact, we have seen few places to equal it in this respect; it is embosomed in an amphitheatre of beautifully wooded mountains. The traveller should endeavour to leave this place early in the morning, or three hours before sunset, so as to have the pleasure of the views along the road, winding round the base of *Parasnath*, "giant of mountains," which assumes new aspects of beauty and sublimity, according as the curves in the road alter the prospect. Parasnath will, very probably, some years hence, be a favorite excursion for Calcutta people, when they can steal away for a few days from business, to luxuriate in its quiet and magnificent scenery. Bears abound in the neighbourhood of Tope-chanchi. Dr. Hooker gives a full account of the botany of the hills near this.

Near the village of *Lal Bag*, beyond Tope-chanchi, ten bearers and a dhuli can be obtained for about five rupees to convey the traveller, through a series of wooded ravines, to the foot of Parasnath, which is very close to the road. The ascent is very steep and rocky; and about 800 feet from the top there is on this side a large and handsome temple, with a marble floor and altar, and a hollow dome; near it is the only spring on the mountain: descending to the North you have a longer distance to go, it is less steep and more undulating; there are many fine trees, and the views are very grand; next appears the Jain monastery. At the foot of the hill, you pass through the rocky beds of dry torrents, amid gloomy glens, over-arched with foliage, with green schist and hornblende shooting up through the ground, while, in the distance, rise the domes of the Jain temples of Muddaband; near them is a fine banyan, a sacred tree with the Jains. Madavan, a

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Jain village, is embosomed in a clearance of the forest, one of those romantic dales, which intersect the ground between the road and the foot of Parasnath, reminding one of a similar romantic seclusion for religieuses at Port Royal, near Paris. The Jain establishment here is much frequented at the season of pilgrimage, in March, when 100,000 people assemble; in the temple is a black image of Parasnath, having seven expanded heads of a cobra as his canopy. Some of the priests have cloths over their mouths, to prevent their swallowing insects, and thus destroying life. This temple was built by Jagat Set, the great Jain merchant of Murshidabad, in the time of Clive, who was worth ten crores of rupees—there is here *Khetraphal*, a deity with a lion's head—we saw the images of Chakreswari and Padmavati also, which are worshipped by the Jains.

Parasnath, a mass of granite, is a spur of the Rajmahal hills, and towers to the height of 4,233 feet. All who have made the ascent unite in enthusiastic admiration of the scenery, in such admirable contrast with the monotonous flat of Bengal. It will be a mighty boon to the people of Calcutta, when they can get to Parasnath in a few hours, at an expense of twenty-five rupees.

Parasnath is the eastern metropolis of Jain worship, as Abu in Rajputana is the western one. Crowds of Jain pilgrims, from all parts of India, resort to this place. They climb to the mountain top, direct from Muddabund, in order to visit the spot where Parasnath, one of their hero gods, obtained *nirvan*, or emancipation from matter. As the Hindus attach great respect to the print of Vishnu's foot, so do the Jains, a sect which arose on the ruins of Buddhism, about the eleventh century, to the foot of Parasnath. For an accurate and compendious account of the Jains, see *Elphinstone's India*. Franklin, in his *Researches on the Jains and Bhuddhists*, gives us an account of Parasnath, with a beautiful drawing of its temple-crowned hills.

The ascent occupied Dr. Hooker five hours and a half, the descent three-quarters of an hour, in a *dhuli*, part of it down stairs of sharp rock.

Parasnath seems likely, ere long, to be famous for the mineral resources in its neighbourhood. To the North of it lies the great coal field of *Kurakdea*; *Kurhurbali* is to its North-east, having a coal field, four miles from East to West, and two from North to South, 800 feet above the sea level.

On the road to Dumri, may be observed the *cisalpina paniculata* climber "festooning the trees, a magnificent climber, with deep green leaves, and gorgeous racemes of orange blossoms." *Dumri* bungalow, 202 miles,—according to Hooker,

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1,429 feet above the sea level, is beautifully situated, surrounded by an amphitheatre of wood-crowned hills of gneiss, horn-blende, schist and quartz; tin ore is found at fourteen miles distant, while at Karrakdya, twenty miles North, immense masses of mica are procurable, which sell for four rupees per maund; three-fourths of the mica used in Bengal is brought from this place. Nilgaus abound in the forests here, the *antelope picta*, about the size of an ox, with sloping back and short horns.

At Bagoda, 214 miles, is the bombax tree with its buttressed trunk; the road winds beautifully along, the hills are clad with *Gemelina*, *Terminalia*, *Buchaniana*; "birds abound here, among others, the mohoka (*phænecopaus tristis*,) a walking cuckoo, with a voice like that of its English name-sake." The views to the East are magnificent.

We come to *Belcuppie*, 226 miles; 300 yards from the road are four hot springs, they rise in little ruined brick tanks, about six feet across. There is a tank here twelve feet in diameter, supplied by a cold spring, which flows between two hot ones; they all meet and flow together into one large tank; one of them is hot enough to boil eggs, and has a horrid nauseous taste, reminding one of the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle—salt is deposited. Dr. Hooker found the temperature of the hot springs to be 169°, 170°, 173° and 190°, while that of the cold spring in their immediate neighbourhood was 75°. Various plants grow in the water. A water-beetle abounded at a temperature of 112°, and frogs were very active at 90°.

The *Burkutta* river is a large stream in the rains, carrying along gneiss and granite boulders.

Barshatti, 240 miles, is noted for its magnificent tope of mango, banyan, and peepul trees: *borassia*, a kind of palm trees, are to be seen here eighty feet high. Their lower part is a short cone, tapering to one-third the height of the stem, the trunk to two-thirds. The Indian *olibanum* tree is here "conspicuous for its pale bark and curving branches, leafy at their apices." A fragrant and transparent gum exudes from its trunk.

Burhi has, three miles to the East, the Barrakur bridge, a noble stone edifice of nine arches, each of fifty feet span. To the North of Burhi are copper, lead, mica, and iron mines. A little beyond Burhi, the road is 1,524 feet above the sea level; we then pass the bed of the Barrakur, a river which is an affluent of the Damuda; after this, excepting the Dhunwa Pass, we have no more of the wooded hills, which continued for 120 miles, indicating thus that the table-land is near its termination.

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Near *Champaran*, 257 miles, and 1,526 feet above the sea, is the commencement of the *Dhunwa Pass*. Champaran is 1,311 feet above the sea level: from this the Ramghur table-land, which has had wooded hills for 120 miles, begins to stoop to the Behar plains below, which extend in one uniform level to the foot of the Himalayas. The Dhunwa Pass leads to the valley of the Soane; the road is steep, carried in a zigzag direction down a broken hill of gneiss, six miles, with a descent of nearly 1,000 feet; of this 600 are very rugged and steep, constructed by the sappers and miners in 1836-37. The pass is well wooded, abounds in quartz and felspar; the scenery is picturesque, and quite novel to a Bengali. The following trees are in the passes here:—acacia, butea, cassia, bombax, argemone mexicana, and also the calotropis or purple madar, much used in cases of leprosy. Dhunwa dâk bungalow, 265 miles from Calcutta, at the foot of the mountain, is 1,000 feet below the mountain top, and yet 817 feet above the sea level. The views from it are very beautiful, an amphitheatre of wood-capped hills, the continuation of a chain stretching from Cambay to Rajmahal. The bambu here is green, whereas at a higher level, it is yellow or white—wild peacocks are in the woods—some large and handsome stone bridges are at the foot of the pass, that at Bhawa is a very fine one, and crosses the Mohana torrent with five arches of sixty-five feet span each.

The approach to *Shirgati* is lined with trees of the bombax, acacia, and borassus genera, while here and there the poppy is cultivated: on the tops of some of the hills are to be seen telegraphs erected in the time of the Mahratta war, to communicate between our troops and Calcutta. Shirgati, or the Tiger Pass, is now a poor place, containing 1,090 houses, the largest town on the road next to Burdwan; previous to 1834 it was the civil station—and the old Calcutta road, viâ Vishnupur and the Dhungye Pass, came out here: "tortuous and water worn" the first road was along the Ganges route. It is built on an island of the Fulgo river, which flows from Gaya. The remains of tombs and mosques indicate a period of former greatness, probably in the days of *Shir Shah*, a Bahar man, who became Emperor of Delhi, but did not forget his native country. The town lies to the North of the Trunk Road, near it is an old mud fort, built in 1764. The *Lilajan* bridge, seven miles East of Shirgati, is deserving of notice, built entirely of stone, the largest bridge on the road, having fifteen arches of fifty feet span each.

A road, twenty-two miles long, passable for a carriage, runs from Shirgati to Gaya, the central spot for Hindu and Jain pilgrimage

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—the paradise of 15,000 priestly impostors, noted for their extortions, tying the thumbs of pilgrims together, who do not yield to their demands. The Government formerly derived half a lakh yearly by the pilgrim tax. It is a singular fact that when Gaya was attacked by the Mahrattas, those priests formed themselves into regiments and repulsed them. Noted of late for its opium cultivation, it is still the Jerusalem of the Jains. *Martin's Eastern India* furnishes a full description of this place, and of the whole district of Shahabad, of the city of Bahar, with its old fort and mosques, and of *Rajgriha*, with its Buddhist caves.

At Shirgati, the old road from Calcutta to Benares, called forty years ago the new road, a curiosity with its bridges, now in the midst of fields, converges, forming from this to Benares one line with the present one ; travellers by dâk, forty years ago, had to hire tom-tom-men to keep off the tigers, while guards were stationed at different places to frighten away the dakoits. When the rail opens out to Patna, the traveller from Calcutta to Delhi coming down might return viâ Patna, Monghyr, and Rajmahal. The population of Patna, in 1837, was 284,132.

Beyond Shirgati, a range of low hills, spurs of the Vindhya, runs parallel on the left; " they are of volcanic rocks, greenstone and syenite, apparently forcing up the beds of quartz and gneiss from below. *Calotropis* and *argemone* are immensely abundant, with a purple *solanum, veronica, anagallis, equisetum, trichodenia indica, boragineœ, labiatœ.*" Gums and medicinal herbs are procured from the woods here, as also the tusser silk from the osan tree ; the shell of the chrysalis of the tusser worm is so strong, as to be used for binding matchlock-barrels to their stocks. Half the area of this zillah is occupied with hills and jungle. In the great famine of 1770, one-third of the population of Bahar died ; men eating men, and mothers their children—hence the jungle encreased from depopulation, as was the case in the Sunderbunds. Round Shirgati, however, 225 villages have been re-peopled.

Madanpur dâk bungalow, 14 miles West of Shirgati, has a picturesque and antique locality ; three miles from it are the temples and ruins of *Umga*, described by Major Kittoe, (*Asiatic Journal*, 1847.) There are fifty-two small temples ; the great temple of Jagannath, 400 years old, is sixty feet high. There are Cufic inscriptions over the gateway—the old ruined palace, tank, and town of Umga—the hills around capped with small temples, are novelties here.

There is a handsome suspension bridge over the Pompon river, four miles East of the Soane ; the village of Seris on the Pompon, about one mile North of the road, is worth a visit, as being most picturesque.

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Crossing the Soane, we enter the zillah of *Shahabad*, the ancient Kikata. A full account of this is given in *Buchanan's Eastern India*, also in *Traver's Statistics of Shahabad*. It contains a population of 1,602,274, yielding a revenue of Rs. 1,394,396 out of 2,425,058 acres, of which one-sixth is uncultivated or unculturable. There are 8,936 villages—no Government schools of any kind.

The *Soane* river, called by Arrian the third in rank of the Indian rivers, is crossed at Barroon, 557 feet above the sea level; we pass it by fording and ferrying; it takes two and a half hours to go over, being three miles wide; the ghari being drawn by six oxen through deep beds of sand—a regiment takes twenty-four hours—it reminds one of the sands of the Egyptian desert; its quicksands are very treacherous: a causeway, 150 feet in length, composed of large slabs of sandstone, is now being constructed, as an experiment, in the middle of the river. The traveller ought to cross either in the morning or evening, so as to have the sublime view of sunrise or sunset behind the Rhotas hills, illuminating at the same time *Rhotas*, once the impregnable fortress of Shir Shah, and *Sasseram* his burial place. The Soane rises in the mountain of Gandwana, from the same fount as the Nerbudda. The Soane, "the only tributary of the Ganges that is not snow-born," has a course of 500 miles; it was called the *Hiraneyabaha*, by the ancients, who supposed that, like the Tagus, it rolled down sands of gold; however, pretty pebbles, jasper and agate, are to be found in it, carried down from the Vindya hills. (See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIV., p. 399). Though not carrying gold, yet, we trust, the coal mines found out in Palemow, on the *Kayla*, one of its tributaries, will bring in golden treasures. Pliny and Arrian mention this river, and probably, in former days, it may have washed down gold from some California in the hills.

Rhotas, 1,759 feet above the sea, is a spur of the Kymore range, a branch of the Vindya mountains which run from Chunar to Cambay,—the ancient mountain retreats of the Bhils and other aboriginal tribes, their fastnesses against the ruthless arm of Brahminical persecution. Stretching along Orissa, Berar and the Nerbudda, they formed an inaccessible retreat; the scenery is very fine in the midst of the picturesque valley of the Soane, lined with wooded hills, a favorite excursion for tourists from Mirzapur and Benares. (See *Benares Magazine*, and *Martin's Eastern India*, Vol. I., pp. 432—454, for an account of the Soane valley, and of the ruined palace of Shir Shah, erected 1539, with its high galleries, long cool arcades and terraced walks, embosomed in an amphitheatre of wooded hills.) It has been compared to Rasselas' Happy Valley. Mán Sing, so

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well known in Bengali history, erected many buildings on it, and it was a place of security for treasure and women: it was a place of refuge for 200 years. Aurungzeb destroyed the idols: see a drawing in *Martin*, Vol. I., p. 439. Shir Shah designed to make his native country the seat of Empire, and Shergar his citadel, but after Humayun's army were obliged to leave Bengal through its unhealthiness, Shir Shah became Emperor of India, in 1540, but Humayun threw all his children from its precipitous heights. Thus ended the Patan rule. Rohitas, who first settled at Rhotas, was an ancestor of the great Rama. Catechu trees abound here, also peacocks.

At the village of *Dhiri*, on the opposite bank, is a lonely grave-yard, which contains the tombs of some Europeans who, probably, met their death in the Soane, which in the rains rolls a torrent three miles wide and ten feet deep. Here horses or vehicles may be procured for a trip to *Rhotas*, through a well-cultivated country. A precipitous cliff, 100 feet high, rises from the plains; the road in this and various other parts has been raised, in consequence of the fall of water from the hills having been found to have been much greater than was at first thought.

Sasseram, a city of Musulman tombs, has a population of 10,000—Sasseram means a thousand play-things, and is said to have derived this name from a certain Asur who resided there, who had a thousand arms, and on each a different toy. Jungle ceases here, and the scenery is fine, wooded hills and table-land in the distance, but its great object of interest is the tomb of Shir Shah, the "tiger king." A native of this place, though the son of a Patan zemindar, he rose by his energies to be Emperor of India, in 1540—he lies buried here in the midst of a tank, a mile in circumference, in a tomb composed of a large octagonal hall, covered by a dome, and surrounded by a gallery. His rival, Humayun, Akbar's father, whom he drove from the throne, lies in Delhi. The king is buried in the centre of the great hall, opposite the kibla or prayer niche, having a small column at the head. His favorite officers are buried at their master's feet. A drawing is given of this tomb in *Martin's Eastern India*, Vol. I., p. 425; half a mile North-west is the tomb of his son Selim, but the family were killed by the Moguls, and thus the visions of having a second Delhi vanished:—see Elphinstone's Sketch of Shir Shah.

Shir Shah erected a handsome tomb to his father Haseyn; had he lived, he intended to have made Sasseram another Delhi, and Shahabad the seat of Empire, but Bahar has never risen to note. Shir Shah, however, introduced the rupee coinage, and that still remains. (For a full description of Sasseram and its

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monuments, see *Martin's Eastern India*, Vol. I., pp. 422--430).

Sasseram has public baths of ancient date.

The Pergannah of Sasseram contains 898 villages, 409,646 acres, of which one-quarter are uncultivated or barren.

From Sasseram to Agra we have the sandstone formation.

Jahanabad, 365 miles, has a serai of brick and stone, built by Shir Shah.

Kharamabad has a mosque, built 250 years ago, by Mir Akbar, collector of revenue in Jehangir's time.

The *Karmanasa* bridge, of free stone, finished in 1831, designed by J. Prinsep, of oriental celebrity, is a noble monument to the memory of the munificent native Raja Putni Mul, of Benares. The same man re-built a temple at Mathura, which cost 70,000 Rs., made a stone tank there at a cost of three lakhs, a well at Jwala-mukhi, which cost 90,000 Rs.: he spent 90,000 Rs. on a Ghât and temple at Hardwar; 60,000 Rs. on a serai at Brindavan: on these and other public works he spent eight lakhs, for which Lord W. Bentinck made him a Raja. He has recorded, in four languages, on this bridge, the fact of his erecting it; the foundation had been previously laid by the prime minister of Puna, who spent three lakhs on it—the sand being twenty feet deep. The Karmanasa flows from the Rhotas Hills, rises thirty feet in the rains, and is 300 feet broad. (See *Benares Magazine*, Vol. II., p. 253, also *Gleanings in Science, October*, 1831.) An account of the Karmanasa bridge is given in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. V., p. 304.

When we consider the superstitious dread entertained by the natives, of the touch of the *Karmanasa* waters, we can understand what a boon this bridge has been to them. Their *Puranas* state, that when *Ravan* was besieged in Lunka, he was promised deliverance, provided he could bring from Kailas a *linga*, without its touching the ground; he attempted to do so, but Varuna entering his stomach, he felt so unpleasant, that he dropped the linga on the ground, and the impure water which flowed, constituted the *Karmanasa* river, which means merit-destroying, as the *Puranas* state, that though a native, by visiting Benares, is sure of heaven, yet if he touches the water of this river, all the efficacy of the Ganges water is lost. This river rises in the romantic region of the Mirzapur highlands, and has some fine water-falls.

Near the Bungalow are to be seen some mounds in memory of widows burned here.

The *Karmanasa* is the boundary of the Bengal and Bahar Government,—the ancient *Prachii*, whose capital was Pálibathrá (Patna) ten miles, of note even in Greek days, whose dominion

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extended from Gaur to the Indus. Our recollections of Bahar are painful—the noble country of Bahar, whose energetic population formerly sent Buddhist priests to propagate their faith throughout Burmah, Ceylon, China, Tartary, Nepal and the Eastern Archipelago—is now herself totally neglected by a Christian Government, as far as educational efforts are concerned. *Adam's Reports* on the state of Vernacular education in Bahar, in 1834, present a gloomy picture; since that time no measures have been taken to redress that state of things.

Passing the *Karmanasa* bridge, we enter the jurisdiction of the North West Provinces; it forms the West frontier of Bahar, formerly it was the boundary of the Anglo-Indian dominion. We soon see the vast superiority in point of administration between the North West Provinces and Bengal: everything indicates that the Lieutenant-Governor is acquainted with the condition of the people, whereas in Bengal, Calcutta is taken as the type of the country, and no decided steps have been as yet taken by Government to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry by education.

There are 1,547 policemen stationed on the Trunk Road between the *Karmanasa* and Delhi, not like the old Charleys, to sleep away their time, but located in stations on the road, to patrol all night. (See *Selections, N. W. Provinces*, No. XI., p. 24.)

One signal benefit has been seen from this police regulation of 1848—the land along the Grand Trunk Road has been in the greatest demand, and every sort of produce has risen in value, whereas the localities were formerly shunned by all classes of people.

The difference in elevation of ground between the North West Provinces and "green Bengal" is soon perceptible—in the North West Provinces every thing has a parched-up appearance, the little grass left is dry and withered—water is procured from very deep wells, there are no tanks, and the tall white grass of the North West Provinces shoots out to the height of six feet.

The road approaching to *Benares*, "the classic city of India," a picture in miniature of ancient *Bháratbarsha*, is lined with trees, and soon the river front, forming the outer line of a semicircle capped with temple and tower, bursts on the view—on one side of the river is the old buttressed fortress of Ramnagar, the residence of the Raja of Benares, rising castle-like from the waters; on the other, a crescent of magnificent stone-ghâts, mingled with palace and temple, stretches three miles in extent, and its Tartar edifices, with river

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banks forty feet high, and Aurungzeb's minarets towering 232 feet, over-looking the trisuls of Siva: reminding one of the descriptions travellers give of the approach to Moscow, and the first view of the Kremlin. At *Raj Ghât* we cross over the ferry; the river here is not one-half the breadth of the Hugli at Calcutta, but is fifty feet deep, rising forty-three feet in the rains, with a current of eight miles an hour; its bed is 300 feet higher than that of the river at Rajmahal, the landing place is steep, and has a melancholy association. In 1850 occurred the catastrophe of the explosion of gunpowder on board of boats anchored close to Raj Ghât, which shattered the Benares hotel to pieces, and blew down various houses which were perched on the bank ridges, fifty feet high. In the hotel two officers were blown out of the window, while the khidmutgar near them, who was drawing a cork, was killed on the spot. On the right is the old Benares fort, which still contains various remains of antiquity, and probably in former days much of the old city clustered round it. Near it is the Barna, which with the Asi river gave the name Benares; we pass the Benares hotel and the site of the old fort once covered with houses and temples previous to the Moslem invasion. Remains are still found eighteen feet below the surface of the present city. After a country drive of three miles, Benares being on the left, we arrive at *Sekrole*, the European station, with its widely scattered European houses. Cactuses abound here, being very useful as hedges, as also *parkinsonia* trees, introduced only thirty years ago from Australia, by Colonel Parkinson, but now extensively grown.

The "Shining city" has been so often described, that we merely refer our readers to *Heber*, or to *Prinsep's Sketches of Benares*, 1831; the latter gives us a full detail of the city, with thirty three lithographic drawings and a map. Tavernier describes Benares in 1668, and Heber in 1825, but the city had not greatly changed in the interval. Prinsep gave a census of Benares in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII., in 1828, showing a population of 180,000, of whom one-fifth were Musalmans.

The feeling on entering Benares is very different from that experienced on approaching Calcutta, a half-anglicised city, with its natives on the rage for English imitation in everything. One is here thrown on purely oriental scenes; its 50,000 foreign devotees give one the different types of the Hindu race. To the reader of the *Kásikhanda*, a mythological history of Benares in Sanskrit and Bengali, Benares calls forth a host of associations.

The city is the paradise of pigeons, and parrots, bulls and beggars, devotees and misers; the bulls however are not very annoy-

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ing now: its walls, like those of Puna, have "sermons in stones." The *Chauk* or square is interesting, with its variety of Musalman slippers, Hindu hukahs, children's toys, Patna wax candles, Bhagalpur silks, kinkabs, idols, &c.

The *Observatory* rises over the river, and was erected in the time of Jay Singha, raja of *Jaipur*, in Akbar's days,—no Jaipur princes, as in Tavernier's days, study astronomy there now; the temple of *Visheshwar*, glittering with its gold leaf, rises near it, a temple which has been enriched in former days by donations of krores of rupees; one raja, in 1838, gave half a lakh of rupees, which he placed on the head of the idol: this temple is said to occupy the site of the throne filled by Siva 100 million of years ago. In it are an image of *Surya*, or the sun, with his seven-headed horses; there are bells from Nepal; the holy well into which Siva is said to have jumped when the Moslems took Benares; another well, a mineral one, is pointed out, into which Siva tumbled when he took a glass too much, and tipping his physician with his drugs over too, he gave the waters ever since a medicinal taste; it is called *Gyan Bapi*, being said to have the power of confering knowledge. *Aurungzeb's* mosque, built with the ruins of a famous Hindu temple, which he demolished about 1660, when he displayed his iconoclastic fury in Benares, and insulted Hindu families, by thus giving an opportunity of surveying all their terraces. The two *minarets*, eight feet and a quarter in diameter, are ascended by steep stairs to the height of 147 feet; the view from the top is very commanding, and reminds one of the scene in Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux*, when the whole city is exposed to view by the demon.

The tanks are interesting from their associations, such as *Manikarna Ghat*, adjacent to a tank dug by Vishnu himself, who obtained, by his austerities here, the privilege of *Mukti* for Benares, the impressions of his foot are still pointed out;—*Durga-kund* and its swarms of monkeys;—the *Mandakini talao*, from the borders of which a pretty view is obtained—when drained thirty years ago, 1,500 sacred turtles were found in it, some weighing 200 lbs. The *Kapildhara talao*, in which the gods are said formerly to have bathed, the liquid being the milk of one of the heavenly cows. The *Bukrea khund*, near which the Hindus probably fought in defence of Benares against the Moslems, whose tombs are strewed around; the Hindus say that a girl near this was raised to be a songster in heaven, for her attachment to a kid given by Siva, while the kid was born again as daughter to the Raja of Benares.

There are 1,000 temples of Siva, each of which has to be visited, in order to complete the *Nagar pradakshina*, hence the

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proverb to illustrate the prominent features of worship at Benares, Allahabad and Gya, *Kasi hunde, Prayag munde, Gya dunde.* At Kasi, keep moving, at Prayag shave, at Gya pay.

In the *Bengali-tola* there is a Bengali population of about 8,000, they print a Bengali newspaper there, and have two Bengali presses.

But the great modern architectural curiosity of Benares is the Government College, (designed and executed by that zealous Oriental scholar, Major Kittoe, whose recent death has been an irreparable loss)—a gem in building, the finest modern edifice in north India: it cost one lakh and a half, not including convict labor. Its fountains, stained glass, and library rich in oriental lore, will ever render it a subject of interest.

The old Sanskrit college was founded in 1801, January 11. This college was opened by the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Thomason, a man who has done so much for the people of the North West Provinces, both in education and the improvement of the country. His speech on that occasion was a fine exposition of the sentiments of the enlightened governor.

Benares, the residence of Tulsi Das, the Milton of Hindi, will, we trust, through this college take the lead as the fount for Hindi literature. The pundits here we found to be a superior class of men, they translated for us a portion of *Lewis's History of Philosophy*, into Hindi; and we were quite delighted at the exquisite precision with which they translated the English philosophic terms into Hindi, borrowing from the Sanskrit. The exertions of Dr. Ballantyne, in connection with this Sanskrit College, have been attended with signal success, in proving the use of Sanskrit as an intellectual agent, to bring the science of the Eastern and Western worlds into a closer alliance, and in teaching the pundits to proceed from the known to the unknown. See *Ballantyne's Sketch of the Operations in the Benares College*, 1846-51.

Sekrole is the European station—Buddhist remains have been found here; instead of these we have now there the Church Mission Station of *Sigra*, with its orphan-schools, native Christians, and a Church, the pulpit is finely carved in trellis work. The native Christian women execute neat specimens of worsted work: book binding is also carried on. Part of the compound was once the scene of *thúgi* operations, and in it a deep well is pointed out, into which the bodies of the victims used to be precipitated. See an interesting little work, *Leupoldt's Recollections of an Indian Missionary*, which gives full particulars of this station, and of Benares generally, written in a lively style, full of the details of an experienced man.

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Bhelapur was of note in Buddhist times, it was the birth place of the famous Parasnath, who was buried on the mountain which bears his name, and a famous Jain temple is still there; it is now noted for Jay Narayan Ghosal's Free School, founded in 1818, and made over by the babu, a zealous Sivite, to the Church Missionary Society, with an endowment yielding 200 Rs. monthly, the Government giving 250 Rs. more. There are 500 boys in it, and we were glad to see that Oriental studies have their due attention paid them.

Some handsome *Jain* temples are to be seen in Benares, as a number of rich merchants belong to that sect.

Starting for the raja of Benares' country-seat, Ramnagur, four miles from the city, associated with the history of Cheyt Sing and Warren Hastings, we pass by *Durga khand*, noted for its numerous monkeys, which are to be seen in all directions gamboling about. Coming to the ghat opposite Ramnagur, we land close by the buttressed battlements of the raja's castellated palace; the building rises abruptly from the river banks, and has seven courts, corresponding to the seven planets—once designed to have been the nucleus of a city, the rival of Benares, and called Vyás Káshi. Those who die here, are said to be transformed into asses;—hence all the raja's family, when dying, are conveyed to Benares. Two miles distant, in the midst of the raja's gardens, is a Hindu temple, sculptured beautifully in relievo, with images of the Hindu gods and goddesses,—a pantheon in stone, erected by Cheyt Sing;—near it is a magnificent stone tank, made some fifty years ago, by Cheyt Sing, having on one side a beautiful stone pavilion, a favourite spot for picnic parties; persons can sleep here—the river view of Benares is fine from this. This is the most beautiful tank we have seen in North India, its corners are adorned by kiosks, while splendid flights of stone steps on all sides lead down to the water. A Hindu drama, the Ram Lila, is annually performed in these grounds, some of the figures in which are seventy feet high. (See *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1838, pp. 260 and 261.)

Jaychand, raja of Benares, was killed in battle, by Kutab-ud-deen, the first Moslem invader, who levelled 1,000 Hindu temples to the ground in Benares; this Jaychand was recognised on the field of battle by his artificial teeth, which were fixed with wedges of gold. The present raja's title dates only from 1730, his ancestor being the famous Cheyt Sing of Warren Hastings' days, whose arrest by the latter excited such a sensation, that Hastings had to make his escape out of a window from Benares. Cheyt Sing's father was Bulwat Sing, a fierce ruler, who like an Irish landlord, drove the zemindars away from his estates.

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A return from Ramnagur to Raj Ghat will unfold the panorama of the river to great perfection—the *murhis* or cells into which the dying are removed, that their sins to the last moment may be washed away in Ganges water. *Manikarna Ghat*, and the temples built by Alia Baye ;—*Rajrajaswari Ghat*, with its mixture of Moorish and Hindu architecture; the projecting balcony at the *Man Mandal*, the oldest masonry in Benares—the *Dasasvamedh Ghat ;*—the gigantic figure of Bhim Sing, who is said to have built Chunar in a day ;—conical altars, with the tulsi plant on them ;—and the fakirs with their flags supplying Ganges water—all these afford sights of interest. The Ganges has not spared the temples devoted to its worship, the Bazaír Bhaís Ghat, which cost fifteen lakhs, was swept away by the river sixteen years ago. These ghats and temples may share the fate of Nuddea and Rajmahal, once noble cities, but now entombed in the river.

Crossing over the *Berna*, near which we have a view of the house where Mr. Cherry, in 1799, defended himself single handed for two hours, against a whole host of the Nawab's troops, we pass over the *Pulzaggar* bridge, a fine piece of masonry work and come to the asylum founded by Raja Kali Shankar Ghosal, in 1825; he gave 58,000 Rs. to the Calcutta one—the Alms Houses look very pretty. See an account of them in *Selections North West Provinces*, No. XI., p. 59. Passing along the Azimghur road, in a north east direction, we come to the grave yard, which contains some very handsome monuments, erected by Major Kittoe. Here lie the remains of Major Wilford, a man of undying fame as a Sanskrit scholar, who lived at Benares from 1788 to 1822, entirely occupied with antiquarian and geographical investigations in Sanskrit. Beyond is the *Panch kosi*, a road five koss in circumference, surrounding the city, planted with trees and with halting places for pilgrims, who often make its circuit by measuring their own bodies along it. Whoever dies within this boundary is considered sure of heaven, though he be a beef-eater—it is the *via sacra* of the city. We come after four miles to *Sárnáth*, (the Bull Lord), the Old Buddhist Benares ; few remains are now to be found on the spot ; it is sharing the fate of Egypt, supplying with its idols the museums of the Benares college, the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and Major Kittoe's collection. Benares is now the city of 1,000 Sivite temples, the paradise of Brahmans and bulls ; but in the eleventh century its rajas were Buddhists, and Sarnath, with its temples, was one of the head quarters of Buddhism. Even the Hindu *Puranas* admit, that Divodasa, in the days of Nárad, introduced Buddhism previous to the war

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of the Mahabharat, and that subsequently, the Vaishnavas and Shivites carried on a religious war. When Tulsi Das, the famous poet, lived in Benares, A. D. 1574, the site of much of the present Benares was a forest; the decline of Sarnath, and the ascendancy of the Mahrattas, led to the flourishing state of the new city. Excavations are still carried on there by the Government archæologist of the North West Provinces. A brick mound, of conical shape, faced with stones, three feet by two, 9 feet high, is now the chief object of interest, while until lately, numerous statues of men, with flat noses and thick lips, were strewed around. The remains here bear abundant marks of the action of fire, which was very likely applied by the Brahmans, to drive their Buddhist adversaries out; this must have been at a late period, as in 1027 Benares was part of the Gaur kingdom; a Pal prince from Gaur, a Buddhist, ruled and repaired the mound at Sarnath, (see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V.) The Musalmans also probably aided in its destruction, as in 1192 Rai Jay, king of Kanauj and Benares, of the Pal family, was defeated by them.*

The Trunk Road from Benares to Delhi, a distance of 480 miles, was begun in 1832, under Lord William Bentinck's directions—convict labour being employed; it has few objects of interest; it is as smooth as a bowling green, with a rise of only twenty inches per mile, the want of trees and green verdure to line its sides, forms a marked contrast with the Lower Provinces. You meet with no picturesque plains, no wooded hills, no villages embosomed in palm or cocoanut trees, the greater part is sandy level land, emitting a glare distressing to the eye, though efforts are being made to encourage planting. The young trees are surrounded with mounds of earth, to protect them from the cattle, and in some places a plantain grows close to every tree to cherish it by its moisture. The deep wells indicate the elevation above the sea, the serais in every village note the traffic extensively carried on; crops of cotton, dal, indigo and wheat, are to be seen in their season. The novelties to the resident of Bengal are long lines of camels, led by the nose,—vehicles with wheels made out of one solid mass of wood, like those used in the bog districts of Ireland,—women, like the Egyptian ladies, riding astride on horseback,—cattle drawing

* The name of Sarnath calls up an association, connected with the name of a man whose death has been an irreparable loss to antiquarian and architectural science,—Major Kittoe, who will be ever recollected in connection with Buddhistical Researches in Behar and Benares. We spent a day with him at Benares, hearing his remarks on Sarnath, and seeing the curiosities he had accumulated from that place and from Bahar: his name will go down to posterity, with that of Prinsep and Wilford.

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the water from wells, the water running in channels down an inclined plane, to irrigate the land,—pilgrims to Jagannath,—traders in Ganges water,—cotton clumsily packed in ragged bags, getting dirty and deteriorating every day,—*echas* or two-wheeled carts,—hackeries drawn by three bullocks, one leading,—the women so much superior to those of Bengal,—the men armed with swords at their side, and a brass-studded round buckler at their back, travellers encamping in the heat of day, by a shaded well,—the bullock waggons of Government, which bring in a considerable profit.

Above Allahabad it is calculated that one million tons of goods, 100,000 passengers by vehicles, and 300,000 on foot, annually pass along the Trunk Road.

Seven miles and a half from Benares, is *Mohun he sarai*, a large serai, presenting of an evening the opportunity of seeing Arab, Cabul and Jain merchants. At *Maharajganj* is a road leading to Mirzapur.

The approach to *Allahabad*, seventy-six miles from Benares, is over a road of boards laid along the sands, and then we enter the *Doab*, the Mesopotamia of the north, across a bridge of thirty-six boats, of 1,000 maunds each, not quite so convenient as that over the Rhine at Cologne. In eleven months in one year, the numbers crossing this bridge, amounted to 435,242 foot passengers, and 33,180 on horses and elephants. The town is straggling, and covers a large space of ground intersected with handsome trees and fine gardens, its main object of interest is the *fort*, built by Akbar in a commanding position at the confluence of the yellow waves of the Ganges with the blue Jumna. Though the *Prayag* of antiquity, there are few ruins to interest the traveller. See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIV., p. 396. The best time to visit Allahabad is in the middle of January, when the pilgrims assemble at the mela held outside the fort, which lasts two months, to bathe in the Triveni and shave themselves—each hair thrown into the water giving them a million years of happiness. Those sands become at this time the paradise of barbers, bringing in a large revenue to them, as no one can bathe until his head and eyebrows are shaved. The pilgrims here are of various castes: *Nagas*, *Ghosains*, *Bairágis* and *Sikhs*. Their tents and temporary shops have a picturesque appearance at this time, while across the river, stretch away the shores of Bundelkund,—noted for its diamonds, which are found a few inches below the surface: to the south is the termination of the Doab.

The *fort* taken by us in 1765, now strongly fortified on Vauban's system, was built in 1581 by Akbar. You enter it by a

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magnificent Grecian gate—the old palace of Akbar remains, and is used as anarmory ; the armory room is a magnificent one, 272 feet long, containing 50,000 stand of arms, beautifully arranged in three rows, quite equal in ornamental appearance to the armory of the tower of London.

Adjacent to this, is a place of note among the Hindus, called *Pátálpur*, once perhaps above ground. Guided by a light, you descend into a cave lined with Chunar stone, quite dark, its roof about seven feet high, supported by several hundred pillars, and having in various quarters 1,000 idols—a perfect mythological menagerie and a labyrinth. On the left hand side is the stump of the sacred fig tree named *Akshabat*, which, with its dried up trunk, has stood there several hundred years ; the Hindus say it is a favourite haunt for ghosts, and that the Akshabat tree has been there from the beginning of time, and will remain there for ever. The *Brahma Purana* promises the happiness of heaven to whoever commits suicide, by throwing himself from its branches, and yet Allahabad (Vaisali) 1,700 years ago, sent Buddhist priests to a convocation in Ceylon ; close to it is an aperture in the wall, which, the Hindus say, leads to a subterranean communication between Allahabad and Delhi. There is a large *linga* here. Near this is the famous Allahabad *lath*, or stone pillar, forty-three feet in length, the inscription, inculcating love to animals, and love to another world, on this pillar, was written by Asoka, three centuries B. C. ; he was monarch of India, and became a Buddhist. The inscription on it was decyphered by James Prinsep, after it had for ages baffled all native enquiry. It is called by the natives Bhim Singha's walking stick.

The cantonments are four miles from the fort—the garden, spacious serai, and marble mausoleum of Jehangir, son of *Sultan Khasra*, are now in ruins. The temple of Varaha, near the circuit bungalow, deserves a visit.

The Allahabad Mission Press is an interesting object, from the number of vernacular works it has published for the North West Provinces. Notwithstanding its situation, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, Allahabad is quite eclipsed as a commercial depôt by Mirzapur. The population of Allahabad is only 25,000.

The road leading from Allahabad is finely planted, while, perhaps, the finest tamarind trees in India are to be found here —mica is found mixed up with the Doab soil in this district.

Naubaster ke sarai has a large Jain temple.

In *Korah* are a number of tombs, it was once the residence of a Mogul Emperor.

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Futehpur, eighty miles from Allahabad, a civil station since 1826, has been noted for its tombs and serais, as also for dealers in horses' skins, who used formerly to poison travellers' horses for the sake of the skins, worth one rupee each, by mixing drugs with the food for horses brought for sale. See *Kinloch's Statistics of Futehpur District*, quarto, a work of 400 pages, giving a mass of most interesting information. We learn from it that Futehpur has grown up during a period of 500 years, that it occupies an area of 160 acres, and has a population of upwards of 15,000 souls; that it contains 4,181 houses, 306 wells, 7 serais, 46 mosques, and 19 Hindu temples.

Crossing the *Pandua nala*, we enter the *Cawnpur district*, a flourishing one, 10,000 acres of land are under cotton cultivation; it has a population of one million, of which one-twelfth are Musalmans; there are 16,542 landed proprietors in the district, cultivating 1,495,628 acres, yielding a revenue of 21,47,315 Rs.; there are 179 Persian, 16 Arabic, 58 Sanskrit, and 280 Hindi schools, conducted by natives. In 1846-7, a calculation was made of the traffic in one year over Pandua bridge, it amounted to 565,347 foot passengers, 40,304 horses, 9,950 loaded bullocks, 62,906 hackeries, and 73,548 camels.

Montgomery's Statistical Report of Cawnpur is an admirable work, a large quarto, containing seventeen maps and ample statistical tables. Cawnpur town, forty-eight miles from Futehpur, stretches the length of six miles, with its immense lines of cantonments, capable of holding 7,000 troops, and garden houses along a sandy plain intersected by ravines; it was once the principal military station in India, and so was raised from the state of a village in 1778. A population of 58,000. It has many an interesting association for the readers of *Henry Martyn's Life*, or *Mrs. Sherwood's Indian Orphans*. Ice is made here in the winter, in a large field cut into shallow squares, in which broad pans are placed, filled with water, and straw is scattered about. The traveller will meet with dust enough here.

At some leagues distance from Cawnpur, is the place supposed by natives to be the centre of the earth.

The surrounding country produces rich crops of cotton, which now go down the Jumna instead of the Ganges: saddlery and harness are well made here—308 houses are engaged in the trade. Wolves abound.

The Ganges canal debouches at Cawnpur, the road crosses it. A magnificent monument to British enterprise, costing one and a half million sterling, extending 898 miles,

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and irrigating five and a half millions of acres: it is calculated it will bring in Government a revenue of forty lakhs annually.

A bridge of boats leads to the Oude territory, the ancient Ayudha—Ram's possession. Here the population are armed to the teeth.

Bakauti, a few miles beyond Bilhur, has a curious temple of red sandstone, the exterior ornaments represent crouching tigers.

Six miles east of Kanauj, we enter the *Furrakabad district*, containing a population of 1,003,073, of whom one-eighth are Musalmans.

At *Gursahajganj* dâk bungalow there is a branch road to Furrakabad. *Meerun ke sarai*, fifty miles on, is only noted for its once fine serai; two miles beyond is the Kanauj dâk bungalow; the route from that to Kanauj, 2 miles, lying across Indigo fields. *Kanauj* is a short distance to the right, the city that provided Bengal with Brahmanical teachers: vast mounds are the only remnants of the glory of a place, the capital of India in Alexander's time, which once contained 30,000 shops selling betelnuts, and was fifty miles in circumference—thieves and sellers of fictitious antiques abound there now. Mahmud of Guzni laid his desolating hand on it. Many Buddhist coins and relics have been found. In Fa Hian's time one of the towers of Asoka was standing in Kanauj.

At *Bhowgong* the road branches off to Agra. At *Nabigan* we enter the *Mainpuri district*, noted for infanticide. An interesting account is given of the measures of Mr. Raikes, the late magistrate, for suppressing infanticide among the Rajput tribes there. *Selections of the Records of the North West Provinces, No. XI.* We come to the town of *Mainpuri*, the civil station of Etawah, in a sandy plain. An old fortress overlooks the valley of the Esan river, the seat of the raja of Mainpur for centuries, he was a descendant of Prithiraja—" the thunders of artillery announced the birth of a son or nephew of the raja, but the smiles of an infant daughter were never witnessed in his walls"—infanticide was the rule among the Rajput population. Mainpuri has a Jain temple, and many Játs live near it. A few miles east of *Ferozabad*, we enter the *Agra district*, respecting whose agricultural resources and landed tenures an able report has been given by Mr. Jackson, in his *Statistics of Agra*. *Ferozabad*, forty miles from Mainpuri, abounds in old tombs; it was formerly walled and an extensive place.

Mahomedabad is ten miles from Ferozabad; two miles beyond it is a fine temple in a lake, connected with the main land by a bridge of twenty-one arches.

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Begum ke serai is within twelve miles of Agra, the Taj becomes visible from this, it reminds one very much of a distant view of the Pantheon in Paris.

The approach to *Agra* or *Akbarabad* is indicated by the hilly nature of the ground, intersected by deep ravines, the abode of wolves; within two miles of the town, on the left hand, the *Taj* lifts its marble columns to view, the link between the past of Akbar's day, and the present of *Kafir* rule. On the right of the road, is the beautiful tomb of Shah Jehan's premier, Etman-ud-Daula, a splendid pile of white marble, delicately carved into fret work, its screens and tessellated enamels were very fine. Near it is the *Ram Bhag*, built by Shah Jehan's empress, on the banks of the river. The Jumna next presents itself, a shallow stream, about ninety yards wide in the cold weather. The traveller crosses by a bridge of boats, 1,256 feet long, and drives on a good road made in the famine year, 1838. Along the left is the quay, with rather handsome ghats; to the right is the commercial part of Agra. Before us lies the fort, built on an eminence eighty feet high, with its red sandstone walls, and Akbar's palace towering over the river, while, between the quay and the fort, is the site of the scene for elephant fights, which were frequently viewed by Akbar and Shah Jehan, from the balcony near the fort walls. The cantonments are two miles from the bridge, and the civil station four miles beyond them. The right banks of the river were formerly the residence of merchants, and contained a large population; they were the Garden Reach of Agra.

Akbar commenced building Agra (previously a village) in 1566, chiefly induced by its central position and navigable river. Some years after that an English factory was established, and we have an account of the famous Tom Corryat studying in it the Persian and Urdu languages, which he spoke like a native, travelling through the country on foot. (*See Calcutta Review*, vol. IX. p. 127 *et seq.*)

Agra is four miles long by three broad, but not one-sixth of its original extent; mounds and old tombs shew what Agra once was, with its 100 mosques, 80 serais, 800 public baths, and 15 bazars. All the existing buildings have been erected from old bricks dug up; it is only of late that bricks have begun to be made—the city is the wreck of the past, with its population reduced from 600,000 to 80,000; the remains of the wall which once environed it, and round which the Jumna's waters flowed, are still to be seen—the modern city has been well named by Jacquemont "une reunion de Faubourgs."

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The Government college, built in the Gothic style, has a fine quadrangle. The jail contains 3,000 prisoners, among whom are many thugs; the effects of the labors of Dr. Walker, the superintendent of the jail, are most gratifying,—the cheerfulness of the prisoners, though constantly occupied,—the facility with which, under his management, 1,200 prisoners have been taught to read and write Hindi, and thereby have become entitled to certain privileges and indulgences.—The sight of a gang of dakaits marching about, chaunting the multiplication table;—of felons, after twelve months' study, reading a book in Hindi, and answering simple questions on some of the common objects of nature,—women too answering,—of murderers working at paper-making, weaving, carpet-making, gardening, forging fetters, making military accoutrements,—are not easily forgotten. We see here, and in other parts of the North Western Provinces, an attention paid to the instruction of the lower orders, to which, we are sorry to say, the Government of the Lower Provinces is a total stranger. The school of industry, the convent, and Corrie's college, belonging to the Church Missionary Society, are also objects of interest.

The Vernacular Normal school deserves a visit, a sound education through Hindi is given to the pupils, intelligent young men drafted from the village schools, who here receive a training as Vernacular teachers—they are instructed in Geography, History, Euclid, composition, all through their own language. We may judge of the progress of vernacular education in the North West Provinces, by the *vernacular* course of instruction in Rurki college. Algebra, geometry, mensuration, plane trigonometry, optics, heat, electricity, conic sections, principles of astronomy, are subjects. The Government, as the last vernacular education report shows, are labouring zealously at irrigating the minds of the peasants with the waters of instruction, and by the avidity with which books are bought, we can judge of the results. Ledlie's Agra School Book press shows great activity in the department of vernacular school books, a marked contrast to our Calcutta slow coach, the School Book Society, though having 500 Rs. monthly from Government. Ledlie's press sold, in two years, for the Government vernacular schools established in eight districts, 21,605 volumes; and we may reckon the probable annual sale of vernacular books from it at 30,000. The report on vernacular education, in eight districts of the North West Provinces, embodies most valuable details.

The Roman Catholic burial ground has various curious old tombs, reminding one of Thevenot's days, when in 1666 there were reckoned 25,000 Christian families in Agra;

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some of these were Italians, employed as diamond cutters. Among the tombs is one to Colonel Hessing, a Dutchman, built on the model of the Taj, in the Muhammedan style; he was in Scindia's service,—his biography is given in the *Asiatic Register*: he rose from being a common soldier to be Governor of Agra.

The Jesuits here, in Akbar's time, were able men, who could then address the Mogul in his own language. Shah Jehan built a church for them, and two of his brothers were baptized in it.

The *fort* recalls the days of Akbar; it is surrounded by a trench thirty feet wide. We come first to the *Jama musjid*, a large mosque of three domes, with a triple row of eighteen arches, *simplex munditiis*; then to the hall of audience, 180 feet by 60, now used as an arsenal and armoury, with Chinese and other flags waving in it; the gates of Somnath (!) are at the end of the room, eleven feet high and nine broad, skilfully carved with Arabesques, and bordered with Kufic characters.—They are probably 1,000 years old; for 800 years they formed the entrance to Mahmud of Ghizni's tomb. Here is still to be seen the throne from which Akbar, receiver of a revenue of seventy millions sterling, daily dispensed justice in open court; there is a marble slab also on which the prisoners stood. Terry describes this throne as having a canopy of pure gold, the steps plated with silver, ornamented with five silver lions, spangled with jewels; but the Mahrattas, after the Napoleon fashion, soon reduced things to a simple state.

The *Moti musjid*, or mosque of pearl, along with its surrounding court, and four rows of marble arches, was the private chapel of the ladies of the zenana, formed of exquisitely white marble brought from Jaipur; it was erected by Shah Jehan, in 1656, during the period of his seven years' imprisonment in Agra fort by his rebellious son; each of the slabs on its floor serves as a prayer place. A paper written by a native was here put into our hands, which is as fine a specimen as we have ever seen of oriental exaggeration of description.

Among the objects of interest in the Palace are the *shishah khana*, or bath room, the sides of which were decorated with small looking glasses and niches for lamps, over which water fell in a cascade,—the beautiful verandahs overlooking the river and the Taj, —the small rooms for the zenana ladies playing hide-and-seek —the rooms of retreat in the hot weather—the chamber where ladies were hung, and their bodies dropped into a well underneath (see *Calcutta Review*, Vol. II. p. 411.) The emperor inflicted very summary punishment, almost whipping a man to death, and then making him kiss the rod; sending a man who

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broke a China cup, to China, to buy another; burying alive a woman of the harem who kissed a eunuch, &c. &c.

The road from the cantonments to the Taj, was formerly lined with houses of the nobility. This Taj, to the memory of Momtaza Zemami, is the noblest monument ever erected to woman in the world. Momtaza attended to state affairs, while her husband, in company with his French physician, was consuming his hours over the wine bottle; "he raised her out of the dust, from a very mean family." The Taj, one mile from the fort, is not a mere useless monument to the dead; by its exquisite beauty, both of material and structure, it is a school of art, where both the poet and artist can foster a love for the beautiful. Its terraced gardens and orange parterres, kept in good order, are useful for horticultural purposes, while there is accommodation for Europeans and picnic parties—but the mullah's cry to prayer no longer resounds—no Mogul musicians are here—no Christian is now debarred from seeing the tomb—no eunuch, with two thousand sipahis, any longer guards the approach to a building which occupied, for twenty years, 22,000 men in its erection,—yet the brick scaffolding is said by Tavernier to have cost as much as the building itself, which he calculated at more than three millions sterling. The dome being oval is in the Musalman style, as it is semi-circular in Hindu architecture, shining "like an enchanted castle of burnished silver." It is 260 feet high, seventy feet in diameter, beneath it lies the tomb of Momtaza Zemami, who died in 1621. She was Shah Jehan's favorite wife, a Khadija in her day, the bitter foe of the Portuguese at Hugli. Her virtuous qualities are recorded in Arabic, on marble bedecked with gems. On her tomb is a flower composed of 300 different stones; all the tombs are surrounded by an elegant screen of latticed marble. Beside this tomb is that of Shah Jehan himself, a man who secured the throne to his own children, from the other members of Timur's house, by the use of the dagger and bow string, yet he himself died a prisoner in 1666. The stillness and dim religious light of the place, and the solemn echo from the slightest sound, are particularly striking. In 1814 the East India Company spent £10,000 on its repairs. Its fountains, eighty-four in number, occasionally play.

The *Ram bhag*, a public garden, is on the opposite side, a beautiful retreat for Akbar's courtiers, who preferred for a residence the cool and quiet banks of the Jumna, to the noise of the city.

On the road to Sekundra we meet with a few of those *khoshminars*, which were the mile stones erected by Akbar, three centuries ago, along a splendid road between Agra and Delhi,

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140 miles; at each of those stones was a chaukidar station, while the road was lined with stone aqueducts for irrigation, and shaded with magnificent evergreen trees, brought in full growth by elephants from the forests. It formed part of the great road to Lahore, called by travellers the long walk.

Sekundra, or the city of Alexander, six miles from Agra fort, contains the tomb of Akbar; his noble dust lies in a vault here, since 1605, when he died, after a happy reign of fifty years. The mausoleum was begun by him and finished by his son. It is four storeys high, each story diminishing in height. From its roof, composed of beautiful white marble, exquisitely carved, you enjoy a fine view of Agra, the city of his creation. Akbar's tombstone is on the lower story, elegantly carved in devices of flower wreaths, with the word Akbar inwrought, while his title is given in the following language, "light of heaven! right hand of the Almighty!" on the top over it, are inscribed the ninety-nine attributes of God from the *Koran*. The verandas of this tomb are so large as to have once served as barracks to a regiment of dragoons.

From Akbar's tomb we come to the Church Mission Station of Sekundra, which provides the comforts of a religion which Akbar highly esteemed. The *Sekundra Press*, the largest in India, was founded by the Church Missionary Society, and located in a tomb erected by Akbar, over the remains of Munni Begum, a Christian, one of his wives,—one out of 5,000. The tomb afforded shelter to 300 orphans in the famine of 1837.

Agra is a Muhammedan city,—the person in search of Hindu antiquities must visit *Muthura and Brindaban*,—to see the ghat in the latter place where Krishna killed the snake, the tree in which he played the flute, from whose withered branches hang ribbons, to represent the milkmaids' dresses which he stole. Brindabun is noted as the paradise of apes, peacocks, and fishes: handsome ghats line the river Jumna. It has two fine temples of red stone, one of them in the form of a Greek cross. *Mathura* had in Tavernier's time an hospital for apes; it still possesses various fine buildings, the remains of what was plundered by Mahmud of Ghizni, who took away 300 camels' loads of silver from it.

It is a singular fact, illustrating the forbearance of the Moguls and the stability of the Hindu village communities, that around Agra, though the seat of Moslem Government, hardly an instance occurs of a Musalman claiming hereditary property in the soil, while many Hindus can show that their ancestors occupied the villages for twenty centuries.

The neighbourhood of Agra abounds in objects of interest.

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Dig, with its fine palace ;—*Bhurtpur*, famous for its siege, but more famous now for the beautiful new city planned and finished by the present raja, which bids fair to be the gem of the west.

Futehpur Sikri, twenty-four miles from Agra, was the favourite residence of Akbar, where, amid the delights of his harem, and in the society of philosophers, he laid aside the cares of state ; this Windsor of the Mogul Emperor, erected in 1570, on a crested height, is entered by a gateway 120 feet high, within which is the shrine, made of beautiful marble, of Akbar's father confessor. The *Dewan Am*, or audience hall, where Akbar heard the cry of the poor for justice ; the *Hati durwaza*, a tower said to have been chiefly made of elephant's tusks,—the pulpit, in a mushroom shape, from which Akbar dispensed justice,—the beautiful tomb of Sheikh Selim, who had riches showered upon him, because by his prayers he was said to have procured for Akbar a son.—The marble floor which Akbar used as a Dice Board while women were his counters—(see *Calcutta Review*, vol. II., p. 411)—all remind one how greatness passes away.

On the road from Agra to Delhi, we come to *Hatras*, thirty-two miles from Agra, it had a strong fort, with a ditch 120 feet wide, and eighty-five feet deep ;—bombarded in 1817 by the English, in consequence of its having been the rendezvous of all the thugs and robbers of the district. The native rulers, there, as elsewhere, protected them, in consideration of their sharing the plunder. *Aligurh* is fifty-six miles from Agra : the native name is Coel ; it is noted for its mud fort, which, under General Perron, was a strong fortress : it was taken by Lord Lake in 1803 by stratagem, though it could have held out for a month against a regular attack. Its fosse was deep enough to float a seventy-four, and was in some places 400 feet wide—it was dismantled by Lord W. Bentinck ; between the fort and Aligurh, are the ruins of the house which belonged to Monsieur Perron, Scindia's Commander-in-Chief. In Coel, two miles from the fort, is a large mosque. In Abul Fazl's time, 1582, Coel was the capital of a large district. No heads of peasant-robbers, suspended on poles, along the road, now meet the eyes, as in Akbar's days.

Near Delhi we cross a branch of the great Ganges canal, designed to secure 3,320,000 acres from the effects of drought. Delhi is visible twenty miles before reaching it ; the Kutab Minar towers aloft, surrounded by masses of ruins. The city, which once received its crore of rupees in tribute from Bengal,

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is now bereft of all power,—yet the Emperor styles himself "king of kings."

A fine bridge of boats leads the traveller across to Delhi. A bridge of this kind existed in the Mogul times. Previous to a visit to Delhi, we would recommend the perusal of *Bernier's Travels*. Bernier was a French doctor, and was court physician to Aurungzeb for twelve years, between 1656 and 1668. He lived in familiar intercourse with the Moguls of his day, of whom he has given a faithful portrait. *Sleeman's Recollections* afford valuable sketches of the family of Shah Jehan, as does also *Terry's Voyage to East India*. The author was two years chaplain to Sir T. Roe, Lord Ambassador at the great Mogul's court. Delhi, the ancient Indraprastha, whose origin goes back to twelve centuries B. C. was taken by Kutab-ud-din, a slave, in 1209. Shah Jehan, finding the heat of Agra intense, from the surrounding sands, founded the modern city of Delhi or Jehanabad, about 1628, which soon had a population of one million, now reduced to 138,000. He used the ruins of old Delhi for the new buildings, making it thus the *Dilhi* or heart of his territories. As we approach to the right we have a view of the old walls of Delhi, stretching along the river, in the direction of the English cantonments, two miles distant. They have seven handsome gates; these walls, chiefly of brick, formerly encompassed the city for nine miles, and yet in 1804, they enabled Sir D. Ochterlony to hold out against the whole Mahratta army. To the left we skirt the red sandstone walls of the Delhi fort and palace, and arrive at the dâk bungalow, located "under the shadow of the Great Mogul;" the walls are forty feet high; the fort cost a crore of rupees, inclosing a space of 600,000 yards; adjacent is a ground used in Mogul times for elephant fights and military manœuvres, as also for the arts of astrologers. The ditch was formerly filled with fish, and lined with a flower garden. The old Patan fort of Selimghur, used as a bastille, is joined by a bridge to the new fort erected in 1648, which is surrounded by a wall two miles in circumference, of red sandstone, brought from Bhurtpur. You enter it through a handsome gateway; passing under a fine arcade, you come to what was once the hall of audience, now a lumber room, having still a marble throne, with a pannel ornamented with inlaid work; from hence to the *Dewan khas* or private hall of audience, whose ceiling was once covered with plates of gold, while the peacock throne, valued at seven millions sterling, blazed forth. The throne glistening with the diamond rays, was supported by four massy pillars of gold. Here Nadir Shah drank coffee,

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while the corpses of 100,000 slaughtered Hindus tainted the air. The *Moti Musjid*, of beautiful marble, was built by Aurungzeb, who has been seen in its fine quadrangle, praying, clad as an old fakir; but the interior now presents only one mass of ruins, weeds, silent fountains, and noisy children.

The *Church*, with its fine dome, was built at an expense of 1,20,000 rupees, by Colonel Skinner, who is interred here, after all his wanderings in the days of border warfare in India (See *Skinner's Life*, in two volumes). This church was erected in consequence of the father having made a vow, that if his son Joseph, who was so dangerously ill, as to be given over by the doctors, should recover, he would found a church as a thank-offering. It is in the Italian style; in it is a monument to W. Fraser, killed by the Nawab Shams-ud-din, in 1835; it cost 10,000 rupees, made of white marble in compartments, inlaid with "green stones, representing the weeping willow."

Close to the church is the *College*, which possesses the best library in the North West Provinces. A portrait of Mohan Lal, once a pupil of this college, is hung up here. The *arsenal* covers several acres of ground.

The *Juma Masjid*, the St. Peter of the Moslems, is built on a rock, the ascent is by three fine flights of forty steps, completed in 1632, by Shah Jehan, after six years' labour, at a cost of £100,000, built of red sandstone. They profess to have in this Masjid a hair of Muhammad's beard, and the Koran of Ali. How different now from the palmy days, when if the Emperor Aurungzeb did not visit it at least once a day, "the shops of the city would have been closed, and the whole kingdom in a state of ferment." A splendid view of the city, as also of the palace, is to be had from the minarets, 130 feet high, enclosing a city in itself! To the North-west we see the remains of the garden houses of the nobility, while from the garden of Shalimar to the Kutab Minar, a mass of ruins extends for twenty miles; these gardens cost one million sterling, but nothing now remains.

Delhi has not now the fine buildings of Mogul times,—the Omras houses, "erected on a mound overlooking a beautiful parterre, laid out with reservoirs, conservatories and fountains," but neither has it now so many hovels—60,000 thatched houses were burnt down in one hot season in Bernier's time. The Chandni Chauk or place of silver, the chief street, is "the Cheapside," running three-quarters of a mile in extent, fifty yards wide, with an aqueduct in the centre called Ali Mardán Khan's, made in 1626. In the afternoon it is a bustling scene, and gives a good opportunity of seeing native costumes, &c. Midway is

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the Roshan-ud-Doula mosque, built in 1721, from which, in 1739, Nadir Shah, irritated by a shot fired at him, gave the signal for the massacre of 100,000 people, who were slaughtered in eight hours, in cold blood, by the soldiers,—the plunder he took amounted to forty millions sterling.

Near the college is *Ali Mardan's canal*—Ali Mardan was a noble of Shah Jehan's time—it draws its waters from the Jumna, near Kurnal, 185 miles distant, and was re-opened by Lord Hastings in 1820, at an expense of two and a half lakhs; the inhabitants went out in procession with music, the day it was opened. For an account of this and other canals, see *Asiatic Journal*, 1833, No. 15., *Ditto* No. 171, *for* 1846; *Major Baker's Memoranda of the Western Canals*, which is particularly valuable for the details he gives of the operations for checking the encroachments of the Jumna.

The *College* is on the site of *Dárá's* palace. It has the best library in the North West Provinces, over 9,000 volumes. Dárá, the son of Shah Jehan, had he mounted the throne, might have revolutionized India, as his policy was to confer offices on Christians and Hindus, instead of on mere Persian adventurers; his fate was tragical, his throat was cut by his brother Aurungzeb's order, and his head was presented on a dish to his brother.

The *Museum of the Archæological Society of Delhi* deserves a visit, containing many old coins, curious inscriptions, &c. The Society has published two numbers of transactions, which throw much light on the localities of Delhi.

Passing out of the Delhi gate, you enter on an herculaneum above ground, the ruins of old Delhi, which covered twenty miles of ground—a sea of ruins. The city was destroyed by the Mahrattas, about 1605; in fact, five cities, at different periods, occupied this ground, the old *Indraput*.

Further on, to the right, is the hill on which Timour is said to have stood and witnessed the battle in 1423, when he ordered 100,000 prisoners to be slain in cold blood, the act of one hour:—old Delhi became deserted from that time. The *Observatory* was built in 1730, by the Raja of Jaypur, a famous astronomer, the gnomon is sixty feet high.

The *tomb of Safdar Jang* is four miles from Delhi, a fine building of red sandstone, having a handsome dome, with a beautiful block of white marble in the centre, erected in 1730. Safdar Jang lies in it; he was once a trooper, but rose to be premier of Lukhnow. Rooms large enough to accommodate several parties of travellers, were provided here by a former king of Lukhnow.

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Half a mile North-west of this, is the mausoleum of Sekander Shah; though he died in 1275, the enamel is still fresh. Passing through masses of ruins, a city of the dead, we come to the *Kutab minar*, the highest pillar in the world, rising with great magnificence to the height of 232 feet. Its section is a polygon of twenty-seven sides, having fifty-four feet in diameter at the base. It took forty-four years in building, and was finished about 1240. It was erected probably as a minar for prayer, by Kutab-ud-din, who rose from being a Turkistan slave, to be the first Patan sovereign of Delhi. Hindu temples supplied the materials. You ascend by 384 steps to the top, from which there is a commanding view—all relics of the past. *See Archer's Tour*, Vol. I., p. 118, and a drawing of it in *Von Orlich's Travels*, also *Sleeman's Rambles*, Vol. II., p. 252, and *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IV., p. 313. The Government gave very liberally, in 1828, Rs. 22,000, for its repairs. Near it is a magnificent architrave in the Saracenic style, sixty feet high, erected in 1310; ruins are piled all about, probably of Jain origin. Close to it is an iron lath or pillar, thirty feet high, and as many below the ground, believed by the Hindus to rest on the head of their great snake, to have been the palladium of their dominion, and to have stood there 1,500 years.

Toglakabad, a great curiosity, is reached after a drive of five miles from the Kutab, over a hilly road of sandstone; we pass part of the old wall of the city of Jehanpanah. Taglak Shah was assassinated in 1324, but the fort of this city, six miles in circumference, with its enormous blocks of stone and bastions, is a mighty monument of his genius, and of the cyclopean builders; there are many subterranean apartments still remaining. This city, now untenanted, reminds one of those magnificent piles the traveller meets with suddenly in Ceylon or South America. The Moguls, like Nicholas of Russia, were not friendly to the nobles travelling to distant countries, thus spending the money out of it, hence their superfluous wealth was expended on tombs and buildings.

The remains of a covered stone way, of twenty-five arches, leads to the splendid tomb of the founder, with its marble dome: the surrounding plain was once a lake. *Taglak* was killed here by the fall of a wooden house, erected for him by his son; he was a cruel man, and employed much of his time in hunting down the poor peasantry, hanging up their heads as trophies at the city gates. We return from this place to Delhi.

Starting another day from the Delhi gate, we come to *Feroze Shah's lath*, a pillar of Asoka, thirty feet high, twelve

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feet in circumference, which has stood for 2,100 years, with its inscriptions. (See *Journal Asiatic Bengal*, 1834, p. 105). The Jats attempted to destroy this by cannon.

Two miles further, the *purana killa* or old fort, a most striking pile, standing out amid the ruins of Delhi, was built by Feroze Shah in 1290, massive, like all Patan architecture, with walls forty feet high, and six feet thick. On the South side are the remains of an amphitheatre, while Shir Shah's splendid mosque, with its horse-shoe-shaped arches, is near the entrance.

One mile further, is the tomb of Humayun, the father of Akbar, 120 feet high. It cost fifteen lakhs, rising from a platform 2,000 feet in circumference. He laid the foundation stone of it himself in 1550; he erected a tomb on a similar plan near it, for his barber, while his family are buried in various crypts in the building, amounting to sixty-eight. The enamel of the mosaic work there is very striking for its freshness after centuries have elapsed. This monument to his glory was his death-scene, he fell from the scaffolding and was killed.

Near this tomb stood *Indraprastha*, or Hindu Delhi, the capital of India twelve centuries B. C.

Nizam-ud-Din's tomb is a quarter of a mile from this. He was an Affghan saint, the disciple of another saint, whose look it was said could turn clods of earth into lumps of sugar. The lattice work is exquisitely fine, and has stood the wear of time uninjured, since 1415. The veranda around it is very handsome, the pillars are finely covered with representations of birds, butterflies, &c.; there are two doors of white marble, also well deserving of notice. Near it is the tomb of his friend Khosru, a great poet. The tombs of the Delhi family are around. There lies, in a marble tomb, *Shah Alum*, whose eyes were bored out by the Mahrattas, when they took Delhi; 300,000 Moslem martyrs are said to be buried in the neighbourhood. Close to it is a *bauli* or sacred tank for pilgrims, into which natives leap from a height of fifty feet for a small douceur.

It would be easy to mention other objects of interest to visit, a short distance from Delhi, such as *Mirath*, which is only 125 miles from the foot of the Himalayas, and thirty-six from Delhi. With the advance of the Railway, Simla can be included in the six weeks' tour. Meerut was a strong place when taken by Timur, in 1399. *Sirdhana*, twelve miles, the residence of the Begum Sumru, noted for the handsome marble altar in its cathedral—*Saharanpur* and its establishment of ghôsains and monkeys, and also its excellent botanical garden,—the valley of the Dhun.—*Massuri*, 7,500 feet high, where the ascent into the bracing air causes a proportionate

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rise in the barometer of the spirits.—A distant view of Jumnotri, 26,000 feet high, is to be had here.—*Hardwar*, ninety-seven miles from Meerut, the place of pilgrimage of 300,000 natives.—*Rurki*, near Saharunpur, noted for its college of engineers.

The limits we have assigned to this article will not allow us to notice several points of interest for a traveller to the North West Provinces, such as Missionary and Educational Institutions—the excellent statistical papers published by the Government of Agra—and the Vernacular Press.

But we must return now from the Delhi of the past to Calcutta, and shall notice three places which the traveller can visit on his return route, Lukhnow, Mirzapur, and Chunar. Passing through Cawnpur we come to the *Oude territory*, famous for thugi. Colonel Sleeman has constructed a thugi map of the district, in which there are 274 stations for thugs. One man confessed to having been engaged in 931 murders. Lukhnow is fifty miles from Cawnpur ; a mail cart lands the traveller here at the unseasonable hour of four in the morning, in the dâk bungalow, close to the Residency and Post Office ; *Lakhnau*, called Lakhmavati, from Lakshman, the brother of Ram, dates as a capital only since 1775, when it was removed from the old capital Fyzabad, to which a well-planted road leads. The population amounts to 300,000 ; its buildings are tawdry and showy, not partaking of the massiveness and magnificence of Mogul times,—plaster and stucco work ; they indicate the waning of the Mussulman power. The *chauk* is worth visiting as the seat of trade, it is occasionally *decorated* with the heads of refractory zemindars. The bridge across the beautiful Gumti, the Indian Meander, leads from the Residency to cantonments ; the roof of the Residency gives the best view of the city, its palaces, gilded cupolas, and mosques. On the city side is a Hindu temple, elegantly sculptured, the only one which Moslem intolerance will allow in the city, which gives full license to all dens of infamy, but none to any foreign religion. Muhammedanism is exclusively predominant, but its votaries are devoted to sensuality, not, like the early Kaliphs, to the spread of their faith. The people met with, show by their appearance the wisdom of the company in drawing their recruits chiefly from Oude. *Lukhnow* may be called the paradise of pigeons, who swarm in all directions.

The *Observatory*, *Royal printing press*, *Menagerie*, *Oriental library*, are things of the past, the present king being devoted to licentious pursuits ; and in consequence vice displays itself in

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the most disgusting forms, while every thing intellectual is neglected.

The *Imámbára* is a handsome building, erected by Asaf Doula, 1784, built after the model of the mosque of Saint Sophia, at Constantinople; it has a splendid hall, 150 feet long, sixty broad, and eighty high; in the centre is the tomb of the founder, with his sword and open koran lying on it; the minarets are beautiful, fluted, and ornamented with wreaths. Near it is the *Rumi durwaza*, or beautiful gate, having over its gate-way the Nawab of Oude's emblem of sovereignty—two large fishes. Adjacent are the royal tombs, enclosed in a handsome court; tigers of green glass, presented by the Emperor of China, and a figure of Muhammad's steed Borak, are to be seen here. An *Oriental bath* is to be had at the Imámbára.

A drive of three miles takes to *Constantia*, the mausoleum of General Martin, who came out to India a common soldier, and died a General; he built this handsome pile intending to sell it to the Nawab, who knowing the General was an old man, did not wish to purchase it, but to take possession of it at his death. The General hearing this, gave orders that he should be interred in a room at the bottom of the house; you are conducted to the tomb by torch-light—where rests an extraordinary man—soldier, gunsmith, watch-maker, and builder at the same time, who often made 500 rupees before breakfast by polishing diamonds.

From Lukhnow we proceed via Gopalganj to *Mirzapur*. noted for its cotton brought from Bundelkund, and carpet manufacture, situated at the termination of the Great Dekkan road, which is splendidly metalled, shooting down like a great artery to Jubbulpur, 239 miles. The approach to it is very beautiful, as it is situated, like Benares, on a fine curve of the river, whose high banks are finely lined with splendid stone ghâts, temples, mahajans' garden houses, having a population of 80,000 residents, likely to increase, and make it, perhaps, the New Orleans of North India. Ten lakhs of maunds of cotton annually pass through Mirzapur, and its magnificent buildings seem to foreshadow its future greatness; among the objects of curiosity are its beautiful *chauk*, lately a noisome tank, its superb *serai* of stone, with towers at the corner, a well and shrubbery in the centre, and accommodation for several hundred travellers, chiefly at the expense of a native lady: —its public *gardens* and swimming baths. New Mirzapur was the ancient *Sagala* mentioned by Ptolemy. (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V., p. 2,756.)

The Kymorè range of hills and valley of the Soane, thirty-

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two miles distant, form a favorite excursion for the Mirzapur people; the scenery is very grand, amid Alpine lofty precipices, grottoes, and all the sublime of nature. See an excellent article on this subject in the *Benares Magazine*, "How we tried to see the Soane." To the South of the Kymore hills is *Sirguja*, where gold is found in rather large quantities.

A drive out from Mirzapur to a *sanatarium* four miles off, built by a *native*, for the use of *Europeans*, on the brow of a hill, commanding a magnificent prospect, is well worth a visit. On our way we pass some finely sculptured temples, containing inside a variety of mythological pictures. On our right lies the temple of Vindya Chal—Kali's Northern residence—the Kali Ghât of the North Western Provinces, frequented by thugs from all parts of India, who make offerings to the shrine here from the proceeds of their robberies and murders. 250 boats of river thugs, in crews of fifteen, used to ply between Benares and Calcutta, five months every year, under the pretence of conveying pilgrims—their victims' back was broken, and the corpse was thrown into the river. We cross a bridge, which cost 40,000 Rs., built by a Mahant, on the bambu principle, hollow under the roadway, so as to afford accommodation for shops and resting places for travellers, sixty feet over the river, which rises forty-eight feet in the rains, and used to take travellers two hours to cross.

From Mirzapur we proceed to Benares, viâ *Maharajgunj*, and from thence to Chunar.

A drive of two hours, or fourteen miles, along a good road, leads the traveller to the hill fortress of *Chunar* or Chandalgur. A few miles after leaving Benares, we pass over a handsome bridge, which commemorates the name of Prinsep. The Sultanpur cavalry station is within four miles of Chunar, now almost deserted, with its spacious stables and once handsome bungalows; near it is an old mosque, containing the tomb of the Mussulmani wife of an old Colonel, one of the Qui-hies of former days. From this place a distant sight is had of the Chunar fortress, cresting the Ganges stream, looming in the distance, and gradually enlarging on the view, until after four miles we come to the river, which runs narrow and deep, washing the foot of the rock, which rises 200 feet high. You cross by a ferry, and this Edinburgh Castle of the East unfolds all its massy proportions before you, perched on a limestone spur of the Vindhaya hills, which here descends to the water's edge, while wall above wall rises in tiers before you —there is not another rock between this and the Himalayas. Its military importance has passed away, it is now the Vincennes for the Sikh state prisoners, and the Chelsea of soldiers; it is

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garrisoned by a few invalids. In former days they excited the spiritual sympathies of Corrie. *(See Bishop Corrie's Life.)*

The fort was built about the eleventh century, by Sultan Mahmud, who, before his descent on Benares, in 1017, fortified it. Since that, its fortune has been various; in 1575, it held out against the Mogul army for six months. In 1764 it was taken by the English. The view from its lofty ramparts is very fine, reminding one of Stirling Castle. By its side is a burial ground, containing some old monuments. Chunar is noted for little now, except its tobacco cultivation, and stone quarries. The *church* is pretty, embosomed in trees. The population amounts to 20,000. Buchanan states that some of the Pal Rajas lived at Chunar or Chandalgur, which would imply that it was a place of some note ten centuries ago.

From Chunar we return to Benares: in a few years we hope the traveller, instead of returning the same way by the Trunk Road, will be able to proceed by rail, viâ Patna and Rajmahal, thus varying the route; and we trust that also the Allahabad and Delhi railway may, ten years hence, be opened. Then the interesting regions of Central India, teeming with recollections of Rajput times and Jain palaces, will form an additional line for tourists, and we shall have the Trunk *Railway* from Benares to Bombay.

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ART. V.—1. *Selections from the Public Correspondence of the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, Nos.* I., II., III., *and* IV.

2. *The Lahore Chronicle.*

3. *The Punjab Blue Book.*

4. *Records. MS.*

WE hope, in this paper, to convey to the general reader some information about the Punjab, beyond what is contained in the bare facts, that its possession cost us two campaigns, that it has engaged a great deal of Lord Dalhousie's time and attention, that it has been pretty well set in order by the Lawrences, and that it has made very considerable progress in civilisation, since the day when it became an integral portion of the British dominions in India. It will be our earnest endeavour to set forth the most striking points in the administration of the Punjab with some little detail : to group together the reforms that have been rapidly introduced there, in the short space of four years and a half, some mention of which may be found in previous numbers of this *Review ;* to mention the material and moral improvements completed or devised, and so to present, if possible, a sketch of a great revolution, to which we honestly believe that history can supply no parallel.

There are few, if any, of our readers who are not aware that the Punjab consists of five consecutive Doabs, or tracts of country situated between two rivers, and that the streams which water these splendid tracts are, in reality, five in number, besides the Indus, namely, the Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravi, the Chenab, and the Jhelum. These Doabs vary in extent from thirty or forty to one hundred miles in breadth. The whole figure of the Punjab may, it has been observed, be compared to a triangle, the apex of which should be at Mooltan, or a little lower down the river at Mittunkote, while the base is the range of the Himalayas. One side of the triangle will thus be the river Sutlej, from the foot of the hills to its junction with the Indus, and the other will be formed by the Suliman range, and the hills from Bunnoo to Peshawar. The first Doab adjoining the older provinces, that of *Jullunder*, has now been nearly eight years under British rule. Lying conveniently at the foot of the hills, compact, easily accessible, and eminently fertile, it was annexed by Lord Hardinge, after the Sutlej campaign. It has lately been settled, after the most careful and laborious investigation, for a period of thirty years. In its

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whole expanse, there is nothing but one sheet of the richest cultivation: its management is a task of comparative ease. The next Doab is the *Bari*, and in some respects it is the most important of the whole five. This tract may be said to present features diametrically opposed to each other in its two divisions. From Lahore eastward, to the foot of the hills, it contains the very flower of the Sikh population. The commercial and religious capital of the Sikhs, Umritsir, is situated in this tract. In it are other towns of less note, but of considerable extent and importance, and thronged by a manly and warlike population: villages are numerous, cultivation is extensive, and returns are great. Here, in short, are set, side by side, the elements of progress, and the elements of disaffection; this is none other than the famous Manjha, or central district, from which Runjit Sing collected the best and bravest of his troops. The lower part of this Doab, or that which extends westward, say, from a line drawn from Lahore to the Sutlej, is the very reverse of the former tract; villages are scattered, cultivation appears at intervals, and water is not easily procured. The population is thin, and brushwood and jungle cover the country for miles. We shall speak hereafter of the means which are being taken to convert this sterile tract into a fruitful garden. But we may here remark, that in attempting to form an idea of the characteristics of each Doab, two main points must ever be kept in view. The first is the richness, cultivation, and populousness of the tract, which runs along the foot of the Himalayas, from the Jullundur Doab, in a north westerly direction, as far as the Salt Range. This strip may vary in breadth from fifty to eighty, or even one hundred miles. From its proximity to a high range of mountains, it is visited by more copious showers than any other part of the Punjab: its inhabitants depend very little on irrigation: it is clothed with two magnificent crops during the year: it would warrant the traveller, who had visited no other portion of the annexed territory, in believing that the Punjab far excelled, in resources and exuberant fertility, every other part of our Indian possessions. But the second remarkable characteristic might speedily dispel the error. The centre of every Doab, away from the hills, is as barren as the tract just mentioned is productive. Parallel to each river forming the Doabs, there is, of course, a considerable strip of cultivation, but on crossing from one river to another, the traveller, as he advances, finds thorn and tamarisk taking the place of sugar cane and wheat: instead of a loam watered by the copious showers descending from the mountains, or by the stream skilfully led *supercilio*

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clivosi tramitis, there is a dry stiff clay, or a soil impregnated with soda, while water lies too far beneath the surface to be reached, except by the laborious and expensive process of sinking wells. This feature characterizes all the westerly portion of the *Bari* Doab, the centre of the *Rechna* Doab, between the Ravi and the Chenab; of the *Chuch* or *Jetch* Doab, between the Chenab and the Jhelum, and of the *Sind Sagur*, the largest of the five, between the Jhelum and the Indus. The lower part of this last Doab is perhaps the least cultivated, and the least populous of any part of the Punjab. But, as we reach the upper part of it, "the ocean of the Sind or the Indus river," (as it is called from the annual inundations to which it is subjected,) we become conscious of another peculiar feature of the new kingdom. From Kalabagh on the Indus, there stretches, in an easterly direction, to the foot of the Himalayas, a range of hills, broken by ravines, unfitted for cultivation, obstructive of progress, and yet possessing resources of almost unknown extent. With the exception of one mountain, which rises as high as 4,000 feet, the general average height of this range is about 2,400 feet. This is the famous Salt Range, from the mines of which salt is dug out in pure sparkling masses, and sold at a considerable profit, on the part of the state. When we have surmounted the Salt Range, we find in the upper part of this Doab, a climate which, for a very considerable portion of the year, is really European: on the north side of the range is the station of Rawul Pindi, where a considerable force is always at hand to watch the mountaineers of Hazara, and at no great distance is Hazara itself. The name of Major J. Abbott will long be linked with the clans of this mountainous region, and a Station there has even been called by his name. It is not too much to say that the Mullicks of Hazara had, till lately, never been subdued. The very name of the country is derived from the *thousand* petty chieftains, who in their respective generations, have maintained their independence against the Greeks of old, against the armies of Mogul sovereigns, against the veteran battalions of Runjit Sing, and who have risen repeatedly against Sikh garrisons, crowded into fortresses and strongholds, with all the latest means and appliances of war. The task which had never been seriously attempted by Akbar or Aurungzebe, which had baffled the severity of Hurri Sing, which was too much for the present artful and politic ruler of Kashmir, has been accomplished by the tact and the good management of a single British officer. In the year 1847, these rugged villages, these inaccessible defiles, this independent, warlike, and excitable

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population, were made over to the Durbar of Lahore, an equivalent being granted to the Maharaja of Kashmir, and with the rest of the Punjab, the whole passed under British rule in 1849. It has been necessary to maintain a considerable force in this peculiar region, and it is good policy not to attempt to derive much revenue from it; but the grand objects of administration in such a country—peace and quiet—have been fully attained. Crime has decreased: there have been no outbreaks: travelling is no longer insecure: the petty chiefs have been indulged by the restoration of their lands, and every thing seems to promise tranquillity for the future. The mountaineers of Hazara, it will be remembered, require different treatment from the various tribes which line the frontier from the hilly country *across* the Indus, and all round Peshawar, down to the very borders of Scinde. The one set are our subjects, and the others are not. Of these latter we are now about to speak. No person who during the last three years has ever cast his eyes over a newspaper published in the North West Provinces, can have failed to become acquainted with some one of the tribes which keep our Punjab Irregulars in a state of chronic restlessness and anxiety. Swatties, Halunzais, Momunds, Shivranies, Wuzeerees, Murrees, and Bogties, pass like shadows, in quick succession, before the eyes of the bewildered reader, and have given rise in some quarters to an idea that the accounts of the tranquillity of the Punjab cannot be wholly correct. But nothing can be more unfounded than such an opinion. These marauders have no one thing in common with the cultivators of the plain: they have attempted to carry on the same system of desultory but lucrative warfare with the British administration which they have carried on for centuries. Forbearance at first, then warning, and when both these failed, retribution and chastisement—such are the maxims by which the Lahore Board have been actuated in dealing with these marauders. It is calculated that they might, if united, muster 100,000 men against us. They have been expressly told that the British Government desires no further conquest in that quarter, that it requires only a moderate tribute from such as come within its jurisdiction, but that it will insist on a peaceful frontier and a clear highway. These conditions, if not cheerfully acceded to, must be exacted by force, and the frontier from Peshawar, along the valley of Kohat, through the country of the Khuttucks, down along by Bunnoo and Esakhail, through Murwut, and so on to the junction of Scinde, is now amply protected by a line of forts, by a good military road, and by regiments of infantry and cavalry, with their complements of artil-

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lery, all admirably drilled, and well adapted to warfare in difficult passes and defiles.

We may conclude the above brief sketch of the physical aspect of the Punjab, by saying that it is about 290 miles long, by 344 miles broad, and that its area is estimated at 50,400 square miles. We turn now to the regime of old Runjit Sing, which presents some of the most characteristic features of oriental sway at any time. There is no doubt that the old Lion of Lahore could rule with vigour when he chose. But this vigour was confined to military subjects, and was little seen in the civil departments, save by the punctual realization of the revenue. The revenue was collected, either by provincial governors, such as Sawun Mull, the father of Moolraj, and Golab Sing, or by local agents termed Kardars. The provincial governor, or the farmers, had plenary power within the limits of their jurisdiction, and they exercised this power according to their various temperaments, just as natives, without check and without supervision, would exercise it under any rule and in any part of India. There was no distinct department, no set of individuals, specially charged with the administration of civil and criminal justice. All the researches of the most energetic and enquiring officers, before and after annexation, have not been able to discover the traces of a single judicial personage, save one termed the Adalutee, at Lahore. In the political capital alone was such an officer thought indispensable, but he was denied to the important commercial city of Umritsir. The name of Thannadar, or head police officer, was not uncommon ; but his civil duties were confined to the mere repression of disturbances, and his main business was to arrange for the supplies of troops on a march. The great provincial governors paid themselves from the provinces under their control, after the remission of good round sums to Lahore : the Kardars were irregularly salaried, and lived mainly on their perquisites : there was no attempt at audit or account, and when the office of the pay-master of the regular army was overhauled, after annexation, it was found that the Sikh Sirdar who filled it, had not sent in any balance sheet for the last sixteen years ! Fine and mutilation were the punishments of a code, at once simple and severe, and it is believed that when we took the country, there were not probably one hundred men in confinement throughout its whole extent. As regards taxation, it could not be said that Runjit's budget pressed unequally, or that the burdens were distributed with partiality, for the simple plan was to tax every available article. In the time of the Regency, between the years 1846 and 1849, it was found that no less than

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forty-seven articles of traffic or consumption paid duty to the state. The land tax was swelled by cesses of various kinds, till it carried off one-half of the produce of the soil. Yet with all this heavy assessment, this arbitrary justice, this capricious exercise of irresponsible power, the Government was not unpopular. Strong in a nationality of which we have fortunately met with no other example in India, proud of martial glory, as fanatic as the Mussulman, as sensual as the Hindu, almost as stalwart as the European, the Sikh saw, with undisguised rapture, the extension of the Khalsa's arms. While the war cry of the Guru was heard across the Indus, in the mountains of Hazara, before the fort of Mooltan, and all but south of the Sutlej, the population could look, well nigh with indifference, on huge grass preserves that were kept for the army, on fruitful plains converted into hunting grounds, and on districts where not one single mile of road was ever opened. Private property, the rights of cultivators, the privileges of landlords, were not ruthlessly invaded: many a dispute was settled by arbitration: and the village communities, with their marvellous tenacity, were happily preserved for a better system, and for a brighter day.

Such is a brief outline of the great Maharaja's system. We pass rapidly over the period of anarchy, and the partial reforms introduced by the regency, when much knowledge was acquired that was afterwards turned to good account, over the campaign of 1848-49, and we commence at once with the establishment of a Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab. The powers and constitution of that body may be briefly recapitulated. The three members wielded all the authority which, in the settled Provinces, is or was variously assigned to the Courts of Nizamut and Dewanny Adalut, to the Board of Revenue, to the Superintendent of Police, to the Special or Resumption Commissioners, and to the old Board of Customs. They had the powers of life and death, they formed the highest Court of Appeal in civil cases, they were to settle the revenue, to regulate the excise, to provide for the security of life and property, to superintend every moral or material improvement, in short, to care for everything which, in these days of increased and admitted responsibilities, can be pronounced to be the duty of conscientious administrators. Under the Board are seven Commissioners, who, besides their revenue duties, are the Civil and Sessions Judges of their divisions, and exercise a general superintendence over police, conservancy, and all miscellaneous matters. Next come the Deputy-Commissioners, who are the Magistrates and Collectors of districts, and who have ranged from twenty-

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seven to twenty-nine in number. Then come Assistant Commissioners, numbering from forty-three to forty-five, who are drawn from the army and from the Civil Staff of the older provinces; and besides these, there are forty-four Extra Assistants, who are variously Europeans, East Indians, and natives, either of the Punjab or of Hindustan. It is a grand feature in the system, that every officer, from the Commissioner of the division to the Extra Assistant, exercises civil as well as criminal and revenue powers, and is thus enabled to acquire that experience in the decision of civil suits, which is justly said to be denied to the future Civil Judge under the Governments of Agra and Bengal.

As nothing can be done under any Indian Government, until the revenue is settled, we shall briefly state the results of the revenue settlement of the Punjab, with the Trans-and-Cis-Sutlej divisions, before proceeding to speak of the other great measures, by which the administration has been distinguished. The land tax of the whole tract under the late Board, amounts to one crore and fifty-nine lakhs of rupees. Of this a crore and five lakhs are supplied by the Punjab Proper alone. The Trans-Sutlej division, which has been carefully surveyed and fairly assessed, yields a land revenue of twenty-nine lakhs, which has been fixed for a period of thirty years. In the Cis-Sutlej division, where the rent roll exhibits twenty lakhs, the survey and the settlement have been proceeding in close proximity. In the Punjab Proper the settlements have been made for shorter periods, in few cases for less than three, and in none for more than ten years. The occupants of the land, in this latter part of the country, have been divided into the following classes. 1. Proprietors not in possession, who have a lien on the land in the shape of a species of head rent, which is variously collected, and sometimes does not average more than one seer on a maund of produce. 2. Proprietors in possession. In this class the proprietary right may be vested in one single individual, or in a family composed of a few individuals, or in a large coparcenary community of cultivating proprietors. Where the right is confined to a single man or a family, a portion of the land is cultivated by that individual or family, and the remainder by cultivators, either mere tenants at will, or men possessed of a sort of right to hereditary occupancy. Where the proprietors form a large community in its most perfect form, each co-partner cultivates his own land, with his own plough, after his own fashion: the only universal feature is the mode of paying rent, which is determined on by the brotherhood generally. 3. Hereditary cultivators. It may be

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difficult to distinguish the status of these individuals from that of real proprietors. But we are given to understand that the main distinction between such a cultivator and a proprietor, is the inability of the "former to sink a well, or to sell, mortgage, and transfer land." 4. Tenants at will. The condition of these men may be easily conceived. If they reside in the village where they cultivate, like the Khudkasht ryots of Agra or Bengal, their tenure is tolerably secure; if they reside at a distance, like the Pykasht, it is precarious. The above, of course with those modifications which are found all over India, and which contribute to make our revenue system a great puzzle, are the main tenures with which we have had to deal, and under the fostering care of the Board, they have been consolidated where weak, confirmed where strong, and in a few instances where perishing, almost snatched from destruction. The land tax, it may here be stated, is about one-fourth of the produce.

As interesting a subject is that of the criminal jurisdiction. The chief crimes of the Punjab were, it may be conceived, of a violent nature. It was a reproach brought against Scott, that he had made Lord Marmion commit a crime more peculiar to a commercial than to a martial age; and were a Sikh novel to be composed, the same error would have to be avoided, for the art of forging documents has not reached to a high degree of perfection in the Punjab. The first evil with which the Board had to grapple, was that of gang robbery or dacoity. Dozens of bad characters, turned adrift after the disbanding of the Sikh army, hopeless of enlistment in our ranks, and too proud to dig, betook themselves at once to the old trade of robbery or Dacoity, by which a century ago the Sikh had risen from being the leader of a band of robbers, to the lordship of villages, from lording it over villages to provinces, and from provinces to empire. In the Lahore division this crime was rife. It was put down by a little praiseworthy judicial severity, and by the increased vigilance of the police. In Umritsir alone there were thirty-seven capital sentences within the first year, and only seven in the second. Nearly all the above were inflicted on dacoits. These desperate characters soon perceived that the British authorities were not to be trifled with: the guiltiest parties have either fled the country, or died for the law: others have betaken themselves, in sheer hopelessness, to agricultural pursuits, and the crime is now *almost unknown*. Cattle-stealing, the normal crime of the Punjab, it will not be so easy to eradicate. The profession of a cattle-stealer is looked on as honourable. In the centres of three of the Doabs, there are large tracts where

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pasture is abundant. And in the Sheikhoopoora and other jungles there are ample means of practising this trade, and eluding pursuit. But clever as the cattle-lifters are, it has been found possible to set men as clever on their track. The authorities have employed Khojeas or Khojis (literally, seekers), and these men have followed the traces of bullocks, through prickly jungles and over hard clay, with a perseverance and an ability which would not have disgraced a Pawnee or a Sioux in the prairies of the far West. The above crimes, if not always punished, were not unknown. But there was one deadlier trade, of sinister title and world-wide notoriety, from which it was discovered that even the Punjab was not exempt. For a time the British Government was fully employed in dealing with evils more palpable, or of greater urgency. At length, it was remarked, that dead bodies had been found in old wells, by the dense jungle, by the lone footpath, in places remote from intercourse, supervision, or control. These were the corpses, it was thought, of way-farers who had perished by sudden sickness. Thus much was hinted by the villagers, and reported by the police. In time, the frequency of these cases generated suspicion: as the authorities warmed to their work, no field of enquiry was left unexplored; past experience was not disregarded, and patient investigation soon placed it beyond a doubt, that in this province, as in so many others, the Thug had for years been carrying on his accursed art. The duty of removing this plague-spot was entrusted to Mr. H. Brereton, an officer who had shown considerable aptitude for this kind of work, and by his exertions, offenders were arrested, approvers won over, dead bodies exhumed, and the whole system brought to light. Yet, compared with his expert brethren of Hindustan, with those adepts in the nefarious science, whose startling confessions, whether woven skilfully into some fictitious narrative, or delivered in the plain and unvarnished official report, thrill us now with horror—the Thug of the Punjab was a mere inexperienced bungler, an uneducated savage, who only half throttled his victims, and who, without his companion to aid him, was likely to fail in the attempt. They generally belonged to the tribe of Mazubbee or Magrubbee Sikhs: one of whom, it will be remembered, was the murderer of Mr. Agnew. The Thug sacrificed to no goddess, except Devi; he performed no previous rites, though he might turn pale at the call of a partridge, or the cry of a jackal, on the *right* side of the road. He used the handkerchief in a clumsy fashion, and, with the aid of an accomplice, who tripped up the traveller or seized him from behind, managed to deprive his unsuspect-

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ing victim of life. Often he had to use the sword, and the remains of the murdered man were found mangled or hacked to pieces. In short, we have little doubt, that the practised Fagan or Sykes of the Upper Provinces, or of Central India, would have looked on the Thugs of the Bari and Rechna Doabs as shallow novices and unworthy brethren, who brought discredit on their honourable profession. But, where human life was concerned, the Punjab authorities took little count of the greater or less skill displayed in the attempt to take it away. With Thugs as his guides, Mr. Brereton rode along bye-ways, far away from the villages, in lonely grass jungles, where there was hardly a single remarkable object to indicate the spot where the corpses had been buried. The fidelity with which the approvers retraced their steps, over huge tracts, without bearings, with not perhaps a tree or a mound to guide them in the search, is the only indication afforded us of any superior skill. "Dig here," they sometimes said to Mr. Brereton, when they had brought him to a spot, miles away from any habitation, "and you may find his shoes beside the skeleton of our victim." No less than 552 men have been arrested: of these 328 have been executed or otherwise disposed of; some are awaiting further enquiry; some have turned *Company's evidence:* others have been released unconditionally, or under surveillance; and the gangs have been completely broken up. The number of civil officers being limited, and the calls on their time and labour in the regular department being numerous, Mr. Brereton has gracefully handed over the duty of extirpating Thuggee to an officer deputed by Capt. Sleeman, but, with the Board, he may share the honor of having added one more victory to the brilliant array of successes gained by the British power in the East, in the cause of humanity.

Highway robbery has been common. Unoffending men have been seized, stripped, and turned adrift in the jungles, whence they have only found their way out after two or three days. With a daring and a refinement, which reminds us of the days of Dick Turpin, or Claude Duval, some of the bad characters have appeared as mounted high-waymen, and Major Lake distinguished himself by the capture of a set of these enterprising gentlemen, who had given the authorities very considerable trouble. It has been found necessary to mete out some degree of severity to this crime. The other offences prevalent in the Punjab do not present any remarkable features. Burglary there is not unlike burglary elsewhere. Resistance of process is almost unknown. Adultery has been productive of some fearful instances of retribution on

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the part of the injured husband, and it has been found imperative for the magistrate to deal with adultery as a criminal offence, so as to deprive men of excitable passions, and a jealous sense of honour, of all excuse for taking the law into their own hands. It was not easy, at first, to convince the half-educated Punjabi, that to take life as a sacrifice for insulted *húrmat*, is an offence against society. There is, we have just said, not much else in the statistics of crime, as at present ascertained, that demands special notice. One axiom however may be considered as indisputable. Violent outrages against life and property will decrease: the trader from Central Asia, the sepoy returning to Oude, the native official on leave, may all pass along the loneliest highway, without the slightest apprehension. The rich merchant at Umritsir may feel certain that his ware-house will not be invaded at dead of night, or after sunset, by men with drawn swords and flaring torches: a general sense of quiet and security may reign in the walled city, at the shady well, and by the boundary, which is no longer the scene of repeated affrays. But petty offences, small thefts, assaults, false charges, and even perjury and forgery, will certainly increase. Instead of living by rapine, or complicating some old and unintelligible village feud, by more deeds of blood, the cultivator will betake himself to litigation; and able men have already begun to foresee, that even in the Punjab, to give false evidence or to fabricate documents may become a profitable trade, or a point of honour.

With regard to the civil and criminal administration, we presume that most readers are aware that judicial decisions are guided by the spirit, and not by the letter, of the Regulations. The Deputy-Commissioner, or the officer in charge of the district, has powers commensurate with those of the Magistrate elsewhere, and the Commissioner answers to the Civil and Sessions Judge. Where the sentence would be within the competence of a Magistrate in the North Western or Lower Provinces, the Deputy-Commissioner disposes of the case, while he sends up heavy crimes for trial by the superior court. One novelty has, however, been introduced. In cases where the sentence does not extend beyond seven years' imprisonment, or in heavier cases where the prisoner confesses his guilt, or wherever the charge on the face thereof is manifestly unsupported by the evidence, the Commissioner is empowered to pass sentence on the record of the lower court, without taking the evidence *de novo*. This sounds startling, but the plan has worked well, and it has been the means of dispensing speedy and substantial justice to all parties. With regard to civil business,

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Deputy-Commissioners may take up all suits where the value of the litigated article exceeds 1,000 rupees. Those of less amount are variously decided, by Assistants, Extra-Assistants, and even by the Tahsildars or native Collectors of revenue, stationed at out-posts, with a limit of 300 rupees. These officers have, in fact, assumed the functions of Moonsiffs, in addition to their revenue and magisterial powers. Free resort has been had to arbitration, and contending parties have been confronted, to the exclusion of professional makers of mischief and sharpwitted village lawyers. A code of rules has been drawn up for the guidance of arbitrators in civil cases. Its heads are as follows.—The presiding officer of the court is to define the issue of the suit.—The arbitrators must be nominated by the parties themselves, and not by Vakils.—Either party may challenge the arbitrators.—If the arbitrators see cause to take evidence on any point, that evidence must be recorded.—The grounds of the award must be written down, and be pronounced in open court, in the presence of the parties, and the award can only be final, when confirmed by the presiding officer. The intent of these rules is to make the administration of civil justice popular and simple; but their success as yet must be pronounced partial. Civil justice, in any part of India, will always present most grounds for cavil, and a large scope for reform. We shall conclude this branch of our subject, by stating, that in the Punjab Proper, exclusive of the Trans and Cis-Sutlej states, there are at present 228 Thannahs or stations, for the regular police. At each of these is stationed a Darogah or Thannadar, with his Mohurrir and Jemadar, and on an average, some thirty Burkundazes. The whole force of the civil or regular police, of various grades, consists of 6,900 men, and besides these, there are the city watchmen, who in Lahore and Umritsir are paid, not by the Chowkidari tax, but by town duties on articles entering these cities for consumption, and the village watchmen, who are to be paid by cash, if possible, in kind, if expedient, and occasionally, by assignments of land. All this is exclusive of the Punjab Police Battalions.

At this point the great measure of disarming the population may find its appropriate mention. The Punjab had not been six weeks under our rule, when this measure was conceived, promulgated and executed by the Board of Administration. The time to carry out so bold a stroke was evidently when the martial population lay prostrate at our feet, ere the moral effect of Goozerat had passed away: while the Khalsa were cowed and humbled into submission. Early studies at Har-

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row and Christ Church would remind the Head of the Government of that forcible Homeric line about "the mere sight of the steel drawing on a man to fight," and a statesman of such clear and decisive views readily perceived that, to disarm the population, would give the best security against internal rising, as well as the strongest guarantee for obedience to the common mandates of the civil power. By the proclamation, the possession of gunpowder, or of arms of any description, save under written licenses, was made penal. Owners of villages, and common householders, were not to secrete them: nor were armourers and blacksmiths, who, characteristically enough, were the most expert of all the Punjab workmen, to use the *Vulcania arma* for this object without the same permission. Contravention of these rules was punishable by heavy fines, and where privileges were possessed, by the forfeiture of such privileges. The limits of the proclamation were the Indus on one side, and the Beas on the other, but one exception was made in favour of the warlike and excitable mountaineers of Hazara. The number of arms surrendered, in consequence of the proclamation, was, in the Punjab Proper, about 120,000 of all sorts. Our readers may perhaps care to hear some of the varieties of the weapons surrendered. There were, in one division alone, the usual kinds of swords, matchlocks, pistols, and suits of chain armour. There were carbines, and a kind of blunderbuss, appropriately termed *shér-buchas* or 'lion's whelps.' There were guns, cannons, balls and bullets, three or four kinds of daggers, and two or three different sorts of spears. Finally, there were quoits, which might have been wielded by some chief in the old Greek games, and bows and arrows, the arms of barbarians, which would have excited the inextinguishable laughter of Major Dugald Dalgetty. The good effects of the disarming proclamation are manifest to the most cursory inspection.

One of the earliest subjects to which the attention of the Board was directed, after the settlement of the revenue, and the general security of the country, was the regulation of the excise. We have before alluded to the fact that, by the system established by the Durbar in 1847, duties were levied on twenty articles, instead of on forty-seven. These comprised duties of customs, excise, fines, tolls on ferries, seignorage on mints, and the grand salt tax. For the preservation of this system, the Board found three preventive lines in existence. The first, a line on the west of the Indus, which taxed the merchandise of Central Asia. The second, a line running at the foot of the Himalayas, which taxed the trade of Kashmir. The third, a line running along the Beas, which taxed the produce passing

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from the North West Provinces to the Punjab, or that passing between one British province and another. Great changes were introduced in all the above, after mature deliberation, and long correspondence with the Government of Agra. The following is a summary of these vigorous, comprehensive, and beneficial reforms. On the first of January, 1850, all the town and transit, export and import duties, levied in the Punjab Proper, were swept away. The western line of stations, running along the banks of the Indus, as far as Mittunkote on the frontier of Scinde, the line along the foot of the hills, which guarded Kashmir, and the line on the banks of the Sutlej, together with any timber duties levied on the rivers Ravi, Chenab, and Jhelum, were for ever abolished. The whole trade of the Punjab, the trade of Central Asia, the trade of capitalists in our older provinces, was then left to flow, free and unshackled, in every direction. The only restrictions maintained, were in perfect keeping, not merely with the policy of the Indian Government elsewhere, but with general principles of sound administration in any country in the world, under the freest discussion, the largest philanthropy, the most judicious distribution of "burdens and benefits." An excise was to be levied on spirituous liquors and drugs. Stamps were to be introduced in civil and other suits. Tolls were to be levied at public ferries in the Punjab as elsewhere. The salt mines were to be taken under the direct management of the state, instead of being farmed out to contractors, as they had been, and an excise duty was fixed of two rupees a Company's maund, payable on the delivery of the salt, at the mouth of the mines. The only line of customs which it was imperative to extend, was the line of the N. W. Provinces, which is always meant to guard the ingress of salt from Rajputana, and this was prolonged from Fazulkote on the Sutlej, down that river and as far as Mittunkote, below Mooltan. But the reader who will consult the map, will at once see that the only effect of this prevention is to exclude the salt of Rajputana from surreptitiously entering the new British provinces through the native states of Bahawalpore and Bekanir. The actual loss to the state, by the relinquishment of the above duties, was estimated at two lakhs and a half of rupees. The old system had yielded Rs. 18,76,920: the new plan was to give Rs. 16,25,000. But the deficit, it was calculated, would eventually be made up, and it is not easy to appreciate the boon to the people dwelling east of the Sutlej, as well as in the Punjab, conferred by the abolition of every impediment to traffic, by the cessation of all those vexatious and inquisitorial proceedings, which the mere maintenance

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of a preventive line entails even with the most cautious management, and by the abundant supply, at a moderate rate, of a first-rate article of universal consumption.

A slight notice of the Salt Mines may not be out of place here. The principal mines open, are those at Khyura or Khewra, and Buggi. When the state assumed the direct working of the mines, the excavation of salt, it was found, was carried on by a rude and unskilful process. The entrances to, and galleries along, the mine, were irregular, winding, and narrow. The carriers of the article, women and children, could hardly pass two abreast. The supply of water was scanty, and what there was, brackish. The place where the salt was weighed before delivery to the merchants, was both confined, and exposed to wind, wet, and heat. A rocky road ran along the gorge to the Khewra mine, and was not easy to be traversed by loaded animals. It was difficult to obtain medical aid for the establishments employed in the weighing and delivering of salt, and in the prevention of smuggling; and to add to all the above difficulties, the miners, like their brethren in every part of the world, like those Cornish miners in Miss Edgeworth's delightful tale of *Lame Jervas*, were a suspicious, troublesome, and discontented set. The whole of the above difficulties were remedied by the judicious suggestions of the late Mr. Carne, which were cordially supported by the Head of the Government. The road was levelled, the entrances were cleared: good water was provided by wooden troughs, which conveyed a supply from a distance to the mouth of the mines: the blocks of salt were excavated on an improved system: a house was built to protect the officers and merchants concerned in the weighment, from the inclemencies of the weather, and every thing was done to expedite delivery, and to provide against vexatious delays. The rules for the delivery of the salt to merchants, moreover, enabled payment of the duty to be made, not only to the Collector of the customs at the mouth of the mines, but to any officer in charge of a treasury anywhere in the Punjab. On the other hand, prohibitions against smuggling were enforced by considerable penalties. Carriages and packages might be searched on reasonable suspicion. Salt in excess of one seer, not covered by a pass, might be detained within a circuit of ten miles round each mine: no person not licensed, could excavate the article: and the manufacture of salt, which used to be carried on in the districts of Mooltan and Jhung to a considerable extent, in a rough fashion, throughout the Bar or jungle, was put down by law. This salt, made by washing the earth, had been taxed by former Seikh Governors, but sometimes the manufacture had been prohibited altogether. The

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British Government, which had removed so many other taxes on trade, and on the very necessaries of life, should not be condemned for the enforcement of this single prohibition, which is absolutely imperative for the security of the salt revenue. The importation of salt from the Trans-Indus territory, to the left bank of the river, we should state, was also put down. This prohibition is a bar to the ingress of dark-coloured salt from Kohat, but there is nothing to prevent the tribes on the right bank of the Indus from consuming this salt, which is dug out of mines on their side of the river. The whole revenue derived from the salt mines is now fifteen lakhs of rupees, and there is every chance of this amount increasing, as the facilities of transit became greater. But it is obvious, that if we gain by the increased consumption of rock salt brought towards Hindostan, a proportionate quantity of Sambhur or of Manchester salt must be displaced from that same locality. At present, clever district officers in the Cis-Sutlej division can tell, with the utmost precision, the village or line of villages up to which the rock salt will be purchased and consumed. It is a mere question of the cost of the transit for so many miles, added to the duty originally paid on the article. But that the rock salt of the Punjab is fairly the property of the state, no one but a grievance-monger or a mere enthusiast, will deny.

In order to vary the subject, we shall turn now to other questions which, though not equally prominent in importance, and of less notoriety, are still worthy of mention. The first subject to which we shall advert, is the currency of the Punjab. The privilege of coining money is one to which oriental sovereigns, like the potentates of the West, have attached great weight. It was obviously politic to substitute the coin stamped with Her Majesty's impression for the Nanukshahi rupee, or for other kinds. But this coin was not the only one current in the Punjab. Indeed, a close inspection of the various currencies indicates that for centuries every sovereign or provincial ruler had amused himself with coining money in his own name, and adding to the confusion of the circulating medium. The antiquary, the philosopher, the financier, the historian, might each derive from such a subject ample food for enquiry and thought. First and foremost, purest in substance, most widely known, came the Nanukshahi rupee, of which, in the space of forty-two years, no less than six and a half crores had been coined at the Lahore and Umritsir mints. But of this kind alone there were no less than fifty different varieties, and to add to the confusion, there were sixty-one current kinds of coinage besides. Our readers may easily imagine the perplexity of the lower

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orders, the discontent of the native sepoy, the frauds of the money changers, who invariably profited by the exchange, and the dismay of the officials in charge of a treasury. There was clearly nothing for it, but to call in all the coinage at once, or as gradually as the reform could be carried out with safety. The coins, when exhibited in a tabular statement, recalled variously the reign of Zeman Shah, the days of the early Gurus, the invasion of Nadir, the dynasties of Kashmir and Candahar, the Governments of provincial celebrities Mussulman and Sikh, the splendour of the imperial house of Delhi, and the brief ascendancy of some upstart adventurer. In the district of Khangurh, in the Leia division, there were not less than twenty-eight different varieties of these coins in circulation. In Gujerat, Lahore, Umritsir, and Rawul Pindi, though not equally numerous, there were varieties sufficient to cause much perplexity. The value, moreover, of the coinage, varied considerably. The lowest, the Kashmir Phoolawala, was as 66 to 100 of the Company's rupees. The Nanukshahi was sometimes as 101 to 100. This latter rupee, in fact, was a better and purer coinage than the current money of the Company. But the various currencies were called in: large supplies of Company's rupees were transmitted to the Punjab, both from Calcutta and Bombay, and in a few years, the last Nanukshahi rupee will be consigned, with other memorials of Sikh ascendancy, to the tomb of the past.

Another important question, which arose somewhat simultaneously with that of the coinage, was the language of the courts. We have shown how one universal currency was to take the place of several incongruous varieties: we shall now attempt to describe how the Board arranged for the conduct of public business, not by the chimera of one single court dialect everywhere, but by a judicious attention to the local wants and requirements of the people. In the Punjab, it was observed, the dialects which owe their origin to Persian on the one hand, and to Sanskrit on the other, first come in direct collision. The Gourmukki, or language in which the Grunth is written, is more of a sacred than a spoken dialect. The common vernacular of the Bari and Rechna Doabs, though usually denominated Punjabi, is, in fact, a kind of Urdu. It varies from that polished dialect chiefly in its adverbs and pronouns, and of course in pronunciation and in many local terms. But it was often difficult to state exactly what language was most familiar to the people; and sometimes that which was familiar to the people was not easily used by the ministerial or other native officers. In one division, on the banks of the Indus, it was found that

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the language in use was the Pushtoo of the Affghans. In the district of Leia, it was asserted that the usual medium of communication was a dialect of Beloochi. In Mooltan one officer stoutly maintained that even the common artisans spoke Persian, and used this language invariably in their documents: while two other officers, in the very adjoining districts, as firmly maintained that the Urdu had been there introduced by the Durbar, and that it was excellently calculated for the despatch of public business. Thus, with differences of dialect and differences of opinion, the Board were somewhat perplexed to decide. At length they proposed the following division of tongues. Persian was to be the language of official business in Hazara, in Peshawar, in the Derajat across the Indus, in the remainder of the Leia division, or in Leia and Khangurh, and in the *district*, but not in the *division* of Mooltan. Urdu was to be the language of the remainder of the Punjab. A very proper proviso was, however, introduced, to the effect that the confession of a prisoner should be taken down in his own dialect and words, whatever they might be. The contemplation of the above facts, leads obviously to reflections, not merely on the propriety of simplifying or facilitating business, but also as to the marvellous growth of the new Indian Empire. We had driven away Persian from our courts in the old Provinces, as a language, which though admirably fitted for diplomacy, for polished letter writing, for the elegancies of intercourse, and for the quick despatch of business, reminded one large class of our subjects of their literature, their laws, and their past dominion, and was unintelligible to those poor peasants, for whose special benefit it is said that the Company's rule has been introduced. But had we really reached a point where, to eradicate Persian, we must teach a new language to the artisan at his loom, the labourer at his plough, and the very children in the streets? Had the *red line* extended so far, had it so rolled back the original tide of invasion, that in parts of the new acquisition, our revenue phrases, nearly all borrowed from the Persian, our various official terms, the designations familiar to the Surveyor, the Settlement officer, the Criminal or Civil Judge, were to be, not the peculiar jargon of Courts and Vakils, but household words familiar in the bazar and the village? There is nothing, perhaps, in the whole range of the subject into which the enquiries of the Board were pushed, that can so strikingly pourtray the wide extent of the British Empire. The use of the Persian language, as a common medium of intercourse, between Amla and villagers, British Sahibs and those who claim their protection, in a district within the plains, is a

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more telling fact than any thing in a laboured oration, or in a whole code of laws.

It is well known that few Governors have ever seen more of their dominions than the present Head of the Government has of the Punjab. From east to west, from north to south, he has crossed its rivers, encamped by its most renowned cities, ridden over its plains, and traversed its defiles. A grand want of the Punjab, and one which, indeed, would strike any observer of ordinary penetration, could not fail to attract that provident and piercing glance. We allude, of course, to the scarcity of forests, and forest trees, and even of bushes. Whatever were the causes which had thus denuded the fine rich plains of their chief ornaments, whether the rapacity and the improvidence of Sikh Governors, or other causes, there was no radical defect, no insurmountable obstacle, in the nature of the soil. But the deficiency of large timber was severely felt by the officers in charge of extensive and important public works; and by reason of the wants of the army cantoned at Lahore and elsewhere, added to the spread of cultivation, the supply of fuel from the low jungles was rapidly becoming less. To say nothing of the beauty with which fine groves of trees invest an Indian landscape, there was every reason to believe that plantations of moderate size would increase salubrity. Lord Dalhousie at once acted in the true spirit of that Scotch Laird, whose parting advice to his son was couched in the following terms, " And, Jock, whenever ye ha'e naething else to do, ye'll be sticking in a tree; it'll aye be growing when ye are sleeping." In exact concordance with the above homely phrase, but in the vigorous, graceful, and polished language of one of his well known minutes, Lord Dalhousie directed the Board to select spots for model plantations, to cause trees to be planted along the banks of canals, by dâk bungalows, Chokies or public buildings of any kind, to enlist the sympathies of Head-men and villagers in the scheme, and above all, to remember, that though the present generation would not reap the fruits of the measure, some future Governor of the Punjab might gratefully rest under the shade of the tree which the middle of the present century had seen planted " a bauble," an " auburn nut,"

——————Seris factura nepotibus umbram.

Yet it would be unfair to say that some parts of the Punjab were not tolerably well wooded. There is fine timber all along the foot of the hills in Rawal Pindi. Parts of the Leia division are well wooded, and at a place called Bukkur, in the

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Leia district, there is a dense wood, twelve miles long by half as many broad. Date groves are so dense round the cantonment of Dehra Ghazee Khan, as to be almost unhealthy. The valley of Bunnoo is prettily wooded. The "Bar," or centre of each Doab, is covered with thick brushwood, and the numerous islands on the Indus, only twelve years ago, were belted with fine forests, which were unfortunately all swept away by a flood. The Board took up the proposals of the Governor-General with their usual energy and promptness. Those who owned or planted trees, were to find lenient terms on a new settlement. No new cuts would be made from canals, unless the Zemindars agreed to plant trees on both sides of the water courses; young plantations were to be reared at convenient spots round public buildings, and at every half mile along the great road to Peshawar. Canals were to be lined with trees. Measures were to be taken for reproducing the brushwood and low jungle which supplied fuel for cantonments, and which the wood-cutters were in the habit of recklessly cutting up by the roots. Colonel Napier was to plant ground along the Husli canal, to the extent of 12,000 acres, besides rearing fifty detached plantations of 100 acres each. In short, everything was to be done which could husband the present stock of timber, and create a supply springing up for future generations. A search for timber was however not limited to operations in the plains. There were magnificent forests in the Himalayas, in which grew no less than four kinds of pines, besides the elm, the plane, the chesnut, and the walnut tree. Major Longden, an officer of H. M.'s 10th regiment, possessed of rare qualifications, was deputed to report on the supply of timber available from the hills on the right of the Ravi, near Chumba, and admirably did he execute his task. Of splendid trees well-fitted for building, there was indeed no want. The difficulty was, how to get at them. It was found that the hill-men were in the habit of cutting the timber at two distinct periods in the year: during April, May and June, and again in the month of September. The first batch is usually floated down the hill streams as they rise in the rains. The timber cut in September remains buried under the snow for the next year's despatch. But as may be imagined, it was not so easy always to get the forest trees launched down the hill streams, nor when fairly launched, to convey them to the broad rivers of the plains. Some of the finest pieces of timber, if cut, might rot, owing to the sheer impossibility of dragging them to the water's edge: others again had to be precipitated over terrific gorges, and a tree which was purposely selected by Major Long-

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den, thirty feet long and fifteen feet in circumference, was hurled violently over a precipice of 1,500 feet, and lost all its branches, and nearly one-half of its length, before it was received into the bed of the Ravi. Then again, timber, when once floated, would get irretrievably jammed in some narrow pass with perpendicular sides, and there was no resource but to wait, until some extraordinary flood should disengage the whole mass, or to let men down by ropes to clear and cut it away. The consideration of a supply in these localities led to further enquiries as to the timber near Simla, round which station wood had been cut with the most reckless improvidence. It was of course desirable to preserve here as well as to reproduce timber: but it was not possible to compel the hill chiefs, in whose territories lay the woods, to preserve them : nor was it likely that model plantations, such as those proposed for the plains, would succeed in tracts remote from supervision by Europeans, and not regularly supplied with water. The remedy here lay in persuasion and remonstrance, to be judiciously employed with the hill chiefs, in the taking of leases of suitable tracts on the part of Government, and in enforcing the rules relative to wood-cutting, through the agency of the head-men, in all forests the property of Government. In all these operations two objects were kept in view : the supply of timber for barracks in the plains, and the supply of timber for building in the hill stations, and of firewood, which naturally was in greater request at such an altitude. It was remarked that four principal causes tended to denude the hills of their clothing, and this to such an extent as to strike every lover of the picturesque with dismay. The villagers used to set the old grass on fire to allow a new crop of tender fodder to spring up, and the fire of course did not spare the finest trees. Cattle were let loose to graze, and thus the young plants were trampled down. Resin collectors deliberately fired thousands of trees in order to collect turpentine, and wood-cutters felled timbers in hundreds, which they allowed to remain rotting on the ground, without the slightest attempt to convert them to any useful purpose. A remedy will henceforth be applied to these evils, as far as it is possible for Government and its officers to apply one : and, meanwhile, it is satisfactory to think that this interesting subject has not been thrown aside, under the pressure of any political, military, or civil business, but has received the most careful consideration, which could be given by a Governor resident on the spot, a witness of the evils, and honourably anxious to leave his successors to benefit by all the rich inheritance of his toil.

It is impossible to quit this subject without adverting to the

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"Rukhs" or grass preserves of the Punjab. A sovereign, who paid that attention to his cavalry, which Runjit Sing and other rulers did, could not be unsolicitous about the supply of grass and hay for horses, and generally for all cattle belonging to the state. Shortly after annexation these grass preserves were deemed of importance enough to require the undivided attention of a single officer, Mr. E. Prinsep, who went heart and soul into the business, and disclosed interesting facts which the native officers would have kept concealed, and on which some of the most energetic Europeans had not the slightest information. The old keepers of the preserves, who filled important offices about the Durbar, derived immense profit from the management. Great jaghirdars had appropriated some of the most productive Rukhs. In others, set apart for the soldiers, the Jemadar of the grass-cutters cleared the whole grass in a few weeks, selling the best in the bazar for himself, and leaving the refuse for the horses of the cavalry! Mr. Prinsep travelled to each in succession, "beat down" all "opposition" by the celerity of his movements, and the earnestness of his enquiries, ascertained the capability of every locality, and reported minutely on the kinds of grass which it produced. Some preserves, it was shown, could afford meadow grass to be cut and carried off to the cantonment. In others, the grass could only be eaten "on the premises," and they were consequently fit for the grazing of cattle. Others were so remote from any station, or so well suited for cultivation, or so poached over by the villagers, that they had either to be leased, or broken up. Other preserves again were noted for the production of grass used in thatching, or employed in the manufacture of ropes and mats, or for a species called the *khai*, of which elephants are particularly fond. Another set of preserves furnished wood of different kinds, suited for fuel, for charcoal, or for the manufacture of well-wheels, carts, ploughs, and other agricultural implements. A particular plant, called the *mulla*, believed to be the young shrub of the jujube tree, was much prized for its leaves, which sold well at Lahore. Only a few of the preserves yielded any timber, and none of it was suited for building. After the whole subject had undergone a careful scrutiny, it was resolved that twenty-four preserves, within a circle of ten coss round Lahore, should be set apart for the use of the cavalry: that three or four in the neighbourhood of Umritsir should be reserved for the same purpose, and a similar number for that of supplying troops on a march with wood and grass. The total number of these Rukhs was ninety-one. The expense of watching and supervising them, by

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means of superintendents who had charge of different circles, amounted to 553 rupees a month. The out-turn of the preserves reached from 40 to 50,000 rupees a year. The value of the Rukhs was, however, not so much in the actual proceeds in money, as in the constant and adequate supply of forage thus ensured for the cavalry; and the particulars disclosed by the enquiry are curious, as they are indicative of the peculiar features of the new country, and the impossibility of trusting native officials, as well as of the determination and promptness with which the Lawrences and their subordinates overhauled every department of the state.

From these subjects of local or departmental interest, we turn to another of grand and primary importance—the undertaking of large material works. It was evident, at a glance, that the Punjab required three things, the extension of canal irrigation, a great military road to Peshawar from Lahore, and bridges of boats over the large rivers. These were three grand desiderata, besides those of minor roads for commercial or general purposes, connecting large stations with each other. To provide for works of this magnitude, it was determined to set apart the ferry funds, a sum of one per cent. from the land revenue expressly assessed for public improvements, and an aggregate sum of five lakhs a year from the state. Within the first year of annexation the following works had been resolved on:—1. The improvement of the Husli canal, of which we shall make more detailed mention presently. 2. A great canal running right through the whole length of the Bari Doab. 3. The repair of canals for irrigation in the Mooltan division. 4. A grand trunk line to Peshawar. 5. Various other district roads. All these works were entrusted, not to a Board of Public Works, but to Lieut.-Colonel Napier of the Engineers, an officer of whom it is sufficient to say that he has even exceeded all the expectations that were formed at the time of his appointment, and has fully demonstrated what can be done by one single, able, and effective chief, with a good staff of subordinates, at the head of one of the most important departments of the state. Besides the above, Lieut.-Colonel Napier has also had the charge of all bridges, of all civil buildings, of jails, public offices, and even of military buildings, appertaining to the local and irregular regiments placed under the orders of the Civil Government. As road-making in the Punjab does not differ very materially from the same operations elsewhere, it will be sufficient to advert briefly to the results of the above arrangements, as they stood last year. The line of road from Lahore to Peshawar is 275 miles in extent. It passes over a

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country abounding in engineering difficulties of all sorts. It requires embankments when crossing over the valleys inundated by the Chenab and the Ravi. It has to encounter the celebrated Kharian Pass. It must surmount the defiles, and span the torrents of the Rawul Pindi district. It must be carried over four huge rivers. In addition to all this, we should remember that labour has been scarce, that timber has not always been procurable, and that the working parties have been exposed to severe attacks of sickness. But the whole work, under the care of seven officers, who have charge of the seven divisions of the road, is progressing as rapidly as the nature of things will allow: and a continuation of the line from Lahore, for sixty-two miles, to the Wuzeera Ghat, viâ Umritsir, will connect the Capital with the Jullundur Doab, and the road leading from Loodiana to Delhi. After the above great military road, come the roads of the second class, which are no less than seven in number. The first of these lines will unite Mooltan with Lahore, and Lahore with Pathankote, at the foot of the hills. It is for the most part a fair-weather road, but will be metalled in some places. The second will run along the Chenab from Mooltan to Jhung, Ramnugger, Wuzeerabad, and Sealkote. The third will connect Mooltan and Jhelum. The fourth, from Dera Ismael Khan on the other side of the Indus, to Lahore, will invite the Kafilas of Central Asia to sell their merchandise at the capital. The fifth, starting from the same place, Trans-Indus, will pass by Gojaira, a civil station in the Bari Doab, and eventually open the route for the Affghan trader to Delhi. The sixth will form a link between Attok and the great Peshawar line. The seventh will lead from Gojaira to Ferozepore. Along these lines wells have been dug, and in some instances trees have been planted. The great rivers are to be crossed by floating bridges, which will be broken up in the season of the floods, the boats of which the bridges are composed being serviceable as ferry boats. Besides the several great military and commercial lines, a multitude of fair-weather district roads have been made in many directions, by the local authorities, especially in Mooltan, the Derajat, and the valleys of Kohat, Peshawar and Hazara. To sum up the total of operations in this department, it may be stated that 1349 miles of road have been constructed, that 853 miles are under construction, that 2,487 miles have been traced, and that 5,272 miles have been surveyed. When shall we hear that one-fourth of the above results has been accomplished in Bengal?

From roads we come to the next grand scheme for the

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improvement of the Punjab, the extension of canal irrigation. This subject is one, which so far from being overlooked by former Governments, had engaged a considerable portion of their time. Near Wuzeerabad and Sealkote remains were found of old cuts and water-courses intended for irrigation. But it was towards the west that these appliances had been oftener needed and used. The most remarkable of the canals in this division of the Punjab, was known as the Khanwah. It is stated to have been made by a person in the reign of Shah Jehan; it had been improved by Shere Sing; it was of great benefit to the district of Gojaira: Rs. 5,000 were sanctioned, as far back as the commencement of 1851, for the purpose of clearing out the bed of this canal where it had silted up. Besides these, there were some hundreds of miles of cuts and minor canals in other districts of the Mooltan and Leia divisions. In the district of Khangurh alone there were 342 miles of such works, excavated by zemindars, or by provincial governors, or by the cultivators themselves, acting under the compulsion of the Kardars. In the Mooltan division, besides the Khanwah, there are—the Dewanwah, forty miles long, and navigable for country boats for twenty miles; the Sirdarwah, as long as the preceding one, and navigable for twenty-five miles; the Mahommedwah, thirty-eight miles long, and navigable for twelve miles; and the Wallie Mahommed, forty-three miles long, by which boats from the Chenab can reach Mooltan. With regard to these works, it was proposed by Colonel Napier, and assented to by Government, that the old system of clearing them should be maintained in its integrity under proper supervision. That system is, for the zemindars to clear the works, under the superintendence of the revenue officers. A Punchayat of zemindars assemble: decide on the number of labourers, called "cheers," which each village must furnish; enforce either labour or a money payment in commutation thereof; and avail themselves of the superior skill of the executive engineer in the selection of suitable new canal-heads, and in the introduction of scientific modes of clearing out the accumulations, and of sloping the banks. Generally, no water rate is taken, the state being repaid by the increase of cultivation; and where any money is taken, the rate is fixed at eight annas an acre. Besides arrangements for the canals of the western districts, an improved system was introduced for the distribution of the waters of the Sursooty and the Cuggur or Guggur, (two streams celebrated in the Hindu classics, as enclosing the first land occupied by Brahmins, about the exact identity of which there is a grand contention amongst orientalists

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remaining unsettled to this day.) Lieutenant Briggs, an officer of great talent and energy, was appointed to regulate the distribution of the waters of these famous rivers, and he managed to settle the business so as to afford much satisfaction to the zemindars concerned, and to the Government ;—a result which the most minute enquiry into local features, and the most diligent ransacking of ancient and modern authorities, is not likely to produce in twice the time, with regard to the famous question, as to whether the Guggur be really the Drishadwati of Manu or not. The amount of labour and delicate management required to settle so many conflicting claims, and to reconcile so many discordant interests, is not easily conceivable, and would occupy far too much time to describe. Of all the old canals, however, to which the attention of the British Government, with its enhanced skill and its large means, was directed, none is more remarkable than the Husli canal. This work, sometimes known as the Shah-i-nahr, or royal stream, was dug about the year 1633 A. D., by the Emperor Shah Jehan, in one of those "spasmodic" fits of philanthropy which have been lately preferred to the judicious and reasonable schemes of the British ruler, and the true nature of which has been so ably exposed by Mr. Kaye. The fact is, that this work of the Mogul Emperor had been commenced, not from motives of philanthropy, nor even from the pardonable wish to increase the land revenue, but from the merest selfish considerations that royal luxury could furnish. Shah Jehan wanted a supply of water for his fountains and his conservatories at Lahore. To attain this end, he caused the Husli canal to be dug, from the Ravi, where it issues out of the hills, to the royal city, a length of 110 miles. This canal fertilizes no desert, reclaims no wastes, creates no villages. It follows the lowest line of the country, where irrigation is hardly needed : it crosses only two torrents : its supply was not more than 200 cubic feet per second: it avoids the "Bar" altogether : it has encountered none of those difficulties which true engineering skill delights to surmount. Of course, it is not denied that the banks of this canal, lined as they are with trees, and decked with rich cultivation, afford a sight pleasing to the eye; but the increase of agriculture had very little to do with the original construction of the work. A branch of this canal feeds the sacred tank at Umritsir, having been constructed for that purpose by the Sikh Government ; and pending the magnificent work to which we are about to request the attention of our readers, it is still maintained under Colonel Napier's auspices, at a cost of 20,000 rupees a year : its banks are being planted with more trees :

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its waters are fairly distributed, and it will only be left to itself when a full stream of water shall be poured along the bed of the Bari Doab canal.

This splendid work, a worthy monument of British supremacy, will in its main channel be 247 miles in length. It will traverse the very centre of the Doab, running, as it were, along its back-bone, and in the lower part of the tract will literally call towns and villages into existence, with their agricultural and commercial population. The flow of water in the main channel will be 3,000 feet a second: and provision will be made for an additional supply of 1,500 feet, in all probability, from the Ravi, when it is swollen by the melting of the snow, and the annual rains. At the head of the canal some high land is to be cut through, in order to avoid any danger from the bed of the Ravi, parallel and close to which it was originally thought that the canal should have been excavated. This work, known as the Madhupoor cutting, will cost more than three lakhs and a half of rupees. Then, at various points along the line, there will be expensive works in the shape of boulder rapids, masonry "overfalls," embankments, dams, and escapes. At the thirtieth mile a branch canal will lead to Kussoor, a distance of eighty-four miles, and at the seventh mile of this Kussoor branch, another branch will be cut to Sobraon, a distance of sixty-one miles. On the north side of the main channel, a similar branch will join Lahore, seventy-four miles distant from the main channel. At the 182nd mile of the main stream, occurs what is termed the Satghurrah escape, which will run into the old bed of the Ravi. Up to this point, from its commencement, the canal will be available for navigation by boats, and for the irrigation of land: beyond this, the canal will be navigable as before, but its supply of water will be drawn off only for drinking, filling tanks, and watering cattle. The total length of the canal, with all its branches, will be 466 miles. The expense is estimated at fifty-two lakhs of rupees, and the returns from water rent, mill rent, transit duties, and canal produce, may be about 27 per cent. on the outlay. The above is a brief sketch of the main facts and figures connected with this great work. But it cannot adequately represent the skill of the young engineer officers, Lieutenants Crofton and Dyas, brought to bear on the survey of the line: the ability with which engineering difficulties have either been dexterously avoided, or boldly met: the honesty of purpose, the untiring zeal, the real philanthropy, the deliberate foresight, by which this noble project has been conceived and commenced. To see all this in its true light, the generous advocate of reform and progress, the unsparing oppo-

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nent of the Company's Government, the devoted admirer of Mahommedan supremacy, the unselfish patriot, must all undertake a journey to the plains of the Manjha.

Other grand projects are talked about, but at present there is work for all hands, in those already undertaken. At some future day the Ravi and the Sutlej may be connected by a still-water canal; extensive marshes, prejudicial to health, will be drained, and we see no reason why the large Doab, between the Jhelum and the Indus, which at present lies waste and unpeopled, may not become famous for its Sind Saugor canal.

From material improvements we turn to a subject which, though often discussed in Indian circles, has only of late years assumed the degree of importance which it merits. We mean the erection of jails, with a view to health and ventilation, and the confinement of prisoners, with a view to their reform. Jail discipline is one of those points where in India we lay our own foundation. We have little to build upon: we find nothing to amend. The native ruler cared little for the health or the security of those who had offended against the law: good food, a dry lodging, punishment as a warning and a prevention, the moral improvement of the felon, the means afforded him of gaining an honest livelihood by some useful trade taught in the period of incarceration—with all these topics the regime of Hindu, Mussulman and Sikh has had very little concern. It is much easier to mutilate robbers, to put them to death at once, to release them on payment of a large fine, to enrol them in the army, as in England we used to send desperate poachers to serve in king's ships, than to shut them up in the walls of prisons, to set a watch over them, to provide them with regular employment and daily meals. The vigorous rule of Runjit Sing formed no exception to the general system of dealing with crime. It might be said of his "good old times," as it was said of our own, though from a different cause:

> A single jail, in Alfred's golden reign,
> Could all the nation's criminals contain.

At the period of annexation, it was said, as already noticed, that there were very few men in prison throughout the Punjab, and even that there had not been a couple of hundreds in jail at once, during any previous period, for the last fifty years. Political offenders used to be gently deposited in cool dungeons, or at the bottom of dry wells. Debtors were chained to posts at the great gates of the city, to depend for their livelihood on the precarious charity of passers by. Thieves detected in the act, and with no

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powerful advocates or patrons, lost their noses: dacoits their hands, and burglars were hamstrung. Sirdars, Jaghirdars, and provincial governors, had their own systems of *fossa et furca*, summary punishment, and excessive fines. Murderers and thieves were indefinitely kept in confinement, because capital punishment was not often inflicted; and if the man who had taken another's life, could only find some staunch friend to plead for him, he might enlist in the army, and in a month's time, be seen scaling the walls of Mooltan, exacting revenue from the Wuzeerees, or be fighting in the defiles of Hazara.

It was obvious that there was nothing for our administrators to take lessons from in this: nothing which, as in the revenue or police system, or in primitive irrigation, might be modified or improved by British superintendence and skill. Every thing, from the jail itself, had to be constructed: and the Board determined to construct their jails and their system on the latest models, and on the best tried plans. Accordingly, it was determined that there should be three classes of jails. Of the first class we have only the great central jail at Lahore, which is calculated to contain 2,000 prisoners. It is constructed on the circular radiating system. It is exceedingly healthy, and is divided into two distinct circles, each of which will contain about 900 prisoners. The hospital will be within the jail compound, in a separate building, and there will be spaces for the erection of sheds and workshops, where the prisoners may be set to work at in-door labour. The site of the Lahore jail is rather more than two miles from the city, from Anarkulli, and from Mean Meer. The second class jails will contain 800 prisoners, and will be erected at Mooltan, and at Rawul Pindi. Umballa was fixed on for a third jail, but as a somewhat larger district jail than usual will be sufficient there, and as a large jail has been built at Umritsir, the construction of the larger building at Umballa has, for the present, been deferred. The third class jails will be good district jails, in number twenty-one. The cost of the great Lahore jail will be nearly one lakh and a half of rupees: the second class jails will cost 60,000 rupees each. The twenty-one third-class jails, at rather more than 7,000 rupees each, will cost another lakh and a half. In the central or second class jails there will be provided every facility for the classification of prisoners, for the regulation of labour, for solitary confinement when imperative, for improved health and security, and for moral reform. Dr. Hathaway, a gentleman who has evinced a decided turn for jail management, has been appointed Inspector of Prisons, with an assistant; and he will, no doubt, do everything in his power to introduce

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into the jails of the Punjab that uniformity, and those economical arrangements for which the jails of the North West Provinces have lately been remarkable, and without which, we trust, that Bengal Proper will not long remain.

We have thus given a brief sketch of the revenue, of the civil and criminal administration of this great province, of its general aspect, of its excise laws, of its most striking public works, of its remarkable features, and of its jail management. There would be some alloy to the satisfaction which this picture of a good administration presents, were we compelled to state that the cost thereof had exceeded the receipts: that we had a gained a loss, and that the additional province would never help us to attain the right side of the sheet. Fortunately, the topic of receipts and disbursements, on which we are just about to enter, is one which will be as gratifying to the statesman and the economist, to Leadenhall-street and to Manchester, as any other which it might be convenient to select. It is necessary to be somewhat explicit on this point, because we have repeatedly heard the question asked—Does the Punjab pay? And we have lately seen several statements in the Indian and English newspapers, based on some Parliamentary papers, drawn up on what we must term an unintelligible and an unsound principle, which declare that the accounts of the new province are wholly unsatisfactory; and not two months ago an article appeared in a London newspaper, and speeches were heard in the senate from grave and well-informed members, tending to set the Punjab revenue in a light truly alarming, if the statements had only been true. We shall trust, by a short and clear declaration, to set these alarmists right. Even Mr. Kaye, we perceive, has been led to an erroneous conclusion on this important point. We beg the reader's attention to the difference which we shall make between the revenues of the Punjab Proper, and the revenues of the whole country under the Board. Of course, the country annexed in 1849 ought to show a balance by itself, or annexation *was not profitable*. But it appears to us, that in reviewing the Punjab finances, as bearing on the whole system of Indian fiuance, it is unfair entirely to except the old Cis-Sutlej and the Trans-Sutlej divisions, because the additional attention and improved system bestowed on these localities under one central administrative power, has proved of material benefit to them, and has been productive of economy to the state. We will however at first confine ourselves to the districts of the Punjab Proper, that is, to the country for the annexation of which Lord Dalhousie is responsible, and which will ever remain inseparably linked with his name. The total revenue of

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this tract, then, has amounted in every one year to 134 lakhs of rupees. In one year, 1850-51, it was swelled to 151 lakhs, by some extraordinary receipts from the proceeds of the sale of state property; but this addition being temporary, is of course excluded in any general calculation. The annual future revenue will however not be less than 134 lakhs. This revenue is derived from six main sources, which may be divided as follows: 1. Land tax, one crore and five lakhs. This comprises land revenue of every description, including revenue from canals. 2. Excise and stamps, twenty-one lakhs. 3. Tribute from a few great jaghirdars, six thousand rupees. 4. Post office, two lakhs and a quarter. 5. Miscellaneous revenue, being that derived from arrears due to the late Government, proceeds of public sales, prison labour, and the Toshakhanah—five lakhs and a quarter. 6. Local funds, being those of the roads and the ferry funds, and the sale of unclaimed property—two lakhs and thirty-four thousand rupees. Grand total of the revenue of the Punjab Proper, about 136 lakhs! It will however be safer to consider the annual revenue at two lakhs less, or at 134 lakhs. Now comes the other side of the question. For the first year after annexation, namely, for 1849-50, in spite of extraordinary disbursements, there was a clear surplus of 52 lakhs, that is to say, 82 lakhs were expended out of a revenue of 134 lakhs. In the second year, or 1850-51, the result, from those accidental and temporary causes above mentioned, was even better. The receipts stood at 151 lakhs, and the disbursements were only 87. The clear surplus was thus 64 lakhs, and the two years together gave an aggregate surplus of no less than 116 lakhs of rupees! It would however be erroneous to suppose that every two years will exhibit similar gratifying accounts: and we are bound to cast a glance forward, and to provide for considerable outlay in various departments of the state. The land revenue, it is believed, may fall off to the extent of seven lakhs, as settlements are revised and lessened. There will be an annual outlay on the great Bari Doab canal. The vested rights and inalienable privileges of pensioners and state idlers will absorb some twelve lakhs of rupees. The judicial, revenue, and excise establishments, will require to be strengthened, to meet the increasing demands on labour and time. The military police being organized and equipped, will swallow up ten lakhs more than in the previous years. On the other hand, the salt revenue, the excise, the stamps, the post office, and the canals, will yield an increase; several lapses may be expected in rent-free tenures, and the total revenue will stand, on the soundest and

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fairest computation, at what we stated, 134 lakhs. The real decrease will not be owing to a deficiency in the actual receipts or the capabilities of the country, but to the increased expenditure of a thoughtful Government. And the effect of this will be to leave, not a surplus of sixty-four lakhs, as in the second year, nor one of fifty-two as in the first, but one of about twenty-two lakhs, or nearly a quarter of a million sterling. The Board have calculated that for the next ten years more than this surplus should not be expected. But at the close of such a period of time we may look to have a decrease in the expenditure, and an increase in the receipts. The receipts will be swelled by the canal revenue, estimated at fourteen lakhs, and by lapses of Jaghirs granted to aged incumbents for their lives, on the demise of whom the Government will step in and enjoy the dues of the Jaghirdar. The expenditure will be reduced, because all the grand works will by that time have been completed, because the operations of the survey will have been brought to a close, and because pensions granted in cash will be falling in every day. It is thus no unreasonable hope, that in the year 1863, with every liberal scheme fully carried out, with an adequate complement of native and European officers in every department, with bridges laid down, with roads raised above the flood level, with capacious jails, with navigable canals, with rights recorded, and the boundaries of villages and estates well-defined, the Punjab Proper will be paying into the general treasury an annual surplus of half a million sterling. The above calculation is based on past experience, and on something beyond mere probabilities. The cash pensions alone aggregate twelve lakhs of rupees: the temporary alienations of the revenue in rent-free tenures, reach to twenty-five lakhs, the land revenue is more likely to rise, owing to extended cultivation, than to decrease from any disclosures of heavy assessment. The excise, the stamps, the post office, and other minor sources of profit, will gradually become more productive. We have often been warned of the danger of lending too credulous an ear to those who point to new conquests as the means of getting out of debt. But as regards the past, we have dealt with nothing but *absolute facts*, and if there is no regard to be paid to such expectations as we hold out for the future, provided no startling catastrophes occur, there is an end of all attempts to argue on contingencies.

But we have not included in our financial statements the revenues of the Trans and Cis-Sutlej divisions. It was proper at first to show the actual results of the campaign of 1848-49: it would be unfair not to give the late Board, who have virtu-

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ally been administering the affairs of a separate presidency, due credit for the skill with which they have managed the older cessions. The picture here may fairly warrant as glowing a eulogy, as warm an admiration, as fearless a boast. The revenue from the above two divisions amounts to sixty-seven lakhs a year; the expenses average thirty-five lakhs, and the surplus is thus thirty-two lakhs. For the year 1850-51 the total available surplus from the *whole territory* under the Board, that is for the tract leading from the mouth of the Khyber to the frontiers of Bhuttiana, from the Himalayas to the Soliman range, was no less than eighty lakhs of Company's rupees, or £800,000 sterling. And the surplus which may be expected every ensuing year from the Jullunder and Cis-Sutlej territories, is estimated not at thirty or thirty-two lakhs, but at thirty-nine. Thus, with every expense for which the energy and the philanthropy of our administrators can provide, the amount of revenue which the state will have at its disposal, for the next ten years, from the Punjab Proper and from the Cis and Trans-Sutlej divisions, will be no less than sixty-one lakhs of rupees: and at the expiration of ten years the surplus will exceed what it stood at for the year ending April, 1851, when it was eighty lakhs or eight hundred thousand pounds.

Such facts as these require but little additional comment. But to avoid any possibility of misrepresentation, and to remove any lingering doubts, we will state exactly what is meant by the above surplus. We have termed it a surplus after the payment of expenses. We will now specify what those expenses are. The expenses paid for before any such surplus has been reckoned are, then, those of the whole civil administration. They comprise the salaries of the highest and lowest officers in the judicial, revenue, salt, and excise departments, of the settlement and survey officers, with their establishments, of the ordinary police, of Lieut.-Colonel Napier and his staff and works, and the amount that falls on the Punjab, rateably, for the offices of audit and account at Agra, no separate offices of the kind having been established for the new countries. The expenses still further include those of the post office and the Tohshakhana, and of the civil buildings: those on account of public ferries; all disbursements to the old Durbar troops, when paid off, and all disbursements to pensioners paid in cash. Lastly, the said expenses provide for the payment of the whole irregular military force of the Punjab: that is to say, for the ten Punjab regiments, five of cavalry and five of infantry, for three batteries of Punjab artillery, for the four regiments of Sikh local

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infantry, raised in 1846, for one regiment of irregular cavalry, for the guide corps, for the Hazara mountain police, for all the Punjab police battalions, numbering horse and foot, some 8,500 men, and for other irregular levies serving across the Indus. These forces at first only cost twenty-four lakhs, their expenses gradually swelled to thirty-one, and as they have now been fully organized and equipped, they will cost forty-one lakhs.

There are two items, however, which the above expenses do *not* include, and on which a little further explanation is necessary. The first is the expenditure on barracks for troops not immediately under the Board or Chief Commissioner, as just enumerated. The second is the pay of the regular army. With regard to the first item, all that we can say is, that if it be imperative to build new and large cantonments for Queen's troops,—and no one will think of denying the paramount importance of attending to the health of the soldier—the surplus of a quarter of a million may be absorbed for a year or two. Such an expenditure is fairly debitable to the Punjab. But with regard to the pay of the regular army, we do not see how, on any principles of sound finance or of common justice, the Punjab can be debited therewith, just because it happens at the present juncture to be the most favourable place for the distribution of a large portion of our military force. Some 54,000 men are cantoned in the Punjab, not simply because the population in a newly annexed country requires to be watched, but because our natural frontier in that quarter, which we have now reached, requires the greater portion of our available soldiery. The boundary of the British territory being now the Suliman Range and the Khyber, instead of the Beas and the Sutlej, it is requisite to have troops to protect the country on this side of those ranges of mountains. But we will put the case differently. Suppose that the Punjab, instead of having been annexed, was still an independent kingdom, containing a national, fanatic, and disciplined army, a galaxy of warlike Sirdars, an influential priesthood, and a crowned prince? In that case we should of course be guarding the fords of the Beas and the Sutlej, and Loodiana, Ferozepore, Kartarpore, and Jullunder would be bristling with bayonets, crowded with siege trains, and thronged with officers. Would any man be prepared to argue, that in such a case the expenses of the fifty thousand men, whom political necessity would compel us to keep on the frontier, ought to be debited to the rich plains of Hoshiarpore, or to the sandy tracts of Khytul? Or would it be thought fair to argue, as if the British army so placed, did not protect from invasion the fair

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cities of Delhi and Benares, as well as the fertile lands of the lower Ganges, and its unwarlike population? No such reasoning as this would be for a moment tolerated. We may depend upon it that the Queen's and Company's regiments at Rawul Pindi, or Lahore, or Umritsir, protect the property and secure the peaceful enjoyment of the Calcut a tradesman, and the Bunneah at Benares, equally with that of the priests of the Golden Temple, and the stores of the Kashmir shawl-merchants, and are as fairly to be paid from the general revenues of the Empire, as the great road to Agra, or the Electric Telegraph to Peshawar. Again, is it not likely, that with the Punjab tranquillized, and its disbanded soldiers either enlisting in our regiments, or guiding the plough, we shall be more in a position to reduce our military expenditure, than if we had to watch with feverish anxiety, as in 1844-45, the uncertain movements of bigotted Sodhees, of excitable groups of soldiers, and of reckless Sirdars? Or do we think that with the Khalsa existing in all its vigour across the frontier, we should have maintained on the Sutlej a less army than we now maintain in the Punjab? And what advantage have we not gained from the acquisition of a kingdom shewn to be thus productive, to pay to soldiers wheresoever cantoned, or whithersoever sent?

It is perfectly well known, moreover, that the increase of the regular forces, consequent on the annexation of the Punjab, amounted to two additional Queen's regiments, and to 15,000 sepoys, each regiment of the seventy-four that compose the native army having been raised from 800 men to the full complement of 1,000. These measures entailed an additional expense, the former of ten lakhs, and the latter one of fifteen lakhs. Thus, by debiting this amount exclusively to the Punjab, we swallow up our surplus of a quarter of a million. But we ask, may not the reduction of the army in 1847 have been rather premature? And were we not as likely, some day, to require the *justus exercitus* on the banks of the Sutlej, had that been the limit of the Empire, as on the banks of the Indus, its lawful boundary, and its natural termination? It is our conviction that not one single additional soldier can fairly be debited to the Punjab. The increase was rendered inevitable by general considerations, and would have been still imperative, had we never permanently occupied even the Bari Doab. But, whatever opinions may be held as to the reduction of the army by Lord Hardinge, and its increase under his successor, it seems to us indisputable that the final tranquillization of the Punjab is the only measure which can tend to the consolidation of the Empire: the only one that may really justify the

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reduction of each native regiment to a reasonable size; the only one that relieves statesmen of a vast load of anxiety: the only one, in short, which holds out any reasonable hope, as far as India Proper is concerned, of internal security, sound financial credit, and material reforms.

On the inferences and deductions arising out of the above survey of the Punjab finance question, every one can, of course, form his own opinion: and men will naturally differ as to the precise expenditure with which the new province should be debited. But of one thing we are certain, and that is of the accuracy of our facts and figures. They are taken from complete returns, carefully digested and lucidly arranged by the Board, and we can challenge a close scrutiny without fear that their accuracy will be impeached. We have excluded all minor sums, which only serve to take up space and to confuse the reader, but the totals will stand any test. There are many subjects for congratulation in the Report of the Board, but few more so than the comparison of its balance sheet. "Without money," says Mr. Campbell, "we can do nothing;" and the Punjab Proper, to our thinking, can be viewed in no other light than that of a rich mine, which, without the expenditure of sinking shafts, excavating galleries, and paying workmen, will yield us in ten years' time a clear half million a year.

We turn from a subject which has perhaps not many attractions to the general reader, but which it was incumbent on us to endeavour to set in its true light, to some of the general improvements and minor subjects of enquiry, which have absorbed the little remaining leisure of the Board and the subordinates. It is well known that we never take a new kingdom in India without our soldiers and civilians suffering severely from sickness during the first year of occupancy. Places which are now frequented almost as sanataria, were literally charnel houses and burying grounds ten or fifteen years ago. The causes of mortality have been variously explained: the general effect is unanimously admitted. Sometimes the troops were packed too closely together. A jungle grew at the back of one cantonment: an annual inundation deluged another: a third was exposed to a wind which, for six months in the year, blew from a pestilential morass. Houses were badly or hastily constructed, or at first, perhaps, there were no houses at all. Sanatory arrangements, when commenced, only seemed to aggravate the evil which they were intended to cure. The accumulated deposit of ages was raked up, and fever and pestilence no longer lurked in corners, but stalked boldly forth as tanks were being cleaned out, and old drains were scoured, and

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heaps of filth were removed. To the above causes of insalubrity must be added exposure to climate in the performance of duty, journeys over bad roads in unfavourable seasons, canvass dwellings under a fierce summer sun, the wear and tear of work at all hours, from sunrise to past sunset. There are few men employed as civil officers in the Punjab, who have not had to recruit themselves by a trip to the hills, and several have been actually driven home. But with hills fringing the Punjab on two sides, it was not difficult to find elevated places, where the invalid might breathe a pure and invigorating air. The only provisions requisite were, that the place should be neither too high nor too low: that it should not be too much exposed to the cold piercing winds which at certain seasons sweep the valleys of the Himalayas: that it should have plenty of wood and water, and be easily accessible from the plains. The first site chosen was at a place called Murree, on a beautiful ridge of hills, just forty-five miles from Rawul Pindi. A trial was made of this place in the summer of 1850. At that time there were only two huts on the mountain, but many visitors were content to try the benefit of the air in tents of the poorest description, without medicines and without regular supplies. Yet with every disadvantage, the sick recovered their strength: the choice of the ridge was pronounced good, and in the commencement of 1851, the formation of a hill station at Murree, and the construction of a road to it from the plains, were sanctioned by the Governor-General. But it was soon found that a site once approved, became the nucleus of a considerable population, and that it was necessary to lay down rules for the guidance of the new colony. With this view the following regulations were passed for Murree, were promulgated for general information, and will probably form precedents for other sanataria of the same kind. We give such details as seem to possess general interests for readers in the plains. A tract was duly marked off, within which the rules were to have effect. The timber in the locality was to be jealously preserved from rude hands. Springs of water were public and not private property. Applicants for sites for building might purchase ground at the upset price of 50 rupees for the first acre, 100 rupees for the second, and so on to ten acres, which was the largest extent of ground to be allotted to a single individual. Houses, when built, were to be taxed at three per cent. of their actual or estimated rental. The funds derivable from this tax, and from the sale of sites, and from a land tax of two rupees an acre, were to be appropriated to local improvements. Defiling springs, turning horses loose to graze, encamping on public paths, and similar acts, were declared

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nuisances, and were made punishable. An officer was to be stationed at Murree, to decide petty cases, and especially to prevent hot-headed purchasers of sites from beating or over-reaching the hill-men—an unsophisticated race who require gentle and conciliatory treatment. No doubt, these rules will appear arbitrary, and had they been enacted within hail of Town-Hall oratory, they would have drawn down the usual denunciations against a selfish and oppressive Government. But the occupants of sites at Murree are all the servants of that Government, and the race of honest Anglo-Saxons, professional grievance-mongers, and 'independents,' has not yet begun to flourish in the Punjab.

Murree will be an admirable sanatarium for the Peshawar, Rawul Pindi, and Jhelum brigades. For the Trans-Indus forces it has been found possible to establish another on the Sheik Budeen hill, about 3,400 feet high, sixty miles from Bunnoo, and forty from Dera Ismael Khan. This hill, the resort of some Faquirs, whose rights have not been invaded, has been protected by a police post and a slight fortification, quite sufficient to keep off robbers, which that distant region is never without; and the advantage resulting to the officers of the Punjab irregulars, and of the police battalions serving across the Indus, is not easily over-rated.

A third sanatarium, the arrangements for which are still incomplete, will be established at Chumba. The ground has been carefully examined by Major Longden and Dr. Clemenger. Both these gentlemen speak in high terms of the great choice of sites, the graceful woods, the surpassing beauty of the scenery, the quality of the water, the chalybeate springs, the moderate rains, the abundance of stone and wood for building, the general local advantages, and the proximity to the plains. From this sanatarium to the foot of the hills the distance is only twenty-four miles, and from thence to Pathankote it is twenty more. The relative distances of the great military stations from Chumba, will best be seen by the following Table :—

Pathankote to Lahore	95	Chumba to Lahore	139
„ to Jullundur	75	„ to Jullundur	119
„ to Sealkote	75	„ to Sealkote	119
„ to Goozerat	109	„ to Goozerat	153
„ to Loodiana	105	„ to Loodiana	149
„ to Ferozpore	140	„ to Ferozpore	184

Thus all the troops cantoned anywhere in the eastern and northern parts of the Punjab, from Jullunder to Peshawar, will have every facility for recruiting their sick without sending them some two or three hundred miles to Landour. The Mooltan division is perhaps the only one not provided for in

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these arrangements, but hills cannot be created like canals or roads; and the results are simply inevitable. It must be remembered, too, that officers cannot be permitted to build houses on any spur or ridge which may take their fancy. One house built invites another to spring up near it; the nucleus of a station is formed, and then come the usual disputes about sites and contracts for building, and servants' wages. This, of course, demands the presence of a civil officer, and such officers cannot always be spared. It has, therefore, been deemed imperative to forbid the erection of dwelling-houses, except at such places as shall be marked out as sanataria. No doubt, the collector in one case, or the commanding officer in another, would prefer a range one thousand feet less elevated, or ten miles nearer to the plains, but private fantasies must give way to the "exigencies of the service."

Enquiries such as these form a pleasing contrast to the sterner duties and the irksome labour which the police, the revenue system, and the conservancy of jails, have imposed on the local officers. From the health of the body to the training of the intellect, is no very abrupt transition. We shall now proceed to give some account of the means provided under the former Government for the education of the people. Before the Punjab had been two years annexed, Mr. Montgomery, then Commissioner of the Lahore division, whose reports were, somehow, always supplied with greater fulness, and in less time than those of any other officer, had collected, through the agency of his Tahsildars, an immense amount of valuable information, as to the mode in which education throughout the Manjha was provided for, in purely indigenous schools. The result of his enquiries shewed that generally more of the agricultural and commercial population were educated than in Upper India, though instances of remarkable talent or proficiency were more rare. The description and number of schools and students in the Lahore division will be best understood from the following Table :—

Description of Schools.	*No. of Schools.*	*No. of Boys.*
Arabic	166	1,108
Persian	337	2,188
Hindi	109	2,252
Gourmukhi, or sacred language of the Sikhs	83	546
Sanskrit	76	1,311
Schools where the Koran only is taught	255	1,190
Mixed Schools, in which different languages are taught	359	2,905
Total...	1,385	11,500

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The above, when compared with the population as estimated, tended to show that about 6 per cent. of the male population, between seven and fourteen years of age, were under instruction. The remuneration of the teachers in these rather primitive schools was precisely of the same kind as that of the indigenous schools in Bengal and Bahar, or in Hindustan. The teacher received monthly wages, averaging from one rupee eight annas to seven rupees eight annas; or he was fed daily; or he received so many maunds of grain a year; or he got presents at the great festivals, or he was allotted some rent-free land. Books were not uncommon, though it is not every village school that has them, and multiplication, the calculation of interest, the writing of Nagari letters, and commercial accounts, were parts of the course of instruction. It was not unusual to find blacksmiths and artisans who could read Persian. Some other curious facts were disclosed to Mr. Montgomery by his enquiries. In the cities of Lahore and Kussoor, he actually stumbled on some *girls' schools*. In the former city, there were no less than sixteen of these schools, with an average of about six girls to each, and a total of 111 scholars. At Kussoor, there were seventeen girls receiving instruction. The pupils were all the children of Mussulmans: the teachers were females, who taught the Koran, and who retired coyly behind the *purdah* while the commissioner *Saheb* made his visit, noticed the pupils, commended the state of things, and finally made each teacher happy by a small and well-timed present. The fact is not without its moral, and the late Mr. Bethune would have not failed to take advantage thereof. But though indigenous literature was alone cultivated, yet there were speedy indications shown of a desire to learn English. The missionaries at Lahore have opened an English school, and have a large attendance of boys. A quick-witted Calcutta Baboo, who had pushed far to the north in search of a livelihood, and whose knowledge of English was not very remarkable, set up a school for himself, drew around him a circle of pupils, and was finally appointed English tutor to the younger members of the family of a Sikh Sirdar, the Sindhan Walla! Our readers may ponder on this, and perhaps compare with it Rob Roy's doubting to Baillie Nicol Jarvie, whether he should send an advertisement to Glasgow couched in the following terms, "Wanted—a tutor for Rob Roy's bairns." The result of educational enquiries has been the establishment of a Government school at Umritsir, the mart of trade, the seat of manufactures, the repository of Sikh learning, and the shrine of the Sikh faith. In addition to the above measure, an impulse has been given to education in the Hill States, under

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the superintendent stationed at Simla. There are five schools in these states, the teachers of which are paid by Government. The instruction is conveyed in Hindi. The children, who are wholly uncivilized, and in some instances without even moral perceptions, are taught to read and write, and acquire, by copying out forms of *parwanas*, bonds, mortgages and letters, that practical information which is likely to be of constant use in life, and is just that which the peasantry from Saugor island to the foot of the hills at Subathoo,—if they ever think of acquiring any thing,—will persist in endeavouring to acquire. But with these exceptions, education has not made much progress under the care of Government, and we should perhaps hardly expect any thing more as yet in such a country as the Punjab.

Among the most pleasing interludes to a grave drama, was that of the attention paid to the historical monuments of the Punjab. The country was not so remarkable as many other parts of India for works of surpassing architectural beauty, or great traditional interest. But at Lahore, and at one or two other places, the attention of the Governor-General was attracted to buildings which, until the last few years, were known only to a few casual visitors, or to profound orientalists, but have now been sketched by many fair hands, and admired by hundreds of wondering eyes. The first monument which claims our attention is that raised to cover the remains of the last great ruler of the Sikh nation, the cool and cautious politician, whose interviews with two Governors-General will long live in the recollection of the officers who witnessed them. This tomb, standing close to the entrance of the Hazoor-i-bagh, has been completed by the expenditure of a considerable sum granted by the British Government, which thus testifies its respect for the name and memory of one of the most remarkable rulers of any age. Of greater antiquity than the above, but of less value in the eyes of a large part of the population, are the tombs of Jehangir at Shahdurrah, and of Nur Jehan at Hussun Abdul: or rather, we should say, the monument at this latter place, with its cenotaph, and its two fine cypress trees of great age and noble proportions, is said to have been intended by the royal favourite for her last resting place. Orders were given for the restoration of these monuments as far as was possible, and for their future preservation from the ravages of time or of more destructive man. The famous Shalimar Gardens received their due share of attention, and the Padashahi Musjid, a magnificent building of red sandstone, ornamented with cupolas of marble, and with lofty minarets, was repaired so far as to prevent the destruction which threatened the mosque

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itself and the buildings around it. With the exception of this mosque, erected by the Emperor Aurungzebe, and once, we grieve to say, actually used as a magazine, the other mosques in the city of Lahore, including that of Vizir Khan, were left to be cared for by the Mussulmans, who now enjoy, under the British rule, the free and unrestricted exercise of their religion. But out of Lahore, there were few monuments which could attract the observation, or reward the research, of any lover of antiquities. Subjects of enquiry were not, however, wanting to the scholar. Major Abbott, when the country was in the hands of the insurgents, had, with the cool and characteristic determination of a British officer, amused himself with an attempt to identify the locality of Alexander's battle with Porus, with that of the camp of Shere Sing. The famous Tope at Manikhyala again invited many visitors to examine its solid masonry, to explore its deep well, to purchase the Græco-Bactrian coins dug up around it, and to speculate on the purposes for which such a structure had been raised. But Sikh edifices there were few or none. The Sikhs, as a people, scarce of greater antiquity in India than their latest antagonists, now struggling for existence, now ground down by tyranny, now rising undismayed against their merciless oppressors, had more to do with the destruction of monuments belonging to other dynasties, than with the erection of any of their own. The monuments which we found to be worth repairing were mainly those of Mahommedan rule. A large tank, with walls of masonry, which supplied the town of Buttala with water, was re-excavated at a cost of 1,000 rupees. Two old imperial bridges were repaired not far from the above place, and were actually crossed by the Governor-General on his return from Peshawar. A marble tomb at Thanesur, erected by Akbar, to the memory of a Mussulman saint, which had undergone some strange vicissitudes, and had resounded, at one time to the words of the Koran, at another to those of the Granth, was rescued from the ravages of the great spoiler; and lastly an old fort at Kullanour, near which it is recorded in history, that the above-named monarch, the greatest and wisest of Indian emperors, was elevated to the throne at the age of fourteen, has been converted into a serai, by an arrangement which will combine respect for the past, with accommodation for the men of this present utilitarian age.

Enquiries such as these, carried on in a liberal spirit, form a graceful contrast to the practical and every-day work of assessing cultivators and trying offenders. They gratify some portion of the subject population, who though not connoisseurs in archi-

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tecture, are perfectly able to appreciate the difference between a Government that destroys, and one that preserves, objects of veneration. The members of the Board have indeed shewn themselves anxious to ornament and beautify, as well as to give solid advantages. Means of relaxation have been provided for the European soldiers stationed at Lahore. A large garden was set apart for the troops at Anarkullee, and was last year made over to the Horticultural Society, on the understanding that the European soldier should still have free access to the spot. This Society, it should here be mentioned, was formed in the year 1851, for the purpose of raising superior kinds of produce in the Punjab, of improving existing modes of cultivation, of introducing new implements of agriculture, of planting fruit trees, of giving an impulse to silk and other manufactures, of enquiring into the defects and the capabilities of various soils, and in short of doing all that progressive science can do for a country not naturally barren, but which requires a considerable application of capital and skill, to effect the "development of its resources"—we use a phrase which grievance-mongers have rendered positively tiresome—and the prosperity of its agriculturists.

As not unconnected with the foregoing subject, we may here state what has been done for the cultivation of tea in the hills. This subject had attracted the attention of Lord Hardinge, and it has been warmly taken up by Mr. Thomason in the Kumaon and Gurhwal hills. For the plantations in these latter provinces seedlings and Chinese manufacturers have been procured from China, and though difficulties have intervened, and many of the seeds have never germinated, yet Dr. Jameson has been able to extend his operations and to form nurseries in the Kangra valley, the hill district of the Trans-Sutlej division. Last year, after an expenditure of only 3,000 rupees, there were at least 400 acres of tea plants at Holta, in the Kangra district. The plants, without manure or forcing, have come up vigorously, and are available to the Superintendent in sufficient number to enable him to give seedlings to the Zemindars. It is proposed that these gentlemen shall be invited to plant for themselves, on a guarantee of eight rupees for every maund of tea leaves which they may bring to the Government factories. Experienced men on the part of Government must prepare the produce, at least for some time to come, or India will never have a chance in the market against China. It is in contemplation to draw up a set of simple rules for the information of the cultivators, which shall show them the time and mode of cultivation, the way in which they must clear the ground, plant and

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prune the trees, and guard against damp, and which shall indicate to them the parties who will take the leaves and pay the price agreed on. In short, when a brief Georgic shall have been once drawn up and promulgated on this really important subject, and when the lazy hill Rajpoots shall know *quid faciat lætas segetes*, and under what constellation they may plant their tea nurseries, we may hope that what a late noble Lord uttered in the senate, about the ryots having 'tea but no sugar to sweeten it', may actually be fulfilled, and the poorest class be put in possession of a beverage at once luxurious, healthy, and cheap.

We turn from these interesting topics with regret. They are not one-half exhausted in the above brief summary, but time and space compel us to pass over these and many other points, with only a resumé of what has actually been done. We now come to a subject which has affected a very large class of influential people in the Punjab; we mean that of the rent-free and service tenures. We all have heard of, and some of us may be old enough to remember, the battle that raged when in the Upper and Lower Provinces the question of resuming these tenures was first taken up in good earnest. Able pens were enlisted on the side of Government, to prove the right of the state to its due share of lands seized without title, or retained by fraud. Writers even more able stood forth on the other side, and pointed out, in clear, vigorous, and caustic language, the general vexation and annoyance, the temptation to cloak unlawful possession by unscrupulous forgery, the disturbance of possessors with long prescription on their side, the invasion of rights which had grown complicated by sales, transfers, mortgages, and the other hundred transactions of a litigious and wealthy people, and the discontent and various evils which such a course would infallibly engender. May we not see such an undertaking, or such controversies again! It was to avoid a recurrence of these inquisitorial proceedings after a lapse of time, when lawful rights can only be reclaimed by injustice, some of which is real, and the traces of which are indelible, that the alienated lands were, almost immediately after annexation, subjected to a strict and careful enquiry. But in the Punjab these tenures had neither been bestowed nor retained like those in the provinces. It had long been known how lavishly the Sikh rulers bestowed lands on favourites: how they confined themselves to no one particular sect or class: how they resumed one year what they granted in the last, and what they might alienate again after a twelve-month, ot undeserving applicants: how much these grants were con-

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ferred by caprice, and recalled according to the exigencies of the state : how repeatedly they either lapsed on the demise of the holder, or were renewed to his successor, only on the payment of a considerable sum of money. The first care of the Governor-General was to impress on the Board the paramount necessity of prompt measures; and some clear, simple, and decisive rules were laid down for the guidance of officers engaged in this somewhat invidious duty. With Sir H. Elliot at his elbow, whose knowledge of these tenures is said to be that of a Fleta, or a Littleton, the Head of the Government could hardly fail to furnish the Board with an excellent little code of resumption laws. Premising then that the resumption officers were required to use despatch, as far as was compatible with the attainment of facts, to avoid the extremes of undue leniency and unnecessary harshness, and to bear in mind the certain and quiet possession which the British authority would confer, as contrasted with the capricious grants and the arbitrary recalls of the old rule, we here lay before our readers a summary of the rules which were to guide judges to a decision in the numerous cases of the Honorable Company plaintiff *versus* Man Sing Jaghirdar, or Sheik Selim Faquir defendant. Generally speaking, "vested rights" and cherished privileges were respected. Grants for the maintenance of former rulers, or old proprietors dispossessed, were maintained for the lives of incumbents. Grants made to religious societies of any description, or for the accommodation of travellers, or for weekly or annual charities to the indigent, were to be preserved, provided they were not unreasonably large, for such time as the institution was really devoted to the purpose for which it had been endowed, and the guardians thereof showed themselves peaceful and well-conducted subjects. Regard was paid to the claims of a class of persons, numerous under the Seikh rule, who had either obtained villages, or portions of villages, free of rent or on payment of *nuzzurs*, or had assignments on the public revenue, or had leave to levy certain cesses from the people in addition thereto. Grants made for service, whether religious or military, were to pay one-fourth of their proper revenue, the condition of service being of course dispensed with. Prescriptive right was to be inferred from the undisturbed possession of three generations, even in cases where no title-deeds were forthcoming. Chiefs who had won their lands by their own good swords, in the days of "rugging and rieving," would receive due consideration. But grants made by provincial governors, Kardars, Zemindars, and others without authority to alienate, would at once be resumed. The above

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were found to include most of the cases which fell under the cognizance of the Board. Of course it was not to be expected that cases unprovided for would not arise; and in several instances, a departure from the strict letter of the code has been permitted. The variety and immensity of the work, especially in the Lahore division, it is not easy to conceive, and it was found necessary to appoint, for the adjudication of these cases, a separate officer, Lieut. Becher, who reported the result of his inquiries through the Commissioner of the division to the Board at Lahore. Huge statements of these tenures, at one time apparently endless in extent, have been surveyed, criticised, and ultimately disposed of. The proceedings being prompt, and the holders of these tenures not being adepts at forgery, there has been very little done in the way of systematic fraud, or attempt at imposition. Naturally, the local officers, impressed with a due sense of the necessity of keeping influential priests and turbulent Jaghirdars quiet, have been a little lavish in their recommendations, while the Government, on the other hand, has been anxious not to alienate for ever the lawful dues of the state, and thus confine or restrict the benevolence of future rulers. The result of this natural or not ungraceful struggle between local and personal sympathies and comprehensive statesmanship has been the grant of comparatively few of those perpetuities which the English Law is said to abhor. Nearly all grants, founded on title or long occupancy, have been upheld for the lives of the occupants; where the same person had several holdings, the weakest were at once resumed: in some cases valid grants have been declared enjoyable by the second or even the third generation, at an assessment progressively enhanced to one-fourth or one-half the real revenue; in others they may be re-considered at the demise of the present occupant. But viewed in any aspect, the result of these proceedings has been very little irritation and annoyance: the alienations, in cash pensions alone—for it was the practice of the Sikhs to grant money, and it has been that of our Government to commute for money in many instances—amount to eleven or twelve lakhs, and those in rent-free holdings, at the last financial report, were no less than fifteen lakhs. The latter amount has been increasing as the investigations proceed, but it will again decrease as the present generation of pensioners gradually drop off. Eventually, from both these sources, there will be a very considerable accession to the land revenue, probably between thirty and forty lakhs. Our readers may perhaps care to know some of the various sects and classes to which the lavish and undiscriminating favour of Runjeet Sing and his predecessors was extended.

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The pensions in cash comprise servants of the late Durbar, Vakeels, and orderlies; persons employed on household duties, such as would excite Mr. Campbell's just ire; *langrees* or cooks; *uruk-kashes* or perfumers; artists and physicians, whose knowledge was rude and whose skill was contemptible; confectioners who gratified the palate; officers and men who had formed part of the regular or irregular Durbar troops, and were unable, from old age, to take service in the new Punjab regiments; and lastly, the nearest of kin of those soldiers of the irregular force who fell fighting against the British in the Sutlej campaign. The distinction made between those who were arrayed in arms against us in the last war, whose grants were resumed, and those of the earlier campaign, whose surviving relatives were actually supported by the British Government, will on a little reflection be easily understood. The Sikh state still remained in its substantial integrity after the battle of Sobraon. Its existence was guaranteed by treaty; the acts of its Durbar were essentially valid, and as such were to be respected by the Government that displaced the Regency. The British Government, in pensioning the widows of men who had fallen in battle against us, did only that which the independent native Government had done, or would have done, for its subjects, while it lawfully enjoyed power; a succeeding dynasty, on whom devolved the liabilities and the rights, was bound to uphold such acts. The Jaghirdars, or the rent-free holders who appeared on the side of Moolraj or Shere Sing, were rebels against the Regency, and as such had nothing to expect from the young Maharaja and his supporters, or from those who took the Government out of the young ruler's hand. In the one instance we did only what the Sikh rulers would have done. In the other, the Sikh rulers could not theoretically, in a legal or constitutional point of view, have granted what we have now refused. The grants of land may be mainly divided into two classes, Jaghirs and Maafi tenures. To the former class belong grants held on condition of service: to the latter, grants, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to some particular institution, to a series of devotional acts, or to purposes of charity. The British Government regarded with equal indifference and impartiality the privileges of every class, and the sacred inclosures of each sect. The first in importance were the Bedees, or descendants of Nanak, who, under their present head, Bikrama Sing, have long enjoyed great influence over the minds of the Sikh community. Next came the Sodhees or Sikh priests, a class quite distinct from the above; and after them the Grunthees or readers of the sacred volume of the Sikh faith: men

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who in the day of battle, had often been seen reciting passages in the front of the Khalsa. Then there were the sacred classes of the Hindus, Byragis, Brahmins, and Sannyasis; and the Syuds and Faquirs of the Mussulman community, besides Dewans, Jats, Khutrees, and Rajpoots; for the comprehensive Sikh policy endeavoured to conciliate all classes, was restrained by no bigotry, and aimed at no exclusiveness. To the present generation, every forbearance was shewn. Thus the pious Mahommedan was permitted to burn his lamp at the tomb of a departed Saint; the Brahmin, who had repaired his road-side well, and planted the ground near it with trees, was to enjoy the produce of his dozen *beeghas* of land; the weekly, monthly, or annual dole of rice to hungry pilgrim or houseless wanderer, was still to be continued; the Serai or Choultry was not to fall into disrepair. Worship might still be performed at the Bonga of the Sikh, the shrine of the Pir, and the temple of the Brahmin. The amount of labour, which these minute investigations have demanded, is not easily conceivable. Holdings of every size, and in a dozen different villages, have been discovered tenable by the same individual; records have been closely inspected, oral evidence weighed, the limits of holdings surveyed, and the application of the proceeds tested. It is impossible that enquiries of this nature can be undertaken and completed without apparent harshness to some one class. The best thing that can be said in their favour is, that they have neither been uselessly delayed, nor unfairly hurried. Every man who had a claim, or a grievance of any kind, who had curried the favour or worked on the superstition and the fears of a former dynasty, buffoon or fiddler, puritan or ascetic, chaunting monk or alms-giving abbott, industrious Jat, thriftless Rajput, hard-working Khuttree, the Faquir with his hut at the foot of a large tree, the Jogi with knotted locks, the Sannyasi with his ashes and his tiger-skin, the Pundit with his Bywasta, and the Moulavi with his Koran, have one and all been invited to register their claims, to defend their rights, and to trust to the forbearance and the good policy of the British officer. In cases like these, there is always a vulnerable point. If much is reserved in favour of unworthy classes, we are assailed with a cry of revenues alienated, taxes imposed on the industrious, increasing debts, and undeveloped resources. If much is hastily resumed, we are warned of the danger of arousing the fanaticism and exciting the hostility of a proud priesthood and a disbanded soldiery. We believe that the Board at Lahore have, on this difficult question, pursued a course equally

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successful, politic, and wise. It is satisfactory to know that these investigations are already far advanced: that an immense deal of ground has been got over, and that no instances of real discontent have come to notice. In order to lighten the labour of the Local Government, it has lately been thought expedient to grant the Financial or Revenue Commissioner authority to confirm all rent-free tenures of lands under ten acres in extent, for one generation, or for the period of the settlement. The Chief Commissioner has been authorized similarly to confirm all tenures up to fifty acres in extent, and to resume lands of any size at once, on failure of what has usually been deemed a good title; while recommendations for the release of life-grants of above fifty acres, or for the continuance of any holding to the second generation, however small, or for the release of whole villages, or of lands forming the fractional part of a village, will be referred to Government. Another point, with regard to resumptions, is, that the Jaghirdar, whose rights are maintained to him, is compelled to submit to a settlement of the revenue, that is to say, the cultivators or proprietors are duly assessed, and he is permitted to take exactly the Government revenue and no more. Whenever he may demise, the Government will simply step into its own rights, which the Jaghirdar had enjoyed in his life-time. By this means, the Ryots are saved from the undue exactions of a hungry landlord now, and from the trouble of a fresh assessment at his death. The above are the main features of operations in resumption cases, in a territory as fit for their exercise as any in India. When we add that the cases of widows of Jaghirdars, in very indigent circumstances, actually receive substantial proofs of the charity of Government, and that donations in money are always given whenever grants are resumed, while on the other hand, it is laid down, as a general principle, that holders of rent-free tenures are expected to make a suitable provision for their families during their own life-time, and that able-bodied survivors must work for themselves, it will be allowed that the Lahore Board have managed to hit pretty nearly the exact medium between delay and haste, between severity and weakness, between a furious zeal for the dues of the state, and a foolish compassion for the privileges of individuals. Matters in the Punjab, in regard to the alienated lands, in the fifth year after annexation, are about where they were in Bengal seventy years subsequent to the acquisition of the Dewanny.

Before proceeding to draw the general conclusions to which the above survey leads, we think it right to say a few words about the Cis-Sutlej provinces, over which our hold has become

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more firm, and our administration more direct, first since 1845, and subsequently after the Punjab campaign. It is generally known, we presume, that our connection with the Protected Sikh states, as they were called, commenced in the year 1808-9, when it was deemed politic to oppose a barrier against the advances of Runjit Sing. Even at this day there are no less than nine States in this division, which are internally independent, which collect and enjoy their own revenue, paying a tribute to the paramount power, which order about their own police, and punish their own subjects. The largest of these, Pattiala, with a revenue of nearly twenty-five lakhs, has often been held up as a model native state, on account of its patriarchal, primitive, or paternal way of governing its subjects. The complications produced by the manner in which the Cis-Sutlej territory had been parcelled out amongst invading Sikhs, have engaged a large share of the Board's attention. Things were not so smooth here as in the Punjab proper. The Sikh horsemen, who first overran the country, had divided it into shares, varying in size from the fief of Pattiala to a fractional part of a village. In some cases they had merely usurped the right of collecting revenue: in others they had ousted the actual proprietors of the lands, Goojars, Dogars and Jats. The interlacing of jurisdiction, the various amount of civil, criminal, and revenue powers claimed by one Sikh chief or another, the questions of succession in cases of demise, the amount of tribute which each chief owed to the Paramount Power, all this made up a tangled mass of business, which required the undivided time and energies of the best officers to reduce to order. The chiefs too, had not felt the iron pressure of Runjit's hand. The British Government interposing its Ægis, they had waxed strong, and had acquired rights, which they were not disposed willingly to surrender. To them it had really been a far cry to Lahore. To deal with such a set, required much tact and suavity of demeanour; and there were conflicting claims which had to be balanced, important questions which had to be ruled, rights to be adjusted, privileges to be curtailed, obedience to be enforced. It was found in 1849, that besides the nine independent states, there were others dependent on the British, and others again dependent on the first nine, and others dependent on one, and on the other power. We do not know that it is possible to present our readers with a fair picture of this complexity, otherwise than by giving a classification of the different states, as it was made by the Board, when the subject was first taken up in earnest. The eye becomes fatigued, and the understanding

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perplexed, at the bare recapitulation. The villages are, then, thus classified :—

1. Villages belonging solely to the British Government.
2. Villages belonging partly to the British Government and partly to a sovereign state, the former having Police powers therein.
3. Ditto ditto, the latter having Police powers therein.
4. Villages belonging partly to the British Government and partly to a dependent state, the former having Police powers therein.
5. Ditto ditto, the Police powers being with one of the sovereign states.
6. Villages belonging solely to a dependent state, the Police jurisdiction being with the British Government.
7. Ditto ditto, the Police jurisdiction being with a sovereign state.
8. Villages shared by two or more dependent states, the Police powers being with the British Government.
9. Ditto ditto, the Police jurisdiction being with a sovereign state.
10. Villages shared by two or more sovereign states : the British Government having criminal jurisdiction.
11. Ditto ditto, one only of the sovereign states having Police jurisdiction.
12. Villages belonging solely to a sovereign state exercising Police jurisdiction.
13. Ditto ditto, but the British Government having Police powers.
14. Villages held by two or more sovereign states having joint jurisdiction.
15. Villages showing almost every possible combination of the above forms.

This catalogue, which it is impossible to read without mingled regret and amusement, was rendered more complicated by a division of the dependent chiefs into two classes, termed Zaildar and Tabidar. The former of these terms is explained to mean a chief, who holds his tenure under the *Zail*, or protection of a sovereign state having jurisdiction over him, but who has a right of appeal to the British Government, which, be it remarked, will take to itself the tenure on failure of heirs. A Tabidar, on the other hand, is a chief, who holds under an independent state, but whose right of appeal to the British Government is questioned. Here the tenure escheats on failure, but to the independent states, Pattiala, Jheend, or Nabha, and so forth. The amount of labour by which all these diversified claims and interests were adjusted, may be left to be imagined ; we consider it only necessary to state that a village demarcation and professional survey were at once set on foot : that British villages were duly assessed ; that where villages belonging to one jurisdiction or the other were isolated, exchanges were gradually and carefully effected, and each jurisdiction was rendered more compact : that the rights of the protected chiefs to protection were duly asserted, and the privileges of the independent states as duly respected : and, in short, that every thing was done to amend a system whose normal state was confusion, and where

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the absence of any certainty was the only thing certain. In the case of the survey, the measure was imposed authoritatively only in those states, where the British Government had a right to interfere or to dictate, while the sovereign states were cautiously invited to assent to a scheme so fraught with public and private advantages. Besides this—which comprised a grand dispute between Pattiala and some 119 villages—occasion has been taken to regulate the amount of commutation to be paid by the holders of Horsemen's shares. This has been fixed variously at two and four annas in the rupee, and a broad and yet liberal rule has been laid down as to the right of succession to the shares in question, so called because the mounted Sikhs literally overran the country in their first raids, while each *sowar* took and kept just what he could. By the rule in question, no widows are permitted to succeed: no descendants in the female line are to inherit: and on the failure of male heirs in the direct line, a collateral may succeed, if the common ancestor of the deceased and of the collateral was in possession in the year 1808, when the connexion of the British Government with the Cis-Sutlej provinces first commenced. We trust that the above sketch of the very intricate questions arising in this division, may prove not wholly uninteresting. Less fruitful naturally than other tracts under the Board, tenanted by a population requiring gentle handling and delicate management, it has hitherto, under the able administration of Mr. Edmonstone, exhibited no signs of restlessness, and in the succession of Mr. Barnes to the Commissionership, on the promotion of the former gentleman, there is every guarantee for permanent tranquillity and gradual progress.

The reader who has cared to follow us through our account of the results of the Punjab administration, will probably anticipate the enlogy which we do not hesitate to pronounce. The Punjab is a field in which every administrative measure, carefully devised and patiently tested, has been set in operation: where crude haste and culpable delay have equally been shunned: where all the experience of past errors, and all the rich inheritance left by successful administrators, have either deterred from *this* danger, or guided to *that* end: where severity has been combined with kindness, strict justice with occasional leanings to privilege, energy with forethought, firmness with tact. The members of the Board, and the Commissioners of divisions, have set the example of unsparing devotion of health and time, of long and laborious enquiry into subjects of almost appalling magnitude, of the freest personal intercourse with natives of all ranks and classes, of

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bustling activity of body that has commenced at sunrise, and has terminated with night. This example has been nobly followed by the subordinate officers of all ranks and departments. It appears almost invidious to mention particular names, where all are so deserving of praise; but it is impossible not to recapitulate some of the subjects or departments in which civil and military officers have earned for themselves an exclusive fame. Thus, the cities of Lahore and Umritsir owe to Major McGregor and to Mr. C. B. Saunders, respectively, their admirable conservancy, the lucid order of their streets, the cleansing of old pollutions, and many excellent municipal arrangements. Mr. Fane paved the town of Buttala. In the matter of settlement, the assessment of the Jullunder Doab by Mr. Temple, after the minutest enquiry and on the most equitable principles, is a work which, for lucidity and precision, and for a careful record of existing rights, has probably never been surpassed by even the best officers under Mr. Thomason. Major Lake distinguished himself by the capture of mounted highwaymen. Mr. Brereton hunted out the gangs of the hateful Thug. The whole of the grass preserves, as we have already mentioned, were literally discovered, classified, and reported on by Mr. Prinsep. Capt. Tremenheere wrote copiously on the agriculture, Dr. Jameson on the botanical productions, Dr. Fleming on the geological features, of the Punjab. Major Longden sought for sites where the shattered frame of the invalid might be recruited by the invigorating influence of the mountain breeze. Dr. Hathaway attended to the ventilation of prisons, and to the moral and physical improvement of their inmates. Major Nicholson, Capt. Coke, and Capt. Lumsden distinguished themselves in frontier warfare, in a difficult country, and against wild tribes, where it is no common gallantry, amidst so much soldier-like spirit, that can signalize one officer above another. Lieut. Hodson, marvellously attaching the "Guides" to himself by the ties of mutual honour, mutual daring, and mutual devotion, has, as if to confute Lord Ellenborough, and to make good Mr. Macaulay's assertion, opportunely proved that the discipline of a public school and subsequent academical training, are no disqualifications for hazardous warfare on the Black Mountain, or for the difficult task of keeping wild tribes in check. Major Edwardes, in the truest spirit of chivalry, has lately used all his endeavours to expose the whole system of infanticide, and to rescue the high-born female infant from that premature death to which a mistaken sense of honour, and a perverse pride, would have certainly exposed her.

It would be a gratifying task for the calm and sober historian,

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to trace out minutely, the various details of many arrangements which we have only been enabled partially to allude to, and a pleasing duty would it be to enumerate the successive steps which have brought such results about. Mr. Kaye, when he again undertakes the history of the administration of the East India Company, will find here more abundant materials, a field of growing interest, and additional causes for thankfulness, that the Empire of the East has hitherto been committed to men trained under the Great Company's shadow. We do not fear that any querulous opponent of the Indian Government will attempt to impugn the accuracy of our statements: nor do we envy the "frigid philosophy" of that individual, who can advert in terms of cold and formal approbation, to the efforts which have literally substituted, in the short space of four years and a half, order for anarchy, obedience for irregular impulse, gardens for jungles, plenty for barrenness, peace for war. And yet the Government that has effected all this, has, within the last six months, been repeatedly assailed by clamorous whining, presumptuous ignorance, scurrilous invective, and mendacious abuse!

It is at the same time most just that we should not slur over the existence of a combination of favourable circumstances, which have made the administration of the Punjab a series of triumphs. There was nothing to demolish; there were no errors to be repaired; and no ground to be gone over again. In many departments we had only to watch jealously the things which we actually found existing, or carefully to construct an edifice out of a few shattered elements. In others, again, we had to create everything. There were no old crotchets to be beaten down, no distorted views to be set right, no ponderous reports to be exhumed, perused, and re-perused, no antagonistic principles to be reconciled. In one instance the canvass was there without one single line imprinted on it, and the artist had merely to sit down and call into life whatever features he chose. In others, the old picture had only to be refurnished. Then again the cultivators were the sturdiest and best in all India, Mr. Campbell's good friends, the Jats. Even the *vieux moustache* of the Khalsa settled down in his native village, hung up his sword, or buried it, on account of the disarming proclamation, and as *Economist* long ago predicted, betook himself quietly to the plough. Then to deal with these tractable and honest agriculturists, we had some of the best trained officials in all India. To crown all, for every project started, for every important work, there was at once an expenditure of money which was rather lavish than liberal. We do not grudge a new province all the substantial

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aid necessary to give it a fair start, but, we ask, could the result of the Lawrence administration have been as successful, had not the purse strings been repeatedly loosened? To what does Mr. Thomason, in part, owe his justly-lauded success, but to the liberality and cordial support of successive Governors-General? And what would Bengal Proper not be, in a few years, with the expenditure, on roads and bridges and police, of one-half the sum that will be spent on the Bari Doab canal? In short, what can be done for any part of India, without money?

On the other hand, we will not affect to suppress all mention of the few mistakes into which zealous or hasty officers may have fallen. We are almost invariably unlucky in the choice of our stations, and contrive to select for the head quarters of a district the worst spot in it. Thus Sheikhoopoora was eventually abandoned for Goojranwalla, and Deenanugger, with its noxious swamp, for Goordaspoor. Khangurh was found to be so unhealthy after the annual inundations of the Jhelum and the Indus, that the whole establishment, with two exceptions, were literally prostrated by sickness. In other instances, too, we purchased our experience at a high price. The cantonments at the station of Jhelum were invaded by the river. Wuzeerabad was found not well suited for a large cantonment, and barracks will probably have to be erected at Sealkote, the new station chosen in its stead. In one year sickness broke out in the jails, and its ravages amongst the prisoners at Lahore were literally frightful. The very means taken to purify the city had commenced with the stirring up of the accumulated filth of ages. The population, it seemed, had literally been living with a thin crust between their healthy atmosphere and that of a charnel house. Occasionally, too, an official blunder would occur in spite of all caution. We have heard of cases, where the same rent-free grant was resumed by the Deputy-Commissioner and released by the Settlement Officer, each acting independently of the other. A Burkundaz now and then made off with cash in transit from one place to another. Ignorant police officials arrested innocent persons, and left the guilty at large. Grants were released to men who had long been dead, or summarily resumed from an incumbent who had never been called in to prove his title. In the Punjab, as elsewhere under the very best of Governments, there have been errors from want of due supervision, arising from neglect, from hastiness, from incautious zeal, from intemperance, from presumption, from obstinacy. Where is the Utopia in which these things do not occur? Moreover, apart from all consideration of occasional or personal errors, which admit of a remedy, and serve as a warning, it will be urged, no

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doubt, against the Punjab Government, that a large and influential class has been neglected, lowered or crushed by the new system. The men of talent, the men of social or religious influence, have lost their high position. They have no field of enterprise left to them. They are condemned, henceforth, to the indulgence of discontented feelings, or to inglorious ease. Of the great Sirdars, some are in captivity or exile: others have been deprived of their Jaghirs: all have to mourn the departed glories of a warlike army and a splendid court. The Bedees, though maintained in the possession of a fair portion of the alienated lands, have lost more than perhaps any other class. Their religion has received a rude shock: their mandates and their prophecies no longer command respect: they have been compelled, through mere awe of the British power, to abstain from the cherished privilege of female infanticide: they are the weak exponents of fading traditions and of a decaying faith. Thus with the confiscation of lands, the decline of a powerful priesthood, the fall of great houses, and the absence of all that outward show which a martial nation loves to look on, it may be urged that the change of dynasty has not, by any means, been one of unmixed good. Our reply to this is, simply, that no great revolution can ever be accomplished, so as to leave all involved therein, in exactly the same state as they were before. Some parties must suffer. Some interests must undergo a change. Ancient privileges, special immunities, time-honoured rights, will meet many rude shocks. But it being once admitted that one or two classes are inevitably affected in all changes of Government, it may be asked at what period of history, or in what country, have such important and organic changes been carried out with so little harshness, with such indulgent forbearance, with such admirable caution? And, it being an imperative law of all such vicissitudes, that one set of men shall rise and another set shall descend, in favour of which party should philanthropy arouse herself, or whose position should a good Government wish to ameliorate? Are we to maintain lazy or seditious priests from the revenues of the state, and to allow a selfish nobility to turn fruitful acres into hunting grounds? Or shall we earnestly strive to encourage the merchant, to protect the artisan, and to give the cultivator a well-defined boundary, a light assessment, and a secure title? There would be little hesitation in replying to such queries. It is the indisputable boast of the Lawrences, their associates, and their subordinates, that under their rule the commercial and agricultural interest, not antagonistic as in England, have been wonderfully protected. The Ryot no longer ploughs with a matchlock

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and a sword at his side. The village Zemindar no more prides himself on his drawbridge and his moat. The trader to Central Asia or Delhi does not struggle against unjust restrictions and repeated taxes. Security to the wayfarer, the absence of all vexatious interference, the stout constable, the clear highway, the open ferry, the bridge of boats, these, the evidences of good Government everywhere, are now signally conspicuous in the Punjab. We dare say that croakers could be soon found who would deny the evidence of their own senses, and darkly hint at future risings, when discontent shall have grown to a head ; and we think it probable, that readers at a distance may confound an inroad of Shivaranees into the plains with an outbreak of the rural population. Of course, watchfulness and energy, promptness to decide and to execute, will be necessary for some time to come : and no man knows this better than the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. We shall finish this part of our subject by emphatically declaring, that in the plains of those five rivers, life, property, and goods in transit are more secure at this moment, while respect for law is there more apparent, than is the case in districts within one hundred miles of Calcutta, after sixty years of legislation and executive wielding of the law. As for the raids on the frontier, from Peshawar to Kohat, from Mittunkote to Bunnoo, amongst tribes whose profession for centuries has been rapine, such border warfare, we venture to say, is no more to be taken as an indication of a disturbed condition of the plains, than a broken head at an Irish fair, or an affray with poachers in Yorkshire, is to be taken as an indication of the amount of peace and security enjoyed by citizens in Piccadilly or the Strand.

The length to which this paper has run, warns us that we have hitherto been attempting to present to our readers the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out. But no one in this country will hastily conclude, that Lord Dalhousie has had little or no connection with the introduction of our elaborate machinery of Government into the Punjab : with the course of that severe, simple, and salutary justice : with the remission of so many arbitrary taxes : with the consolidation of that admirable revenue system : with the commencement of those grand utilitarian projects, and the restoration of those ancient historical works : with that laudable anxiety for the peace of the subject, the protection of the traveller, the health of the invalid : with the planting of those forests, where no one of the present generation shall cut a tree : with the conversion of arid plains into corn-fields : with all that unselfish energy, all those kindly sympathies, those fervent aspirations, that genial philanthropy, those

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noble aims. There is not a project started which does not bear the impress of his master-hand, the traces of his fostering care, the mark of his commanding spirit. Visiting the new country from north to south, and from east to west, with the head himself to conceive, and with the skill to direct the conceptions of others, happily combining the advantages of that "conference which makes a ready man," and of that abundant "writing which makes an exact man," bestowing quick censure or commendation, reward or punishment,—the Governor-General has seen a great work grow up under his eye, such as no other ruler of India has ever witnessed, nor, perhaps, any future viceroy can ever hope to see. The size and character of the province, its fortunate position, the facilities for the introduction of an improved regime, were all rapidly surveyed by Lord Dalhousie, and no time was lost, no evil remained uneradicated, no past lesson was thrown away. The temple of Janus has been closed in a land where it had been open for a century. Never did any cession or conquest in India afford so splendid a field of action. Rarely has a greater amount of executive talent been put in requisition, and never has a local Government met with such earnest co-operation and such hearty support from the Head of the Empire. Men in England have attacked the Governor-General on account of his absence from Calcutta, as if his sole object had been the enjoyment of the air of the Himalayas, and his only labour an occasional excursion to the plains. They may some day acknowledge, that while not unmindful of the various reforms required in other departments, while organizing Commissions for the Post Office, for the Commissariat, and for Public Works, while making his arm felt everywhere, Lord Dalhousie has taken the most prominent part in the greatest triumph which has yet graced the annals of the Company. Were a rebellion to break out to-morrow in the Punjab, of which we are happy to say there does not appear to be the slightest chance, the fact would not change our sentiments as to what has actually been done. When Mr. Pickwick provides an honest means of subsistence to the fellows who have duped him, Mr. Perker tells him, with more earnestness than is usual with lawyers, that were the two scamps to commit a burglary the very next day, it would not alter his opinion of Mr. Pickwick's noble action! We look on the Punjab with similar feelings. There are the doings of a British statesman, and of the Company's Officers, and they are honourable and marvellous in our eyes.

It may be, though we hope it not, that in this age, where events crowd fast on each other, we shall have other provinces to

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settle, another population to tame, a fresh series of difficulties to surmount, new regions to survey, new rivers to explore. It may be, that, in the fulness of time, when Britain has well played her part, some Hindu Constantine, indebted to the island in the German ocean for an improved social system, a reformed polity, and a purer faith, shall re-construct, on a broader and more durable basis, the shattered fabric of the Empire of Akbar. Or, perhaps, in some remote generation, the delegates of happy and populous provinces, from the plains of Bengal, the hills of the eastern frontier, the sands of Rajputana, and the many-tongued Deccan, Hindus who have discarded caste, Mussulmans free from bigotry, and the descendants of Aborigines unstained by crime, shall meet in some new and national capital, to regulate the affairs of the great Indian Republic, without jealousy, and without intrigue. Or, perhaps, if "a darker hour ascends," when some English conclave of violent partisans and crude legislators shall have gambled away the last stake in this our magnificent heritage, the good rule of the Company shall be estimated, during chaos and anarchy, only by the regret which it inspires, and by the traditions which it has left. But, whether it be deluge or civilisation, the whirlwind or the calm, we will venture to predict that the last five years of the history of the Punjab will not speedily be forgotten. A work has there been accomplished, on which the best friends of the Company may look without apprehension, and its calumniators with all the impotence of despair. It is one, than which a nobler was never contemplated by the best of Roman Pro-consuls, or by the most civilized of Greek colonists: it is one, British in character, but such as men of all tongues and nations may comprehend and admire: it is one which will be linked inseparably with the names of the two Lawrences, and in which, to the latest hour of his life, the present noble Head of the old Scotch House of Ramsay may feel an honourable pride.

☞ In page 241, it is stated that the lowest in value of the various coinages current in the Punjab was the Kashmir Phoolawala. This is a mistake; the lowest of all was the Kashmir Hurree Singee, 100 Rs. of which are worth only 66 Co.'s Rs.; while 100 of the Nanukshahi rupees are worth nearly 101 Co.'s Rs.

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ART. VI.—1. *Correspondence between the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and the President of the Board of Control, regarding the Arrangement proposed by Her Majesty's Ministers for the future Government of India. Printed for the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company*, 1853.

2. *Further Correspondence, regarding the same*, 1853.

3. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, June, July, and August*, 1853.

4. *MSS. Short-hand Reports, taken by authority, in the House of Commons.*

ON the last day of March, 1853, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, as represented by the two "chairs," wrote to the President of the Board of Control, to ask what was the intention of Her Majesty's Government, respecting the future administration of our Indian possessions. "Referring," Sir James Hogg and Mr. Russell Ellice wrote, "to the 'period fixed by law for the continuance of the Government 'of the British territories in India under the East India Company; and referring also to the statement made in Parliament, of the intention of Her Majesty's ministers to propose 'this session a legislative arrangement for the future Government of India, which, although embracing modifications both 'in this country and in India, will be founded on the system 'now existing, we are requested by the Court of Directors 'to express to you their anxious desire to receive as early a 'communication as possible of the modifications which it may 'be intended to propose. We beg to add, on behalf of the 'Court of Directors, and we may confidently say also on behalf of the Court of Proprietors, that any changes calculated to strengthen and invigorate the existing system, and 'effectually to adapt it to the requirements of the people of 'India, and to the development of the resources of that 'country, cannot fail to secure the cordial concurrence of the 'East India Company."

To this letter, after a lapse of ten days, Sir Charles Wood, then President of the Board of Control, wrote a reply, the value and importance of which were bounded by the sheet of paper in which it was contained. It was, in fact, an absolute blank. It acknowledged the receipt of the Court's letter, and then went on to say, "It is with the greatest satisfaction that 'I have received this assurance of the cordial co-operation of 'the Court of Directors and of the East India Company,

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'in the promotion of the good Government of our vast Em-
'pire in India, which must be the great object of our common
'exertions; and I can assure them that it will be my anxious
'desire to meet their very natural wish for an early commu-
'nication of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government on this
'subject, as soon as it is consistent with my public duty to
'afford them this information."

And so, all through the month of April, and all through the month of May, the Court of Directors patiently waited for the promised revelation; but nothing came to illumine the darkness which reigned throughout Leadenhall-street. Vague rumours were now and then afloat. A storm had been for some time arising, and now it was swelling into terrible significance. A few months before, and the Company had looked out only on blue skies and smooth waters. Nothing could have been more prosperous and more serene than the course which seemed to lie before them. They had almost fallen asleep, as it were, under the lulling influences of a sense of full security. They had basked in the sun-shine of prosperity, until they had drowsed into a state of dreamy repose. But now unmistakeable thunder-growls were beginning to disturb them—mutterings of the coming storm—threatenings of danger and devastation, as though the elements were brewing up for mischief. Suddenly, and from a small beginning, a cloud no bigger than a man's hand—the overhanging blackness cast its shadow upon the regions of Leadenhall. The fair weather was gone. The dream of prosperity was at end—an ugly reality was beginning to stare them in the face.

The old year closed upon the Company without any serious indications of impending danger. But the new year was yet in its infancy, when it became evident that the India House was about to be besieged. An interest had been awakened—there was an excitement at work—in quarters from which nothing had been looked for but blank indifference. The apathy of the public had been assumed. An apathetic public would have made a compliant ministry. The "Charter" would have been re-granted to the Company, with scarcely an amendment or a modification. The whole matter of "renewal" would have been merely one of form. But the pressure from without came, and ministers began to hesitate. It may be said, without any violent presumption, that they did not know what to do. They had, to a certain extent, committed themselves. By implication at least they had pledged themselves to support the Company's Government, and now there was a loud outcry against this Government, and a party was being formed, with

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the avowed intention of overturning it. Meetings were being held ; societies were being formed ; petitions were being sent in ; pamphlets were being written—all breathing a spirit of hostility against the Company. This unexpected clamor compelled the ministers, if they had come to any determination about the future Government of India, to pause—or rather, perhaps, it may more truthfully be said, that it compelled them to bethink themselves of the necessity of doing something, in place of that nothing which they had philosophically resolved upon before. But it was hard to say what this something was to be. The Company were not to be sacrificed to popular clamor, and yet something was to be done to appease that clamor. It was necessary to hit upon a compromise.

And so the month of April and the month of May passed over, and ministers gave no sign. The Company, as a body, remained, all this while, profoundly ignorant of what was to be done. One or two of the Directors may, from time to time, have been in personal consultation with the President of the Board of Control, but no official communications were made to the Court. In the House of Commons it was announced that after Whitsuntide, a statement of the ministerial intentions would be made. And then the day of revelation was fixed. The new ministerial project for the future Government of India was to be unfolded on the 3rd of June. But, in spite of this announcement, it seemed that the time had not yet come when, "consistently with public duty," the Board of Control could furnish any information to the Court of Directors. Perhaps, the project was not fairly hatched. At all events, it was not until the 1st of June that Sir Charles Wood forwarded to the India House a "memorandum of the heads of the arrange-
'ment for the Government of India, which it appeared to Her
'Majesty's Government, after full and anxious deliberation,
'that it would be advisable to adopt."

We can only account for what would be otherwise an act of discourtesy, as impolitic as unbecoming, by adopting the hypothesis glanced at in the penultimate sentence. If the ministers had not matured their arrangements, they could not impart them to the Company. On previous occasions, the communications which had passed between the two bodies, on the subject of the new Bill, had extended not merely over months, but years;—and now, in 1853, the Board of Control give the Court of Directors *one clear day* to consider the new scheme for the future Government of India, before it is fairly launched before the world. This was commented upon by Mr. Hume, in the course of the debate on the second reading of

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the Bill—and, as the passage to which we refer, contains facts and dates illustrative of the past procedure of Government on similar occasions, we introduce it here :—

It will scarcely be believed, but on the 28th of March, the Directors, as I understand, asked of the Government, "Do you mean to bring in a Bill, or what do you intend to do?" In the month of April the President of the Board of Control writes back to say not one word about the Bill, but like some of the assurances that we have had lately, Her Majesty's Government do not intend to give you any information whatever upon the subject. Up to the month of April there was no notice of even what the propositions were. On the 1st of June a letter was sent to the Chairman of the Committee, containing seventeen conditions, and calling upon them to take them into consideration. Now, sir, I will state what took place with reference to the Act of 1833. My honorable friend, the Secretary to the Board of Control, will find the whole proceedings of the previous correspondence lying at his office, at the corner of the shelves there, consisting of 450 quarto pages, containing an account of the private proceedings previous to the passing of the Bill of 1833. Sir, if my honorable friend will refer to those proceedings, they will tell him that, on the 12th of October, 1830, the "three chairs" held a meeting at Apsley House, where Lord Ellenborough, with the Duke of Wellington, and some other parties, were present, and they commenced to talk about the approaching changes which they were about to make. On the 28th of that month they met again. Now mark, this was in 1830—and instead of there being only five or six days given to the consideration of the subject, I will undertake to show the House that there was three years' consideration given to it. On the 28th a minute was entered into at Apsley House, between the parties, and on the 30th of March following, Lord Ellenborough, then at the head of the Board of Control—that minute being then signed, it was submitted to the Court of Directors on the 30th of March, and the House will scarcely believe me when I tell them that there are no less than 172 letters and communications in that very voluminous correspondence printed by the Court of Directors, and, no doubt, in the office, shewing reasons, proposing alterations, making objections and rejections, and discussing every matter contained in the measure about to be brought under the consideration of the House. After making this statement to the House, I am perfectly sure that I am warranted in stating and in expressing the conviction that I feel, and which I now express, namely—that sufficient time has not been given to do justice to this subject.

We know that the case of 1833 differs greatly from that of 1853. We need not to be told that, in the former year, the East India Company were called upon to take into consideration the best means of winding up their commercial affairs. They were then about to be deprived of all their commercial privileges—to cease, from the month of April, 1833, to be what they had been for two centuries and a quarter, a company of "Merchants trading to the East Indies." It was an absolute necessity, under such circumstances, that the ministers should take counsel with the Court of Directors. They could not get on without the co-operation of Leadenhall-street functionaries. But no such necessity existed in 1853. The

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East India Company had, by this time, become a purely administrative body, and under the existing Act of Parliament their administrative functions were to cease and determine in April, 1854. It was competent, therefore, for Parliament to construct any new scheme, for the future Government of India, on the expiration of the existing lease of power; and all the subsidiary arrangements might be carried into effect by the ministers of the day, without any necessary co-operation with the Court of Directors, who would only have, if it were so decreed by Parliament, to die decently a natural death. But, clearly recognizing and making every allowance for this distinction, we still cannot help commenting upon the very remarkable fact, that although Sir Charles Wood had, in May, announced his intention of bringing before the country, upon the 3rd of June, the new ministerial scheme for the future Government of India, it was not until the 1st of June that he wrote a letter to the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors, "enclosing a memorandum of the heads 'of the arrangement for the Government of India, which it 'appears to Her Majesty's Government, after full and anxious 'deliberation, that it would be advisable to adopt, proposing 'for the consideration of Parliament such parts of the plan as 'require legislative sanction in this country." This letter, written on the 1st of June, reached the India House on the same evening—that is, after business hours—so that there was only the one intervening clear day, the 2nd, left for its discussion, before the whole ministerial project was laid before the country. If this were an absolute necessity, resulting from the vacillation of ministers, and their inability to prepare a plan for the future Government of India, calculated in any way to meet the wishes of contending parties, there is nothing more to be said upon the subject. Ministers could not tell the Court what they did not know themselves. But if they had it in their power to make an earlier communication to the Court, the omission was, in the first instance, an act of extreme discourtesy—and in the second, one of extreme impolicy; for it is impossible to conceive that the Crown ministers, on whom especially devolved the duty of preparing the new India Bill, (Sir Charles Wood, Lord John Russell, and Sir James Graham), could have taken counsel with the many able and experienced administrators composing the Court of Directors, without deriving some benefit from the consultation. We have heard that Sir Charles Wood did privately consult one or two members of the direction, but this hardly affects the case, or, in reality, diminishes the discourtesy or impolicy

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of the omission of which we complain. Some men may question—some have questioned—the expediency of retaining the name and authority of the Court of Directors; but no one has questioned, no one can question, the expediency, if the Court be retained as a governing body, of treating it with proper respect.

It was on the evening, as we have said, of the 1st June, that the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors received the long-promised and long-expected communication from the India Board. The letter enclosing the memorandum declared that Her Majesty's ministers were "fully 'sensible of the progress that had been made in India during 'the administration of the Government of that country by the 'East India Company, since the passing of the Act of 1833, 'and of the constant attention which had been paid to this sub-'ject by the Court of Directors"—" whilst we are of opinion," continued the President of the Board of Control, "that by 'some alteration in the constitution of the Court of Directors, it 'may be rendered a still more fitting instrument for conducting 'the Government of our Indian Empire, we are most anxious to 'preserve, unimpaired, the independence of that body, and its 'freedom from all undue political influence, on which we believe 'that its efficiency for executing the high trust reposed in it so 'essentially depends." What the proposed alteration in the form of Government was to be, was intimated in the following memorandum:—

MEMORANDUM.

Heads of the proposed plan for the future Government of India.

1. The Government of India to be continued in the East India Company, with all their existing powers and privileges, and subject to existing restrictions, until Parliament shall otherwise provide.

2. All the provisions of existing Acts and Charters, except in so far as they are altered by the Bill, to remain in force.

3. The Court of Directors to consist of eighteen members, of whom twelve are to be elected by the proprietors, and six to be named by the Crown, out of persons who have served a certain time in India. In the first instance fifteen out of the present thirty Directors to be chosen by the Court, and three only to be named by the Crown, and, on the occurrence of the first three vacancies in the number of the elected Directors, three more to be named by the Crown, till the full number of six is attained.

4. The privileges, qualifications, and powers of all the Directors to be the same in all respects.

5. One-third part of the Directors, both elected and nominated, to go out every second year, but to be eligible for immediate re-election or nomination.

6. The appointments of students to Haileybury and Addiscombe, and also of Assistant Surgeons, to be open to competition, under regulations to be framed by the Board of Control, from time to time, and laid before

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Parliament. No alteration to be made as to other appointments to the Indian service.

7. A permanent Lieutenant-Governor to be appointed in Bengal.

8. Power to create a fresh Presidency or Lieutenant-Governorship.

9. The nomination of Members of Council in India to be subject to the approbation of the Crown.

10 An enlarged Legislative Council to be appointed in India. The Governor-General to have a veto on the acts of the Legislative Council.

11. A temporary commission to be appointed in England, to whom the reports of the Law Commission of India shall be referred for their report and suggestions, to be ultimately sent to the Legislative Council.

12. Supreme Court and Sudder Court in each Presidency to be united, and an improved system of judicature to be introduced.

13. Appointment of Advocate-General in each Presidency to be subject to the approbation of the Crown.

14. The Commander-in-Chief of the Queen's forces in each Presidency to be Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces.

15. Present limit of the number of the Company's European forces to be enlarged.

16. Salaries in India to be regulated.

17. Furlough regulations to be amended.

On the 2nd of June, a special Court (of Directors) was held, we believe, to take into consideration these "heads of the proposed plan." We do not, of course, pretend to know what passed upon this occasion. The visible result, however, is a letter to the India Board, dated June 2nd, in which the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, on behalf of the Court, briefly comment upon some of the principal features of the new scheme. The chief topic of the letter is the proposal to infuse into the Court something more of the ministerial element. Upon this project, it is observed, and with an undeniable show of reason, that the independence of the Court from all political and party influence is greatly endangered.

The Court further declare that they are willing to make any personal sacrifices "for the prosperity of the most important 'of the possessions of the British Crown, and the happiness of 'its vast population;" that they offer no objection to the system of competition by which it is proposed to recruit the Civil Service, the engineer and artillery regiments, and the medical profession, though, in respect especially of the engineers and artillery, they imply some doubt of its success. But with reference to the paragraph, "the Commander-in-Chief of the 'Queen's forces in each Presidency to be Commander-in-Chief 'of the Company's forces," they emphatically claim for their own officers a fair share of these commands. "We would entreat," they say, "that in any arrangements which may be pro-'posed to Parliament on this subject, it may, as at present, be 'left open to the Home Authorities to select, occasionally, for

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'these important commands, distinguished officers of the Com-'pany's service." A meeting of proprietors was summoned for the 6th of June; and then the Court prepared themselves to listen to the ministerial exposition fixed for the 3rd, of which they were now upon the eve.

This duty had been entrusted to Sir Charles Wood, a clever, but not very profound statesman, whose antecedents seem not at all to have prepared him for the great work which now lay in his path. Of India, until the whirligig of time and the exigencies of office had made him President of the Board of Control in the new Coalition Ministry, he had confessedly known little or nothing. He was a man of quick parts; with a general aptitude for business, rather than any special departmental qualification for office; and as one, therefore, likely neither to distinguish, nor to commit himself in any one situation more than another, he was just the man to fill a gap in the formation of a new Ministry, and to take charge of an office for which no one of his associates was particularly qualified, and which no one particularly coveted. Now, this gap is always very likely to be—and on the last occasion of cabinet-making, actually was—the Board of Control. It is not improbable that, but for his Dukedom, the office would have been conferred on the Duke of Newcastle; but, at such a time, it was essential that the President of the Indian Board should be a member of the House of Commons; and so, Sir Charles Wood, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord John Russell's administration, was appointed to the India Board.

He had a busy season before him, and little time to qualify himself for the performance of the great work to which he was suddenly called upon to address himself. But he applied himself to the business of his department in a pains-taking, conscientious spirit, and being seemingly what, in histrionic language, is called, we believe, a quick study, he got up his part, in a short space of time, with sufficient correctness for the purpose. Fortunately, one or two works on the condition of India under the Company's Government, which had cost the authors months and months of unintermitting labor, had recently been given to the world. They supplied facts, drawn from authentic sources, classified and arrranged, in illustration of all the several points of enquiry to which it was known that Parliament would apply themselves. In these elaborate manuals, or hand-books of Indian Government, the minister found all that it was necessary to state relative to the past Government of India, without the trouble of wading through immense masses of

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public documents, or ordering his Secretaries and Clerks to make the necessary collections for him; and he went down to the House, on the afternoon of the 3rd of June, prepared to show what the Company and their servants had done for the improvement of the country, and the amelioration of the condition of the people.

There was a strong gathering of members; and the seats allotted to strangers, both "under the gallery" and in the galleries, were unusually crowded. In the former privileged seats, the members of the Court of Directors mustered in considerable force, and in the "speaker's gallery" might be seen many men distinguished in recent Indian history—soldiers, administrators, public writers, men of science, the élite of the Company's servants, past and present, then resident in England. Some had shaken off, for the occasion, the apathy and indifference of years. Others, ever keenly interested in the progress of Indian administration, were now more than commonly excited by a strong sense of the magnitude of the event. To every one, directly or indirectly connected with our Indian possessions, the occasion was one of unusual interest. Indeed, to take a broader view of the matter, there can be few more solemn moments, in the parliamentary history of a great nation, than when a minister of state rises to enunciate the manner in which 120 millions of people are henceforth to be governed. When, therefore, all the preliminary formalities, which had so sorely taxed the patience of strangers, had been disposed of, and Sir Charles Wood rose to state the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the future administration of India, there was a dead silence throughout the House everywhere, above and below—the attitude of the assembly was one of intense interest and eager attention. It would have been a noble opportunity for a statesman, full of his subject, with fine oratorical powers, and enthusiasm of the true stamp. A great reputation might have been made on that single night.

But Sir Charles Wood is not an orator; and he is utterly without enthusiasm. He had got a certain task to perform, and it was altogether task-work to him. He spoke for five long hours; and it is no small thing that it should be reported of him that he was audible, from first to last, in all parts of the House. During more than three hours he dwelt upon the past performances of the Company and their servants. He dwelt upon the system of administration and the character of the administrators, and demonstrated that "we had not been 'the unprofitable servants, which some speakers and writers had

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'declared us to be." His speech, as printed and published by Ridgway, is now before us; and it extends over 125 solid octavo pages. He began by claiming something more than the usual indulgence of the House—then, after an allusion to the extreme importance of the subject, he proceeded to enlarge upon the necessity of immediate legislation. Quoting the authority of Mr. Marshman and Mr. Halliday, as evidenced in the opinions expressed by them before the Parliamentary Committees, and, emphatically that of Lord Dalhousie, who, in an unofficial letter, had pointed out the evil of delay, he went on to argue that sufficient information was before the Ministry and before the House, to enable the one to introduce, and the other to pass, a Bill for the future Government of India. One thing, at least, was clear. The very party, which had clamored most loudly for delay—a party, as we shall presently show, always illogical and inconsistent—had, whilst contending that there was not sufficient information to base an opinion upon, clearly shown that its members, one and all, had formed their own opinions, and considered themselves sufficiently well-informed to express them both in oral and written discourse. "The Honorable Member for Poole,*" said the minister, "has 'asked if Her Majesty's ministers were prepared to deal with 'the question of the form of Government for India, not 'being in possession of all the evidence which may be given 'to the Committees; but, if I am not mistaken, the Indian 'Reform Association, of which my honorable friend is 'Chairman, has made up its own mind on this subject of the 'Government of India, and has announced its intention to 'oppose any plan, which is not founded on the basis of what 'is called 'single Government,' and which does not utterly 'put an end to the Court of Directors. They then require no 'further information, no further time to enable them to 'come to a decision on the question. I do not object to 'that Association having made up its mind upon this point; 'but surely the House and Her Majesty's Government may 'also be allowed to have made up their minds; and I trust 'that, at least, the members of the Indian Reform Association will not urge any arguments in favour of delay." This, if it does nothing else, certainly puts the Indian Reform Party out of Court. But there was another party also about to clamor for delay—or rather a section of a party, the Stanley and D'Israeli section of the broken Protection Party—who also made their stand upon the alleged necessity of obtaining

* Mr. Danby Seymour.

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more information. Of this we shall speak presently. Upon the necessity of immediate legislation, the minister took up his ground firmly and decidedly. "Her Majesty's ministers," he said, "are prepared to lay before the House the plan of Go-'vernment, which, in their judgment, is best calculated to pro-'mote the welfare and prosperity of India. Amend it if you 'will, alter it if you please, suggest improvements if you can, 'but let us not refuse to India, as soon as we can give it to her, 'the best Government we can devise for her permanent wel-'fare."

Having urged upon the House the paramount necessity of immediate legislation, Sir Charles Wood proceeded to place before it a summary of "what has been the result of the administration of India, for the last twenty years." This review he prefaced with the following observations, which are, without question, extremely sound:—

> We must not judge of Indian progress by the English standard of the present day. That would be exceedingly unjust and unfair, as it would be to judge of English progress, some time ago, by the standard which we adopt at the present moment for measuring our progress. In India, we must make allowances for a difference of race and a difference of circumstances. We must look at India with something of an Indian eye, and take into consideration all those circumstances, which ought, materially, to affect our judgment in respect to Indian questions. In this country we know that there is every possible stimulus to active exertion, both public and private, public ambition, private rivalry, large capital, general education, and every motive which serves to make an energetic race urge on, in every way, and on all subjects, progressive improvements at a most rapid pace. No prejudices, no antiquated habits or customs, are suffered to interfere. In India, on the contrary, you have a race of people slow to change, bound up by religious prejudices and antiquated customs. There are there, in fact, many—I had almost said all—the obstacles to rapid progress, whereas in this country there exist every stimulus and every motive to accelerated advancement.

All this must be so clear to our readers, that it may appear, in their eyes, mere pompous common-place. But it was not equally clear in England; a large number of those, who had written and spoken on the subject of Indian Government, and denounced, in unmeasured language, the short-comings of the East India Company, had proceeded on the hypothesis that it is just as easy to govern India as it is to govern England, and just as easy to ameliorate the condition of our Oriental dependents as that of our own British islanders. It was very necessary, indeed, in the House of Commons, to preface a review of Indian progress with this *caveat*. Of the review itself we need not speak in detail. Sir Charles Wood dwelt upon our revenue and judicial systems, enlarged on the efforts that had been made to improve both, showed what had been done in the depart-

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ment of public works, spoke of the apparent humanizing effects of the Government of India, the suppression of sutti, of female infanticide, of thuggi, &c., and of the civilization of savage tribes by such men as Cleveland, Dixon, Outram, Ovans and Macpherson; and then summed up the result in the following comprehensive words:—

Now, sir, I fully admit that it does not therefore follow, because all these improvements have taken place, that the Government of India either ever was, or is the best that can be devised; but I say this—that if we are to test the Government by the results of the administration on the condition of India, there is no ground whereupon to condemn it as being negligent and inefficient. I fully admit that if you are to test the present form of the Indian Governments by any known principles upon which Government should be framed, it would be difficult to find so great an anomaly as that form of Government, except the still greater anomaly of our whole Indian Empire. I admit that it is almost incredible, that it is fabulous, that such an Empire as our Indian Empire should exist—that a country of some 2,000 miles in length, and some 1,500 in breadth, containing 150,000,000 of inhabitants, should be ruled by a mere handful of foreigners, professing a different religion, speaking a different language, and accustomed to different habits—that this mighty Empire should be administered by less than 800 civil servants—the number of those servants, be it remembered, not having increased with the increase of our dominion, but having, on the contrary diminished.—it seems incredible that a private nobleman or gentleman should be sent there from this country, who, for five or six years, as Governor-General, exercises a power greater than almost any sovereign in the world—that he again should be controlled and governed by twenty-four gentlemen, elected by a body of men not perhaps the best qualified to judge of the merits of a statesman; and that this body of men should be in their turn controlled by an Indian minister, who, in the necessary play of parties, is often put into that position without any previous knowledge of the Government of the country over the destinies of which he is called on to preside. No man, if he were to sit down to the task of constructing a Government for India, would dream of constructing a Government upon such a system for so mighty an Empire. But it must be remembered, that this form of Government has grown up along with the growth of our Indian Empire. Defects there may be in that Government, imperfect it may be, but surely, whatever its faults in theory, it cannot have been so badly administered, when under it that Empire has so grown in extent and in prosperity, and the condition of the people has been so much improved.

All this is just and true. It was not contended that the system of Government was perfect, or that its results were all that they ought to have been. What system of Government is perfect? What is not chargeable with short-comings? It is quite enough that, to use a colloquial expression, "considering all the circumstances of the case," it should appear that we have done well, according to our opportunities. This was all that Sir Charles Wood advanced. It was all that any reasonable man would advance. But it was quite enough for the purpose. It was quite enough, as the basis of an argument

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in favor of the expediency of maintaining the existing system of Indian Government. This system was to be maintained. The principle of double Government was to be acknowledged, but certain changes were to be introduced into its administrative machinery. Of these changes we have already given an account;* and we need not, therefore, re-state them, the more especially, as we shall presently give an abstract of the proposed Bill. It will appear, as we proceed, that we do not consider the reasoning with which the ministers supported the contemplated changes by any means satisfactory and conclusive. But we heartily concur in the sentiments expressed at the close of this elaborate speech:—

I have said (concluded the minister) that we do not interfere (officially) in the propagation of our religion among the natives; but on the other hand, I am bound to express my opinion that we have been perfectly right in taking care that those who profess Christianity shall incur no loss in consequence of doing so. Strong opinions have lately been expressed against the passing of the act which prevents the forfeiture of the property of the Hindus on their becoming Christians; but I think that this act is perfectly right, and that no change of faith to any religion, professed in any part of the Queen's dominions, should entail the forfeiture of property. I quite agree, therefore, in the propriety of passing that act. I think that the Government are perfectly right in abstaining from attempting to make proselytes among the Hindus, though at the same time I think that we ought not to allow them to be subjected to penalties, when they do embrace the Christian religion. I hope and trust that the education they are receiving will gradually lead to the reception of our own faith in India; but that result we must leave in the hands of Him who will, in His own good time, bring about that which He desires to come to pass. In so far as improved education enlightens and enlarges the mind, we are preparing the population of India for the reception of a purer faith. But I am anxious to say that I differ from the opinion expressed by a Noble Lord,† to the effect that we ought not to promote the education of the natives, as tending to diminish our hold on India. I should be sorry to think that such was the case. No doubt our Empire of India is an anomalous Empire. Englishmen seldom or never settle permanently there. There is no mixture of English population with the native population. We go, we govern, and we return. I do not believe, however, we shall endanger that Empire by educating the natives of India. I believe, on the contrary, that if the great body of the natives were educated, and enlightened, and not only educated and enlightened, but still more, if bound to us by the ties of a common faith, we should increase rather than relax our hold upon the Indian Empire. But be that as it may, it seems to me that the path of our duty is clear and plain, to improve the condition and increase the enlightenment of the people. I believe, as I have said, that by so doing we shall strengthen our Empire there, but even if the reverse should be the case, even if the result should be the loss of that Empire, it seems to me that this country will occupy a far better and prouder position in the history of

* See memorandum of Head of Proposed Plan, ante, page 289.

† Lord Ellenborough. See our remarks on this subject in No. XXXVI. p. 473 *et seq.*

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the world, if by our agency a civilized and Christian Empire should be established in India, than if we continued to rule over a people debased by ignorance and degraded by superstition.

He sat down amidst loud cheers. It was not a brilliant speech. There was nothing in it to stir the heart or fire the imagination. It was cold and business-like, from first to last, the speech of one speaking because it was his office to speak. But when it is remembered that the subject was new to the minister, that less than a year before he hardly knew what was the constitution of the Supreme Council of India, or whether the Governments of Madras and Bombay were carried on with or without councils, it must be acknowledged that he had learnt his lesson well, and that the speech was that of a clever man. Of course it was not delivered without frequent references to written notes. But few speeches of any magnitude are delivered without frequent references of the same kind, frequent stoppages and stammerings, and shufflings amongst papers, which contain the requisite information, but sometimes get mis-placed, or are not to be found at the proper moment. But, for all this, it was a very fair epitome of the past administrative history of the East India Company, and a very fair paraphrase of the New India Bill. It was remarked at the time, and it has been often remarked since, that it was illogical—inconsequential—that the two great parts into which the speech was divided did not seem to belong to one another; that if the former part were true, the latter was unsound, for that the only conclusion to be drawn from such premises, was that if the existing Government had worked so well, and brought forth such good fruits, it ought to be left just as it is. The very idea of amending it, it was said, was an admission of its imperfections. But in this, they who argued after such a fashion, were only partly right. It is very true that amendment pre-supposes imperfection; we do not attempt to improve perfection. But Sir Charles Wood did not contend that the present system is perfect, or that it cannot be improved. He merely showed, that it has not been barren of good—that its tendency is to progressive improvement, that great advances towards good government have been made, and that there is sufficient reason, looking at past results, to augur well for the future, especially if the present system were somewhat modified, and some of its inherent defects removed. This was the drift of his speech. But it must be admitted that its two parts did not hang very well together, that the transition from one to the other was somewhat abrupt, and that, therefore, there was something apparently inconsequential in the whole. But to

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argue, as has been argued, that if the existing Government has worked well, it is not to be improved—or, taking the converse of the proposition, that if it is to be improved, it cannot have worked well, is simply preposterous. If such arguments were to be admitted, what would become of all European institutions? It does not follow that because amendment is desirable, revolution is necessary. No man in his senses pulls down his house, because his dressing-room chimney smokes, or a draft comes in at his dining-room door.

But the imperfections of the existing system, and the expediency, therefore, of amendment, being fully recognized, there is still a question of primal importance to be considered with reference to the ministerial scheme. Is the existing system amended by the provisions of the new Bill? We shall come to consider this great question in due course, but first we must comment upon the arguments of those who differ widely from ourselves, and urge objections against the Bill, the very opposite of those which we shall presently urge against the measure. The objections of which we speak are those of which we must consider Mr. Bright the principal exponent. It had been determined, in council, by the India Reform party, that the great Manchester chief should place himself in the van, and head the charge against the double Government. What was aimed at by this party was not simply reform, it was revolution. The whole principle of double Government was to be attacked. They were to clamor for a single governing body "directly responsible to Parliament." The East India Company was to be shelved at once, as a useless incumbrance. It was to be demonstrated that the Court of Directors was composed of corrupt and incapable men, that they cared for nothing but the perquisites of office, that they had done nothing to improve the condition of the country, or advance the happiness of the people. The Company was therefore to be consigned at once to the lumber-room of history. It was to live only in the past. This was something fixed, settled, determined. Every thing else in the policy of young India, was vague, misty, obscure.

But although the *policy* of the India Reform party does not seem to have taken any very definite shape in the minds of Mr. Bright and his colleagues, it cannot be said that they had not very clearly determined upon their *tactics*. Their movements were to be regulated upon a system of distribution of labor. Mr. Phillimore was to undertake the judicial business; Mr. Blackett, the financial. Mr. Danby Seymour, the Rupert of the party, was to do the light skirmishing work

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to show himself in all parts of the field, and to charge whenever occasion offered, with a rapid discourse *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, everything possible about India, and something besides about the Caucasus and the Caspian. Whilst, not to dwell on the appointed duties of Mr. Phinn, Mr. Otway, Mr. Digby Seymour, and others—Mr. Bright, equal to either extreme, was to attack both principles and persons; he was to occupy the highest ground and the lowest; he was to deal in the loftiest generalities, and when he had exhausted them, he was to descend to the meanest personalities! He led off with the former, and attacked the double Government.

His first speech, on the 3rd of June, was a very clear one; and it *told* upon the House. He rose when the minister sat down, as it was known, indeed, that he would rise; but Sir Charles Wood had occupied so many hours with his preliminary harangue, that the India Reformers, who had hoped to draw out, on that first evening of debate, the great advocate of the Company, Sir James Hogg, were, in this, at least, disappointed at the outset. It was felt that at so late an hour of the evening this must be the closing speech. They who were present on this occasion describe, in antithetical sentences, the marked contrast between the outward aspects of the two men—of the ministerial exponent and the antagonistic reformer—the tall, slender figure of the one, and the burly frame of the other, the constant swayings to and fro of the minister, and the sturdy immovability of his opponent, the one oscillating like a pendulum, the other firmly planted as a rock. Something of the same, too, is observable in their vocal utterances. It is said that the reformer has none of the hesitation of the minister, that he goes straight to his point, with what the word fluency hardly describes. It cannot be said of him as of the old Homeric orator ἀπο γλωσσης ῥεεν ἀυδη. The words do not seem to flow from his tongue, but to come *imo de pectore*, from his broad, deep chest; and it would be only fair to add, giving the words a less material interpretation, from the bottom of his heart. There is no doubt that Mr. Bright is a great debater. We express no opinion upon the subject, for indeed we cannot, at this distance, be competent to decide, but the young reformers of the present day seem to look to him, rather than to Mr. Cobden, as their chief. It was once Cobden and Bright. It is now Bright and Cobden. Perhaps it is that the great Anti-corn-law man has fought his battle, gained his victory, done his work; and that having secured to the country the blessing of cheap bread, his mission is at an end. It may be doubted whether Bright will ever take such a place in

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history. It is not our duty, however, to write of these things. All that we have now to do with, is Bright's answer to the minister. We have said that it was a very clever speech, and that it *told* upon the House. It was his object to attack, *in limine*, the whole system of double Government, and to demonstrate that the Court of Directors of the East India Company ought utterly to cease to be. He began by saying that there was great inconsistency between what Sir Charles Wood had said, and what he proposed to do; "because really, if one were 'to take his speech as a true and faithful statement of the con-'dition of India, and of the past proceedings of the Indian 'Government, one would say that he was greatly at fault in 'making any changes whatever in that Government. At the 'same time, if his speech be not a faithful portraiture of that 'Government, and of its transactions in India, I should say that 'what he proposes to do with regard to the reformation of the 'Home Government is altogether insufficient for the occa-'sion."

This, he said, he was prepared to show, but before touching upon the Government scheme of reform, he alluded to the course that the Government had pursued, a course which he declared had manifested considerable vacillation. Upon this point we believe that he was right. It seems plain that Government at one time had determined to do one thing, at another time to do another thing, or, perhaps, it might more properly be said, that at one time they had determined to do *nothing*, and at another to do *something*. Sir John Hobhouse's cool, contemptuous reply, when he was asked whether Government intended to appoint a Committee, cannot be forgotten. A Committee ought to have been appointed then, in order that we might have had another year of enquiry. There is little doubt upon this point. Whether there was uncertainty and division in the council of state, we do not pretend to know. There is every reason to suppose that there was. "Various 'rumours," said Mr. Bright, "have been afloat. One week every 'one has been quite confident that there would be no legisla-'tion at all beyond postponement. Next week every body 'was quite confident that it would be a sweeping measure, 'which, I must say, I never believed. I think the prevailing 'opinion, the week after, was that there was to be a measure 'like that submitted to the House to-night. It was understood 'last Saturday that there was to be no measure at all beyond 'that of postponement. It was asserted so positively that I 'was one of those who were taken in by the assertion. On 'Tuesday, my honorable friend, the member for Poole (Mr.

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'Danby Seymour) had given notice of a question on this sub-
'ject, and he was requested not to ask the question till Tues-
'day. On Thursday there was a Cabinet Council. Whether
'there was a change of opinion I know not; I presume there
'was, from the opinion confidently expressed by the noble
'Lord (John Russell) himself in the House, that legislation was
'to proceed immediately. All this indicates to me, at any
'rate, that there has been a good deal of vacillation, and a
'*good deal of not knowing what was to be done.*" We believe that there really was "a good deal of not knowing what was *best* to be done."

Having delivered himself of this, which was really the strongest point in his speech, the member for Manchester proceeded to touch briefly on the advantages of a postponement of legislation, and then flung himself headlong upon the double Government. He said it was a Government of secrecy and irresponsibility, that ought not to be tolerated in a free country; that he did not believe that the four-and-twenty gentlemen, constituting the Court of Directors, were worse than any other four-and-twenty gentlemen, but that under such a system of Government India could never prosper. As the minister had, in his five hours' speech, relied much on authority, he would, also, he said, bring forward his authorities:—

Now, sir, the Right Honorable Gentleman has given us the testimony of two or three people on his side of the question. I should like to trouble the House with one or two opinions in this book, which I hold to be the soul of this question. The Right Honorable Gentleman quoted the book of Mr. Campbell; it is a very interesting one, and gives a great deal of information, and I do not know why, upon this point, it ought not to be as authoritative as upon any other. He says:—"The division of authority between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, the large number of Directors, and the peculiar system by which measures are originated in the Court, sent for approval to the Board, then back again to the Court, and so on, render all deliverances very slow and difficult, and when a measure is discussed in India, the announcement that it has been referred to the Court of Directors, is often regarded as an indefinite postponement. In fact, it is evident that twenty-four Directors in one place, and the Board of Control in another, are not very likely, very speedily to unite in one opinion upon any doubtful point." That is what obviously occurs to a man who is disposed to write in favor of the Company, and in favor of the Indian Government generally.

There is another authority, the evidence of Mr. Kaye, who has written also an interesting book, which is distributed at the expense of the Court of Directors, and I take it for granted it is a fair representation of their views and of what they have done, inasmuch as the Chairman of the Court of Directors was kind enough to make me a present of a copy of it. Now Mr. Kaye, in referring to the double Government which existed in Bengal, in the year 1772, makes use of these quotations;—when I read them I really

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thought they were a quotation from one of my own speeches. "But enlightened," says Mr. Kaye, "as were the instructions thus issued to the supervisors, the supervision was wholly inadequate to the requirements of the case. The double Government, as I have shown, did not work well. It was altogether a sham and an imposture. It was soon to be demolished at a blow." That double Government was the double Government in Bengal, under which the revenue and several other departments were carried on by native authorities, whilst there was a supervising power which was exercised by the East India Company. He says again, "The double Government had by this time fulfilled its mission. It had introduced an incredible amount of disorder and corruption into the state, and poverty and wretchedness among the people. It had embarrassed our finances, and soiled our character, and was now to be openly recognized as a failure." Those are the words Mr. Kaye uses with regard to the double Government existing only in Bengal. Of the double Government existing here he says, "In respect to all transactions with foreign powers, all matters bearing upon questions of peace and war, the President of the Board of Control has authority to originate such measures as he and his colleagues in the Ministry may consider expedient. In such cases he acts presumedly with the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. That body is composed of the Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and senior member of the Court. The Secret Committee sign the despatches which emanate from the Board; but they have no power to withhold or to alter them. They have not even the power to record their dissent. In fact, the functions of the Committee are only those, which, to use the words of a distinguished member of the Court of Directors (the late Mr. Tucker) who deplored the mystery and the mockery of a system which obscures responsibility and deludes public opinion, could as well be performed by a Secretary or a seal!" And further on he (Mr. Kaye) says, "When we are judging of the responsibility of the different branches of the Indian Government, we ought to remember that the whole foreign policy of the East India Company is regulated by the Board of Control, that in the solution of the most vital questions of peace and war, affecting the finances of the country, and therefore the means of internal improvement, the Court of Directors have no more power than the Mayor and Aldermen of any corporation Town." "India depends," he says, "less upon the will of the twenty-four gentlemen in Leadenhall-street, than the caprice of one man, who is here to-day, and gone to-morrow—knocked over by a gush of Parliamentary uncertainty—the mistaken tactics of a Parliamentary leader, or the negligence of an inefficient whipper-in." Mr. Kaye makes this remarkable statement; also he says, "The past history of India is a history of revenue wasted, and domestic improvement obstructed by war." Now this I very much complain of. I admit the right of the East India Company to complain of many things that have been done by the Board of Control, and if we leave those two bodies to paint each other, we shall come to an accurate representation of what they really are. The East India Company charge the Board of Control with making unnecessary wars, and squandering the revenues which the Company collects. I have no doubt at all that that is perfectly true.

And yet Mr. Bright would abolish the "collecting body," and retain the "squandering" one. We shall speak of this more fully anon; in the meanwhile, we would remark that we cannot congratulate Mr. Bright on the felicity of his appeal to written authorities. Mr. Campbell complains of the system

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of double Government, mainly on account of the undue interference of the Board of Control. Mr. Kaye, whose book is historical, and who has written chiefly of the past, condemns the double Government of Bengal—that is, the mixed Government of the East India Company and the Soubadar, on our first assumption of the Dewanni. What that has to do with Leadenhall-street and Cannon Row, it is not easy to perceive. Sir James Hogg, on a subsequent evening, pointed out the irrelevancy, if not the unfairness of this quotation. But Mr. Bright quoted other passages from Mr. Kaye's book, which really did relate, in some measure, to the double Government of Leadenhall-street and Cannon Row. They related, as did the quotation also from one of Mr. Tucker's* minutes, to the Secret Committee. The intention of both writers was to show that the double Government was not sufficiently a double Government, inasmuch as in the Secret Committee, by which all matters relating to peace and war were decided, the power was wholly in the hands of one-half of the double Government, *i. e.*, the Board of Control. It was Mr. Kaye's object to point out the injustice of charging the East India Company with the grave offence of squandering the revenues of the country on foreign wars, when of those wars they have been "not the authors, but the victims." The only inference to be drawn from these arguments and assertions is, that the power of the Board of Control, in the double Government, should be diminished, and the power of the Court of Directors increased. Mr. Tucker, too, contended for at least such an extension of the power of the latter, as would enable the members of the direction, constituting the Secret Committee, to record their protests whenever they disapproved of the measures of the Crown minister. All this was fully exposed by Sir James Hogg, who said —and said truly—that both Mr. Tucker and Mr. Kaye were among the strongest advocates of the double Government.

Mr. Bright, however, quoted these authorities in support of his argument. Now, his argument was, that as the double Government was bad, the Court of Directors ought to be utterly abolished. He is keenly alive to the imperfections of the Board of Control. Indeed, he has more to say against that moiety of the double Government than the other. He

* We are glad to avail ourselves of this opportunity of expressing the gratification which we have felt on perceiving that a selection from the public and private papers of this able and honest statesman has just been given to the world. We content ourselves, on the present occasion, with the bare notice of the fact. When the biography of Mr. Tucker, now in preparation, is given to the world, we shall review at length both the life and writings of this excellent Director.

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says, as we have shown, that it squanders the revenues on foreign wars, this squandering being the cause of all the evil results of which he complains. Then he tells us that it is hardly in the nature of things, that the President of the India Board should know any thing of India and its Government —that, during the last thirty years, there has been, on an average, a new President every two years, and that it has happened that there were three Presidents in little more than a month. From this undeniable fact Mr. Bright's inference is that the Court of Directors—the members of which are elected for life—should cease to exist !*

All the evils which are inherent in our Indian administration—all the short-comings of administrators, grappling with difficulties of which the member for Manchester can have no conception, were attributed to the vicious constitution of the Court of Directors. Even the increase of military expenditure—the squandering of public money, which he had before admitted to be the work of the Board of Control, was laid to the account of the drones of Leadenhall-street. The one great idea uppermost in the mind of the reform leader was, that the Company should be utterly abolished. It was not sufficient for him that the body should be horribly mutilated—sawn in half as it were—he desired that it should be ground to powder. But this mutilation was, in his mind, better than nothing. He rejoiced in it as far as it went; and celebrated the misfortunes of the Company with a sort of wild-Indian tomahawk dance, which they who were present in the House of Commons on this occasion, describe as extremely diverting. It amused the House, after midnight, and roused the languid energies of some of the exhausted members:—

> The Right Honorable gentleman's plan appears to me to be very much like what we have already. I think there never was so great a cry with so little wool. It comes to this, so far as regards the question about which the public most cares, that the twenty-four gentlemen are, by a process of self-immolation, to be reduced to fifteen. I think it will be one of the most affecting scenes in the history of India; and I hope, as the Company keep writers to defend them, they will employ an artist to paint an historical picture of this great event. We shall see the Honorable Member for Guildford, and the Honorable Member for Honiton, and one of the Honorable Members for the City of London, and twenty-seven others meeting together—they will be

* What the animus of the India Reform party was, may be gathered from a subsequent speech of Mr. Blackett, who said, "I differ from the Hon'ble Baronet, (Sir James Hogg,) when he says that the system of double Government is on its trial at the present moment. The East India Company is, however, I think, now put on its trial, and whether the future system of Government be a single or a double one, that Company is, in my opinion, not fit to form a part of it." In other words, they found a true Bill against both parties, and proceeded to try only the least of the two offenders.

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like so many men in a sinking boat, casting lots who shall be first thrown over board, whether the old, the young, the fat, or the lean—it is impossible to say how the choice will fall, but fifteen must go and fifteen will remain; and then, if I understand it, three others are to be added. The result, after certain processes of transition, will be, instead of having twenty-four gentlemen sitting in Leadenhall-street, we shall have eighteen, of those six appointed by the Crown, and twelve by the present constituency. Than the present state of things nothing the Right Honorable gentleman could do could make it worse—it was impossible to do any thing with it to make it better, and so he has left it to remain as it is. Just observe his argument for appointing the six. I never heard an argument so completely conclusive against his own case. He wishes to appoint six by the Crown, so that the Crown will be able to choose from eminent men in India, six persons who have been there ten years, and thus we shall insure having six men in the Board of Directors who are suitable for the responsible office in which they are placed—then that argues that the twelve are not such. The composition of the Board has two ingredients—one is wholesome, and the other poisonous. He gives you two drops of the poison for one of wholesome nutriment. He mixes them together, and then he wants to palm it upon this House and the Country as a great measure, and he has promised in his very long speech a very great benefit to be derived from it. I venture to say there never was a speech so great in this House, I mean in length, when the results which people wanted to know were so little. Only think of those twelve gentlemen, those twelve are degraded already. The Right Honorable gentleman has said that six are put there in the way they are put there, because the twelve are not elected in a satisfactory manner, and are not persons fit for the Government of India. That they are bankers and brewers, and men of all sorts in the City of London, who find it to their interest to get into the Court of Directors, by any sort of means—it does not matter by what kennel they get through, they find it advantageous to their business as bankers and otherwise. In point of fact, it is like getting on any other Joint Stock Company, which is a common thing with many men in London. These are the useless majority, while the six are the small dose of something reasonable. I would appeal to the Right Honorable gentleman to abolish the twelve in the name of all that is reasonable; if one class is bad and not to be trusted, if people get on the Board who have no business there, and another class is good, in which the country have confidence, I say you had better get rid of the class which is bad, for they will have the majority as a matter of course—if they are to be equal with the others, they will have the majority, not only in name, but in action.

Now, it must have occurred to every reader of Mr. Bright's speech, that if Sir Charles Wood's address was illogical and inconclusive, the reply to it was still more distinguished by these characteristics. Sir Charles Wood contended that the double Government had worked well, and then proceeded, as he believed, to improve the double Government. Mr. Bright contended that it had worked extremely badly, and that therefore it ought to be abolished. So far both may have been right in their conclusions. But when we come to consider the nature of the improvements or remedies suggested by the two speakers, we see at once that they were both wrong, the Reformer more lamentably, because more demonstrably than the

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Minister. Sir Charles Wood argued, as we have said, that the double Government had worked so well, that it ought to be retained, but not so admirably as to suggest the impossibility of improving it. He therefore proceeded, as he believed, to improve it. But the changes which he initiated were at least doubtful improvements, in our opinion they were changes for the worse. The argument against them is soon stated. It is admitted by Sir Charles Wood and his colleagues that it is desirable to maintain the East India Company as an independent administrative body, standing between India and the Government of party. "The efficiency of this body," says the minister, "essentially depends upon its freedom from all undue political influence." [*Sir Charles Wood to the Chairman, &c., of the Court of Directors, June* 1, 1853.] To increase this efficiency, we must, therefore, increase its freedom from political influence; to diminish its efficiency, we must diminish its freedom from political influence. But what did Sir Charles Wood propose to do? He proposed to weaken the independent authority of the Court of Directors, to render it more subservient to political influence—by introducing into the corporation a certain number of ministerial nominees. By his own showing, therefore, the tendency of the measure was to diminish the efficiency of the Court of Directors of the East India Company as an instrument of Government. Now, if it be desirable to maintain the Court of Directors at all, it is desirable to maintain its efficiency. If such a barrier between India and party is to be upheld at all (and in our opinion it is the main safeguard of our power in the East, and certainly the main security for the welfare of the people of India,) it cannot be prudent to weaken it. If it be once admitted that the independence of the East India Company is essential to its efficiency, and that it is expedient to maintain this efficiency, in order that the Government of India may not become the Government of a party, we cannot see how any measure, the tendency of which is to weaken this independence and to diminish this efficiency, can be regarded as an improvement.

Though this is written with especial reference to the speech of Sir Charles Wood, the argument may be applied still more emphatically to the destructive reply of Mr. Bright. The drift of this gentleman's oration appears to be this. The double Government is bad. It has not worked well. The chief proof of its not working well is to be found in the fact, that immense sums have been lavished on wars, neither just nor politic—whilst the amount expended on public works, on education, and other reproductive and regenerative agencies, is lamenta-

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bly small. We do not mean that this is all that Mr. Bright alleged against the East India Company, but that it constitutes the main body of his charge. Now the speaker knew well; and indeed virtually admitted, that these wars had been made, not by the East India Company, or the independent moiety of the double Government, but by the ministerial moiety, that is, the Board of Control. From this it results, that the impediment to good Government is to be found, not in the authority of the East India Company, but in the power of the Board of Control. If would be supposed, therefore, that Mr. Bright, from these premises, would argue that the power of the ministerial half of the double Government ought to be reduced. But instead of this, he seeks to render that very authority, which he admits to be the source of the greater part of the mischief, absolute and supreme, by utterly removing the only check that there is upon its misdoings. The logic of this appears to us to be analogous with that of a man who insists that brandy-and-water is bad, because brandy is a villainous compound; and then demonstrates the sincerity of his declaration that he will never taste the said brandy-and-water again, by utterly discarding the water, and drinking the brandy "neat."

Before we dismiss the first and greatest of Mr. Bright's speeches on the India Bill, and pass on to other incidents of the protracted debate, or rather series of protracted debates, we must make a few remarks on the tendency of this very able and eloquent speaker to degenerate into personalities. There is too often apparent in his speeches an endeavour to lower the authority of his opponents, by attributing to them unworthy motives, or discovering private reasons for the opinions which they deliver—a disposition to speak of matters brought under his notice in the course of social intercourse, sometimes deriving from trivial incidents of a private nature mistaken inferences of a much graver kind. We have not observed in the speeches of the supporters of the Government, or the advocates of the East India Company, any similar tendency to cast discredit on their adversaries by imputing to them unworthy motives—by alluding to any grievances or any grudges—any private animosities, which might result from disappointments in one quarter or another. Yet we are credibly informed that some of the magnates of the India Reform party are not wholly unassailable on this score. Be this as it may, it is not to be doubted that the proneness of the member for Manchester—ablest among these able India Reformers—to degenerate to littleness of this kind, very much

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weakens the force of his authority—the more especially as his inferences are often wanting in truth. We will take one or two instances of this tendency, relating as they do to gentlemen with whom many of our readers are acquainted, personally or by name. The first of these is Mr. Marshman. Mr. Marshman's authority, as derived from his evidence given before the Parliamentary Committees, was quoted by Sir Charles Wood—and very properly quoted—as that of a gentleman largely and intimately acquainted with Indian affairs. Now, Mr. Bright, anxious, in this as in other cases, to twist the evidence of the supposed friends of the Company to his own uses, said, "I shall take one or two points of evi-
'dence from witnesses, whom I am sure the Right Honora-
'ble gentleman will not say a word against. He has quoted
'Mr. Marshman. Mr. Marshman is a gentleman who has
'great information relating to Indian affairs. I have had the
'pleasure of a conversation with him. I presume he came
'over *that he might be examined on behalf of the Company.* Mr.
'Marshman is the Editor of a Newspaper in India that is
'*known to be the organ and defender of the Government.* Now,
'in the *Friend of India*, dated the 1*st of April*, will be found
'these words, 'No one has even attempted to contradict the
'fact that the condition of the Bengal peasantry is almost as
'wretched and degraded as it is possible to conceive,' &c., &c."
Now, it is very certain that if Mr. Bright had, as he said, a conversation with Mr. Marshman, and knew all about his coming over to give evidence, &c., he must have known that that gentleman was not in India on the 1st of April. So far then as Mr. Marshman's authority goes, the extract from the *Friend of India* is quite valueless. But what we principally wish to know is, what right had the member for Manchester to say that Mr. Marshman went over to England to give his evidence in favor of the Company, and that the *Friend of India* is the organ of Government? If Mr. Bright could find in that paper such passages as he quoted against the Company, he might have been pretty well convinced that it is not the "organ of Government." The Government have always stedfastly refused, wisely or unwisely, to have an "organ." As to Mr. Marshman's evidence, it appears to us to be characterized by great independence, as it certainly is by great ability. It is certainly not the evidence of a man bent upon supporting the supremacy of the Company.

We will, secondly, allude briefly to the case of Mr. Kaye. Mr. Kaye, as our readers know, has written a book on the *Administration of the East India Company.* Its object avow-

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edly was to show that something has been done in India for the improvement of the country, that some progress towards good government has been made. It appears that the Chairman of the East India Company gave Mr. Bright a copy of this book. We are informed that at the house of a mutual friend, a near relative of the Chairman, the latter, knowing that he would meet Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, and wishing to dissipate, by an appeal to irresistible facts, some of the prejudices they had formed, gave to each of these two gentlemen a copy of Mr. Kaye's book, with which he had provided himself for the purpose. Upon the strength of this act of courtesy, Mr. Bright informs the House of Commons, that Mr. Kaye held the brief of the Company, that he wrote at the India House, in comfortable apartments, and that his book had been circulated at the expense of the Company. Now, the fact is, as we are informed on the best authority, that Mr. Kaye had not been inside the India House for some months previous to the publication of his book; that he never had any apartments there; that he wrote an official letter to the Court, asking to have access to the records of the India House, and that the access was granted; that, so far from holding the brief of the Company, he wrote his book under no engagement of any kind with the authorities of the India House; that the Court as a body had no knowledge that it was forthcoming; and, lastly, that it has not been distributed at the expense of the Company's finances. Our own opinion is, that the Company would have done well and wisely, if they had exhibited a little less contempt for public opinion. It has always been a part of their system rigidly to abstain from anything like an attempt to act upon public opinion through the medium of the press. They have never taken any pains to conciliate public writers, but have gone on, from year's end to year's end, suffering themselves to be unjustly assailed, and never bestirring themselves to rebut the unjust charges levelled against them. If proper pains had been taken to lay before the English public, from time to time, true statements of what has been done, for the amelioration of the condition of the country, they would never have had to contend with the antagonism which culminated against them at the commencement of the present year. We believe that it is in no small measure owing to this contempt of public opinion, that the authority of the Court has been reduced, and its numbers diminished. It is curious to contrast the supineness of the Company with the vehement activity of their assailants. If they *had* employed an experienced public writer to prepare a popular

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account of what has been done in India, for the amelioration of the condition of the people, it would, at least, have been a politic movement, and not a dishonorable one. There are some very able men in the India House, who might have prepared such a book. But the India House, in this juncture, sent forth nothing. A gentleman, whose only connexion with the Company was, that he had once held a commission in their army, sent forth a volunteer work, which, not being in the style of the India Reform Tracts, Mr. Bright at once assumed to have been "written to order," and *in* the India House. His followers in Parliament repeated this declaration, and his supporters of the fourth estate reiterated it, with a circumstantial minuteness, which was quite surprising, considering that none of the actors concerned in the alleged transactions had the slightest knowledge of the circumstances so minutely narrated. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that it would be better, all things considered, if so eminent a public character as John Bright were to abstain from speaking, in his parliamentary orations, of what one gentleman said during a morning call, or what another did at a dinner party.

But we willingly turn from such matters as these, to continue our running commentary on the debate on the introduction of the new India Bill. After Mr. Bright had spoken on the 3rd of June, the debate was adjourned to the 6th, on which day Mr. J. G. Phillimore commenced the discussion. Mr. Phillimore is member for Leominster. At the late election, his antagonist was Mr. J. P. Willoughby, late Chief Secretary, and afterwards member of Council at Bombay, one of the ablest men in the Company's Civil Service. Mr. Phillimore is the author of some works held in high esteem by the legal profession, of which he is a distinguished member. He speaks fluently and well; but he wants moderation, and among the many virulent assailants of the Company, he is one of the most virulent. As a lawyer and a law-lecturer, it was fitting that he should undertake the judicial department of the great crusade against the Company. He undertook it; and what he did, he did vigorously. The ability of the member for Leominster is not to be disputed. The drift of his speech was, that in India there is no protection for life or property. He made much of Mr. Lewin's evidence, as if Mr Lewin could be an impartial witness; and he dwelt, too, upon the evidence of Mr. Cameron, whom he is reported to have described as one of the ablest of the Company's Civil Servants! Mr. Norton's pamphlet was of course a text-book. In the hands of the Honorable Member for Leominster, "the thing became a trumpet." He quoted old

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Zephaniah Holwell, to show what a paradise Bengal had been, before our connexion with it; and then declared that the Company and their servants had "depopulated whole territories." "I would call," he said in conclusion, "upon every member of 'this House, who loves righteousness, and hates oppression, who 'venerates eternal and immortal laws which are written in the 'heart of every man, be his climate or his colour what it may, 'by the unerring hand of our great Creator, to save this 'country from the consequences which, sooner or later, must 'follow the passing of such a measure."

Then rose Sir James Hogg. His speech was rather a reply to what Mr. Bright had said on the first night of the debate, than to what had fallen from Mr. Phillimore. It was admitted by all men in the House, by the India Reformers no less than the supporters of the Ministry and the Company, to be an admirable and a telling speech. It was listened to with profound attention, and greeted with repeated cheers. It was earnest—argumentative—convincing. Above all, it was full of irrefutable facts. We do not think that there was a single point in Mr. Bright's speech to which it was not a complete and demolishing reply. He began by commenting upon the course pursued by Bright and his associates, said that they complained of India being a sealed book, when everything relating to India was laid on the table of the house, but nobody cared to read it; then spoke of the necessity of immediate legislation. "If the present 'system has worked well, if it has increased the happiness and 'prosperity of India, why then continue it. If you have 'discovered defects in its constitution and working, then 'remove them. If it has failed in discharging its sacred 'duties, and the great objects for which it was formed, why 'then, away with the instruments, and form another and 'a better Government." Then he proceeded to show what the Government of India really is, what are the advantages of that system of double Government, which Mr. Bright had so vehemently condemned:—

The great and paramount benefit of double Government, I believe, in the opinion of all former Governments, and of the present as of previous Parliaments, is to keep the Government of India free from political bias or political influence. (Hear, hear.) And that system of double Government is the only means by which this great and paramount object can be accomplished. I ask if any other part of the British dominions has been free from political influence. I ask, since 1784, if it has ever been alleged that India has been subject to party or political influence. God knows there are imputations enough cast on the Court of Directors. Did any body ever cast that imputation on them? Was it ever suggested that they were influenced by party or political motives? Never; but whether rightly, or wrongly, they did what they thought was for the interests of India. A party feeling, a

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party prejudice never enters their breasts. I may mention a recent instance, the recall of Lord Ellenborough by the Court of Directors—Lord Ellenborough was recalled by the twenty-four Directors unanimously—some nineteen or twenty of those Directors were friends and staunch supporters of the late Sir Robert Peel, whose Government was perhaps a little weakened by the Noble Lord's recall, but still the Directors would not permit themselves to be partizans, and did recall Lord Ellenborough under an imperious sense of duty. (Hear, hear.)

All this is greatly to the point. Nor is the following less pertinent to the question. The India Reform party had discoursed somewhat vaguely of the advantages of establishing a Government directly responsible to Parliament. But what has Parliament done for India, what does Parliament care about India?—Sir James Hogg asked whether what had been done for the country had been done by the Indian Government or the House of Commons:—

> Now has this been the effort of India, aided by the Government of India, or has the House of Commons rendered it any assistance? I tell you, you have not, I tell you, the Court of Proprietors, that calumniated body, and the East India Company have, year after year, been petitioning your House to do justice to India, by taking away the discriminating duties. But they have petitioned in vain. Cotton goods and cotton manufactures were imported into India at five per cent., and the manufactures of India were brought into this country, it will scarcely be believed, at a duty of sixty-two per cent. I complain of nothing that India has suffered arising from free trade, of which I have always been an advocate, but I complain of every thing that India has suffered from artificial means, from undue protection. We applied for equal duties as to cotton, sugar, and rum; and we applied in vain. It was only the other day we were able to get these duties equalized, and I will show you the result of the equalization. And yet it is by a Committee of the House of Commons, which has retarded and kept back the prosperity and progress of India, I am told that country has not advanced with the celerity which might be expected.

And again, to the same point; the Honorable Baronet continued with telling emphasis—

> Well, sir, this has been the case with India. Has England prospered during the time? Can England say that she has contributed to the wealth of India, but that India has not contributed to hers? In 1814, which was the first year of what, as regards India, was nick-named "free trade," when everything from England could go into India, and when nothing from India could come to England—that was the free trade for India. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) In 1814, the first year of that so-called free trade, the British cotton manufactures exported to the East Indies amounted to £109,487. In 1849-50, the last year I have, they had increased from £100,000 (and I am very glad they had) to £4,421,920! Has Manchester any reason to complain? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Well—have the ship-owners any reason to complain? In 1834-35, the British shipping amounted to 220 vessels, consisting of 108,870 tons. In 1849-50, the vessels had increased to 425, and the tonnage to 252,153. Both the number of vessels and the amount of tonnage, therefore, had almost, within a

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fraction, doubled in twenty years. Now, sir, let me ask where is that to be equalled? I should like any gentleman who follows me to show me any other part of the world where there has been such a rapid advance! Why, you do not even find that that country, to which the Honorable Member for Manchester ever bends his fond imagination, rivals that—you cannot find that in America!

The decay of our Indian manufactures is a subject frequently discoursed upon by Indian reformers. There is but one answer to be given to it. "Settle that with Mr. Bright." *It is the rapacity of Manchester, not the rapacity of the East India Company, that impoverishes the Indian artizan.* Twenty years ago, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, who was to the debates of 1833 very much what Sir James Hogg is to those of 1853 (the similarity of their antecedents is well known*) dwelt forcibly on this subject—declaring that in Dacca nine-tenths of the families who gained their livelihood by the cotton manufacture, had been thrown out of employ, by the protection afforded to the British manufactures. But we must return to Sir James Hogg's speech, and reluctantly come to the peroration:—

Now, sir, I feel how unduly I have intruded upon the time and the attention of the House. I solicited their indulgence, and they have kindly and liberally granted it to me. I fear I have not repaid them by being as brief as I feel I ought to have been, but the subject is one of great importance,—the body with whom I am associated was assailed loudly, not only with mismanagement and errors of judgment, but even their motives and intentions were impugned. I do not complain of arraigning the acts of the East India Company—the acts of all public men are open to public canvass, and if they deserve it, to public condemnation. But I do complain of some insinuations which the Honorable Member this night has thrown upon the honesty and purity, and as I understand him, the intentions of the Court of Directors, and of the Government. It is not long ago since I heard an Honorable Member, a friend of my own, whom I value, and whom I have known boy and man, I refer to the Honorable Member for Poole, exclaim, "What sympathy can the Court of Directors have with the people in India?" I ask him, have they not a sacred duty to discharge? Why should he suppose that they are indisposed to discharge that duty? Let him say, if he pleases, that they are incapable and incompetent, but let him not say that they want disposition to do their duty. I would speak for myself. I proceeded to that country at an early period of life, in the service neither of the Crown nor of the Company, dependent solely upon my own exertions for my livelihood and my advancement. It pleased God to prosper my exertions, and I am indebted to that country for the competence which has enabled me to sit in the Great Council of England. I am devoted to India by every tie of gratitude and of affection, and I will tell my Honorable friend, that feelings like those are as likely to produce beneficial results to the people of India, as any doctrine of abstract philanthropy and benevolence.

* But Fergusson, on returning to India, preferred being Judge-Advocate. Hogg, who might have been Judge-Advocate, preferred being an Indian Director.

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I will say for myself and for those with whom I have the honor to be associated, speaking personally, we care little as regards ourselves what may be the determination of Parliament, but our earnest wish and our anxious prayer is, that the Supreme Disposer of events may so direct your counsels, that you may select that form of Government, and those instruments to execute it, which are best calculated to insure the happiness of the people of India, and the sound Government of that great country.

The speech, received throughout with marked attention and repeated applause, was loudly cheered at its close. It was, indeed, a very able address—clearly and emphatically delivered—full of telling points—and, what is much better, full of undeniable facts. Young India felt its force; and reeled under the blow. More than one India Reformer, we are told, on leaving the House that night, admitted that the speech was a very able and telling speech, and that so far the debate had gone against them. But it must be admitted that the India Reform party are not wanting in that good English quality, *pluck*, and that they were just as eager to return to the charge, as though they had not been worsted at the outset.

The debate was resumed on the 9th of June by Mr. Blackett—one of the leaders of the Young India party, active too in other things, and a rising member of the House. He attacked the Company on the score of their financial business and condition; but did not confine himself to the subject of Finance. He endeavored to reply to the statements of Sir James Hogg, relative to the increase of revenue and the general commercial prosperity of the country, and among other extraordinary things, showing how dangerous it is to meddle with such a subject without an intimate previous acquaintance with it; he made the astonishing declaration, that "amongst the statistical matters given in the Appendix to the 'Commons' Report, is to be found a statement of the arrears of 'land-tax, from which it appears that, during the sixteen years, 'from 1834 to 1849 inclusive, these arrears amount to no less a 'sum than £60,191,167." He had added up the balances at the end of each of these separate years, and given the result of this addition as the gross amount which Government had failed to realize, not perceiving that the unrealized balance of one year was carried into the account of the next. So great an error as this naturally threw discredit on all the subsequent statistics of the party. The mistake was one into which a man, but little acquainted with the subject, diving into a mass of figures, with the one sole object of making out a case, and seizing without investigation on every ugly-looking thing in a series of tabular statements, might easily have fallen. But

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it affords an apt illustration of the haste and presumption of the "Young India" party, and the manner in which the case against the Company was got up by the eager assailants of Leadenhall-street. Mr. Blackett was the Finance Minister of the Reform party, and this was the way in which he dealt with his subject. But he spoke of other matters too, of the judicial system, of the state of the country, of the patronage of the Court of Directors, and in vehemence and virulence was, by no means, behind Mr. Phillimore and Mr. Bright. The peroration of his speech contains, in a few words, the principles of his party:—

I object to the Bill, he said, because it seems most strangely to combine the contradictory disadvantages of precipitancy and delay. I object to it additionally because it continues a system of double Government, which pretends to multiply checks, but succeeds only in neutralizing responsibility, but most of all I object to it because it continues the East India Company as a permanent organ for the Government of India, and I must say that I am not better pleased with the Bill, because it leaves the Indian Government in that position, in which it may offer a screen to the proceedings of the minister, whom I wish to see made directly responsible to Parliament and to the people. Sir, be the share of influence, which the East India Company is permitted to retain, great or small, I am convinced that its continuance can only tend to retard progress, to foster nepotism, and to impede the elevation of the Native Indian race into a community of which England and Englishmen shall have reason to be proud.

Mr. Blackett was followed by Mr. Thomas Baring, the Chairman of the Indian Committee then sitting—a gentleman deservedly held in the highest repute. The tenor of his speech was eminently favorable to the Company; and he spoke with authority. He said that in his opinion the Committee ought to have been appointed earlier, but that considering the limited character of the Bill, and the paucity of topics to which it was addressed, he conceived that already there was sufficient information before the House. He contended therefore in favor of immediate legislation. And he consented to the introduction of the Bill, though he did not approve of all its clauses. He was for the retention, in all its leading features, of the existing system of Government, for the maintenance of the East India Company as an efficient barrier against the encroachment of party influences:—

I give my opinion, however presumptuous in me it must be to speak so, that I wish to see the Government of India not in the hands of the Crown, not in the hands of the Crown I say, uncontrolled by some other independent and different body, not in the hands of the Crown as we have seen our Colonies, and as we have seen our other possessions. I wish to see such a body subservient to the ultimate will of the Crown, a body so constituted as to be independent of political prejudices, of political

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opinions, and not to earn its position by committing its services to any minister. Sir, I say nothing as to any one political Government more than another. But this I say that, if we did not keep any independent check upon the acts of the Crown in India, we should see that for some party purpose, that for some party object, for some ephemeral and momentary party triumph, the security of India and its good government would be made a secondary object.

Then he referred to the Crown Colonies in proof of the danger of making the Government of our distant dependencies the Government of party :—

I would ask the House, he said, to look at what has occurred in other colonies or dependencies of England—look at Jamaica—look at Ceylon —look at the West Indies—look at the Cape of Good Hope—look at Australia. Is there any body, who will say, calmly looking back upon our party struggles in this House, that each colonial Government, that the Government of each dependency, has not been bandied about from both sides of the scale, flying like a shuttle-cock, to be kept in the air as long as it can answer a party-purpose? Sir, I wish to guard against that. I wish to keep India. I do not deny that I wish to see India continue to belong to England, because I do not wish to see our Empire dismembered. I do not wish to see the power of England shaken. I do not wish to see its influence diminished; because I believe that that influence has not only tended to the welfare and glory of the British nation, but has tended to the expansion of the civilization and freedom of the world. I say then, keep India—keep her by good government—keep her by guarding her against herself, and those who may be dangerous within her; and you can only do that by keeping her out of the vortex of party politics—you can only do that by maintaining such a body as the Court of Directors, whose election is independent of the Crown.

This is well and strikingly put, and wholly to the point. It cannot be too often or too emphatically repeated.

There are other passages in Mr. Baring's able and statesmanlike address, which we are tempted to quote, but we must reluctantly pass on. The next speaker was Mr. Danby Seymour. Mr. Danby Seymour is member for Poole, and President of the India Reform Society. He is a young man of good family, large fortune, considerable enthusiasm, and excellent abilities. He is quite above all sinister influences. We believe him to be actuated by a sincere desire to benefit the people of India. But he has studied India in the worst possible school. He has learnt in the Russian camp, on the frontier where the troops of the Autocrat have been so long endeavoring to crush the liberties of the brave Circassians, the exaggerated lessons taught by Count Edward De Warren. His own account of his Eastern experiences is given in the exordium of his speech :—

Now, sir, upon the question of the East, I certainly do feel very deeply, and I feel for those nations, who, I think, have been for so many centuries

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so much ill-treated by their European conquerors; and as to the line of policy which should be taken, I have had an opportunity of observing the success of the two lines of policy, fear and love, which, perhaps, has not been enjoyed by any other gentleman in this house. I have had the advantage of passing between two and three years in the Russian-Asiatic possessions, both while the old system, which we are still determined to pursue, was in existence, and when there was a new system introduced by a most distinguished statesman, and, perhaps, the most able administrator of his time in Europe, which was introduced ten years ago, and which has increased Russian influence to an immense degree throughout the whole of Asia, and has been crowned with the greatest success. When I first went to the Caucasus, the native of Turkey and Persia, and the other nations of the Caucasus (for there are nearly fifty nations there) were treated very much as we treat the people of India; and I know that the possessions of Russia were then continually said to rest upon a volcano, and there was the greatest discontent, which it was considered necessary to have a large army in order to keep down. Only a year before I went to that country, I remember that so careful had been the organization of conspiracies there, that they were prepared to assassinate the whole of the Russian authorities in the capital, and the information as to the conspiracy was received the week before, not from any part of the country where it was to take place, but from St. Petersburgh. Now, sir, when I went there, I had the advantage of the constant company of the man who governed the whole of the provinces from Poland to Persia, and who showed that enlightened policy in the treatment of those nations, which I wish our Government would imitate: and I have constantly kept up my communication with it, and I have heard that that policy has been eminently successful. I have myself heard, having lived much with the natives of all those countries, that so much were they in praise of it, that although they dislike dominion of any sort, yet any one of them would give up their lives for its support. Now, sir, at this time Russia and ourselves are competitors for the East; and I do say, and the nations of Asia and Hindostan will know likewise, that they have a great deal more to hope for from Russia with her present policy, than from England, with that policy which the Right Hon'ble gentleman advocates.

Having thus stated what were his claims to the attention of the House, he flung himself headlong upon the speeches of Sir James Hogg and Sir Charles Wood. He said that the former had recommended the India Reform party to study the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committees, and all the Indian Blue Books published during the last twenty years. "But," said Mr. Seymour, "what should we profit by this, seeing that 'the Committees are packed Committees, and the Blue Books 'only collections of garbled papers?" "I will just quote," he continued, "in proof of this, what Mr. Kaye, in his *History of* '*the War in Affghanistan*, says of the way in which state papers 'are treated, and what is the reason that no man in his senses 'can possibly put any confidence in papers which come from 'the Government or the East India Company." In the *Times* report, Mr. Seymour is made to say, that "no man in his

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'senses could put any confidence in papers that came from the 'East India Company." But, in either case, Mr. Seymour should have known that the East India Company had no more to do with the garbling of the Affghanistan papers than the India Reform party itself. Of that iniquity the Court of Directors are clearly guiltless. In other instances, too, it appears to us that Mr. Seymour did not bring his reading, which seems to have been considerable, into very effective use. He quoted Macaulay (who wrote of the year 1763) against the Company, and he quoted Burke against the Company. Then he quoted Mr. Kaye's recent volume, to the effect that "the servants of the 'Company had, for nearly two centuries, regarded the natives 'of India, as so many dark-faced and dark-souled gentiles, whom 'it was their Mission to over-reach in business, and to overcome 'in war." "There," exclaimed Mr. Seymour, "is a pretty pic-'ture of this paternal Government!" Now, it seems that Mr. Kaye *did* write the words quoted, but why did he write them? To show what improvements had taken place in the character of the Company's servants, and what progress in their administration. For "nearly two centuries," he said, these had been the views—this the conduct of the Company's servants, but how different has it been during the *last half-century!* What progress has been made since the days when we only thought of subduing and despoiling the people! We repeat that all only weakens the cause, which "Young India" desires to advocate. Mr. Seymour complains, properly, of the garbling of public papers, but can there be any worse garbling than that of which he and his associates have been guilty?

We hope that we shall not be misunderstood. The Government of India, like all other Governments, requires reform. A Reform Association—that is, a society of able and earnest-minded members of Parliament, studying the Indian question, without passion and without prejudice, in all its bearings, and watching the progress of Indian affairs with calm clear eyes, is very much what India wants. But India does *not* want the help of a Reform Association, saturated and sodden with prejudice, and incapable of viewing the India question with any but a jaundiced eye. If the India Reform party had been more moderate, they would have achieved more. What we complain of is, that their intemperance and exaggeration have discredited the cause of Indian reform, and will throw grievous obstacles in the way of future wiser reformers.

Now, Mr. Hume, as all the world knows, is a veteran reformer. He is not likely to be unduly prejudiced in favor of

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the authorities that be. But what is his language? He admits that there are defects in the present system, but he says that we shall only make the system worse by extending the power of the Crown. The Crown ministers, he says, have spent all the money—impoverished the country, and retarded the progress of domestic improvement. What can be more truthful than this?—

Sir, I say, that but for the wars which unfortunately have occurred, India would have had a surplus revenue every year from 1833 to this time—some of these wars have been injudiciously commenced, and the continuation of war might have been prevented by allowing to the Court of Directors that check and control which, by law, they ought to have. The Court of Directors, however, have been kept in ignorance of many of the most important circumstances connected with these wars. Mr. Melville, the Secretary to the Court of Directors, has stated that the Affghan war, which cost several millions of money, was begun and ended before the Court of Directors received one iota of information concerning it. I asked Mr. Melville when did the Court first know of the Affghan war? When were the papers submitted to them? Was their opinion taken? No, said the Secretary, we never had the papers connected with the Affghan war till it was brought to a termination. That disposed of thirteen millions of money. The Court of Proprietors, having their dividends dependent on the Court of Directors, have had their interest sacrificed. I do not believe there is one single man in the Court of Directors who would have approved of the Affghan war. That war was begun, continued, and ended before the Court of Directors knew anything about it. Sir, I say by the wars that have occurred in India, no less than twenty-six millions of money have been wasted by the Board of Control, over which the Board of Directors had no power whatever, although they were made, by the Act of Parliament, trustees for the Proprietors, to see to the payment of the dividends. The dividends have been paid by them, although I doubt very much whether they ought to have been, there being no surplus revenue in consequence of the debt that has been incurred. It is quite clear that the Court of Directors has violated the Act of Parliament in paying the dividends. India has, in fact, been ruined by wars, and it ought not to be permitted to any single man to have the power of involving the country in war.

The speech of Mr. Hume, from which this passage was taken, was the last delivered on the third night of the opening debate. Leave was then given to bring in the Bill. And this will be the proper place to present an abstract of it, for purposes of record:—

After a preamble, stating that the Act 3 and 4, Will. IV., C. 85 having continued the territories therein mentioned under the Government of the East India Company until the 30th April, 1854, and it being expedient now to provide for the Government of these territories after the expiration of that term, the first clause ordains that *until Parliament shall otherwise provide*, the territories now under the Government of the East India Company shall continue under that Government, and that all the provisions and laws now in force shall continue in force, excepting in so far as they are altered by or are repugnant to this Act. The second clause

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ordains, that from and after the second Wednesday in April, 1854, there shall be eighteen Directors and no more of the said Company, who, or any ten or more of whom, shall constitute a Court of Directors.

Clause III. is to the effect that Her Majesty shall appoint three Directors, to hold office for two, four and six years respectively, from the 2nd Wednesday in April, 1854, every Director so appointed, and every Director henceforth to be appointed by Her Majesty under this Act, to be a person who has been for ten years in India in the service of the Crown or of the Company.

The fourth clause ordains that the present Directors, with those who went out in 1853, shall, on the last Wednesday in March, 1854, appoint fifteen from amongst themselves, who, with the three to be appointed by Her Majesty, shall be the first Directors under this Act. Of these fifteen, five are to be appointed for two years, five for four, and five for six years.

The fifth and sixth clauses ordain, that the first three casual vacancies that occur among the fifteen shall be filled up by the Crown; that every vacancy that occurs among those nominated by the Crown shall be filled up by the Crown, and that after the first three vacancies, the vacancies that occur among those not appointed by Her Majesty shall be filled by election by the General Court of the Company, in the manner in which Directors are now elected.

Clause VII. provides that every Director of either class shall be appointed for six years, and that those who are appointed to fill up vacancies caused by the voidance of Directorships otherwise than by the expiration of the terms of office of the Directors, shall be appointed only for the unexpired portion of those Directors' terms of office: also, that all Directors are capable of immediate re-election.

Clause VIII. directs that elections shall be held by the General Court on the second Wednesday of April in every alternate year.

Clause IX. ordains, that of the first fifteen Directors, six at least shall be men who have served ten years in India, and that the Court-elected Directors shall always contain six men who have thus served, so that of the whole eighteen, there shall always be twelve who have been for this length of time in India; and when, at any time, this number shall be fallen short of, no man, who has not been in India for the specified period, can be elected until the number be made up.

The tenth clause provides that a Crown-nomination to a Directorship shall not preclude its holder from sitting in Parliament, and that the Directors so nominated cannot be removed from their office save by Her Majesty, for inability or misbehaviour.

Clause XI. provides, that after the second Wednesday of April, those of the thirty present Directors and ex-directors, who shall not be appointed Directors under the new Act, shall cease to be Directors—that vacancies which may occur in the mean time among the twenty-four present Directors, shall not be filled up, and that in all cases, where the presence, signatures, consent, or concurrence of thirteen out of the twenty-four are required by the present Charter, the presence, signatures, consent or concurrence of a majority of those remaining after such vacancies shall be sufficient.

Clause XII. prescribes the form of oath to be taken by Directors on assumption of office. These twelve clauses, therefore, relate to the constitution of the Court of Directors.

The thirteenth prescribes that a general Court may be "counted out" (after the transaction of such business as may be required by any Act of Parliament, or any Bye-Law of the Company to be transacted at such

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Court) provided there be not twenty Proprietors present, exclusive of Directors.

The fourteenth clause directs that the provisions of the Charter Act, for the division of the Presidency of Fort William into two Presidencies, which were suspended by a subsequent Act of Parliament, shall continue to be suspended until the Court of Directors and Board of Control shall otherwise direct, and that during such continued suspension, the provisions for the appointment of a Lieut: Governor for the N. W. Provinces shall continue in force.

Clause XV. authorizes the appointment of a separate Governor for the Presidency of Fort William, such Governor to be appointed as the Governors of Madras and Bombay are now appointed; and in the meantime a Lieut: Governor may be appointed for the Lower Provinces, from amongst those who have been ten years in the Company's service.

The sixteenth clause gives the Court of Directors, with the sanction of the Board of Control, power to create a new Presidency, and to assign territories to it.

Clause XVII. gives them powers from time to time to alter the limits of the Presidencies and Lieut: Governorships.

Clause XVIII. directs that such new presidency shall be subject to the same regulations, as to the appointment and recall of Governors, &c., as the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay now are.

Clause XIX. ordains that every appointment to the office of member of any of the Councils, shall be subject to the approbation of Her Majesty, and Clause XX. puts the fourth ordinary member of the Supreme Council on the same footing with the other members of that Council.

Clause XXI. appoints legislative members of the Supreme Council as follows, viz., one member for each Presidency and Lieut: Governorship, to be nominated by the Governors or Lieut: Governors from amongst the Civil Servants of the Company who have served ten years; the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Bengal; and one of the other judges of that Court to be named by the Governor-General; and two other Civil Servants if the Court of Directors and the Board of Control shall deem it expedient, to be nominated by the Governor-General.

Clause XXII. gives the Governor-General power to appoint a Vice-President of the Council, and provides that a quorum of the Legislative Council shall consist of the Governor-General or Vice-President and seven other members of Council, of whom the Chief Justice, or the fourth ordinary member of Council, must be one.

Clause XXIII. ordains that no law passed by this Council shall have force till it has received the assent of the Governor-General.

Clause XXIV. requires that the new Council shall be summoned to meet within six months of the passing of this Act.

Clause XXV. authorizes Her Majesty to appoint Commissioners in England to consider and report on the Reforms proposed by the Indian Law Commissioners.

Clause XXVI. makes the appointment of Advocate General subject to the pprobation of the Board of Control.

Clause XXVII. makes the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces n India and in the several Presidencies to be Commander-in-Chief of the ompany's forces in India and in these Presidencies.

Clause XXVIII. raises the maximum of the Company's European forces in India from 12,200 to 20,000 men, and the number of Non-Commissioned Officers and men that they may have in training in Great Britain from 2,000 to 4,000.

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Clause XXIX. gives power to the Court of Directors, with the sanction of the Board of Control, to alter the sick-leave and furlough regulations.

Clauses XXX. and XXXI. direct that the salary of the President of the Board .of Control, to be paid by the Company, shall not be less than the salary of one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and that only one of the Secretaries of the Board can sit in Parliament; that the salary of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and of each Lieutenant-Governor shall be Rupees 1,00,000 annually; that of each Ordinary Member of the Council of India, Rupees 80,000; and that of each Legislative Councillor (not holding any other office) Rupees 50,000.

Clauses XXXII. and XXXIII. deprive the Court of Directors of the power of nominating students to Haileybury and Assistant Surgeons, and direct that such appointments shall be made on examination, according to regulations to be framed by the Board of Control.

Clause XXXIV. prescribes the same as to admittance to Addiscombe.

Clause XXXIV. and XXXV. give the Board power to prescribe the age at which such admissions may take place, and the standard of qualifications of such students, and of Assistant Surgeons.

Clause XXXVII. gives the Board power to examine persons appointed to the Military Service, who have not passed through Addiscombe; and Clause XXXVIII. prohibits the Company from admitting into their Civil, Military, or Medical Services, any but those who may be found qualified for admission under the regulations.

Clause XXXIX. gives the Board power to appoint examiners; and Clause XL. appoints that this Act, save as herein otherwise expressly provided, commence and take effect on the 30th April, 1854.

It is not ordinarily the case, that on bringing in a Bill, there is so much discussion on its principles. *The* debate is generally the debate on the *second reading*. But on this occasion, the subject was well nigh exhausted before the Bill had been brought in. Indeed, after, or even before, the interest seemed to wane. We are informed that at one period of the third night's debate, the house was so thin, that if it had been counted, it would have narrowly escaped a count-out. And this is the Parliament to which the Indian Government is to be made directly responsible—a Parliament which has not patience to sit out a three nights' debate on the principles and practice of Indian Government!

It has been our object, in this article, not to enter into the details of the new India Bill. There are some at least of them which we shall reserve for future discussion. We shall not, therefore, here trace its progress through the second reading, or through Committee. We have well nigh exhausted both our time and our space. What we have attempted to do is to show the principles upon which it was discussed, and the temper which was brought to its discussion.

The debate on the second reading evolved little that had not, in some shape, been said before. The difference was that

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here *party* stepped in, and that the assailants of Government were less the India reformers than Lord Stanley and some of his protectionist friends. But the party were disunited. Some of D'Israeli's old colleagues turned against him, and the overwhelming majority with which the second reading was carried, in spite of the alliance between Young India and protection, indicated the extreme decrepitude of the wreck of the old protection party.

In Committee, several attempts were made to amend the Bill. We believe that the amendments proposed by Mr. Vernon Smith and others would really have been improvements. We cannot now speak of those which were not carried. But having given the substance of the India Bill, as it was originally drafted, we must make brief allusion to some of the alterations which were accomplished on its passage through Committee.

The clause relative to the qualification of Directors was amended. Instead of £2,000 stock, it is necessary only that the Director should hold £1,000 stock. The clause as amended runs thus:—

X. Notwithstanding the provision of the Charter of the tenth year of King William the Third, any person shall be deemed, so far as respects the possession of stock of the said Company, to be qualified to be chosen or appointed, and to continue a Director of the said Company under this Act, who shall have in his own name, and in his own right, and to his own use, one thousand pounds or more in the capital stock of the said Company; and all enactments and all provisions of any Charter or Bye-law having reference to the qualification of a Director, shall be construed as if the said sum of one thousand pounds were substituted therein, and in the said Charter of King William the Third, for the sum of two thousand pounds; and in the case of any such Director appointed by Her Majesty, it shall be sufficient if, before he shall act as such Director, he shall have such qualification in the said capital stock as is required under this Act, although he may not have the same at the time of his appointment; and every person who shall be hereafter elected or appointed a Director of the said Company shall, before he shall act as such Director, make the following declaration:—

"I, A. B., do declare, that the sum of one thousand pounds now standing in my name of the stock of the East India Company, belongs to me, in my own right, and not in trust for any other person or persons whatsoever."

The only other amendment or addition to which we purpose to allude, is the following, relative to the salt-duties, the result of Sir John Pakington's motion, which was carried by a combination of the protectionists and India reformers:—

XLV. And whereas by the said Act of the third and fourth years of King William the Fourth, it was enacted, "that the said Company shall, with all convenient speed, after the twenty-second day of April, one

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thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, close their commercial business, and make sale of all their merchandize, stores and effects, at home and abroad, distinguished in their account books as commercial assets, and all their warehouses, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and property whatsoever, which may not be retained for the purposes of Government of the said territories, and get in all debts due to them on account of the commercial branch of their affairs, and reduce their Commercial establishment as the same shall become unnecessary, and discontinue and abstain from all commercial business which shall not be incident to the closing of their actual concerns, and to the conversion into money of the property herein before directed to be sold, or which shall not be carried on for the purposes of the said Government." And whereas the said East India Company have continued to carry on the manufacture and sale of salt from the date of the said Act to the present time, notwithstanding the aforesaid provision. And whereas it is expedient that the salt monopoly should absolutely cease and determine. Be it enacted, that from and after the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and fifty six, it shall be unlawful for the said East India Company to continue the manufacture of salt as at present carried on by them in the Province of Bengal, and that such manufacture shall absolutely cease, whether carried on by the East India Company, or on the account and under the control of the said Company, and that the manufacture and sale of salt in India shall be absolutely free, subject only to such excise or other duties as may now, or from time to time, be levied upon such salt so manufactured.

And now, before we conclude, a few words about the general character of the new India Bill. The question to be considered is simply this. Is India likely to be better governed under the Act of 1854, than under that of 1834? The actual solution of this question is in the womb of time. The conjectural solution it is not difficult to hazard. Now, the main alterations are: firstly, in the constitution of the Court of Directors; secondly, in the system according to which the members of the Civil Service are henceforth to be appointed; and, thirdly, in the erection of Bengal into a separate Lieutenant-Governorship. Of the last of these little need be said. We consider that no reasonable argument can be adduced against the proposed change. There is everything to be said in its favor, and little or nothing against it. The local administration of India will be greatly improved under the proposed system. The arrangement which placed the Government of so important a part of India, under the senior member of the Supreme Council, whether a soldier or a civilian, whether competent or incompetent for such a charge, which transferred the province from hand to hand, according to circumstances, had nothing to recommend it. That no great harm has been done by these frequent changes, is principally to be attributed to the excellence of the Secretariat. But it is no defence of a bad

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system that accidentally it has done no great harm. A good permanent Lieutenant-Governor is a better thing than a good permanent Secretary. Mr. Halliday, for many years, was the prop of the *old* system. But he will confer much more substantial benefits on Bengal under the *new*.

We may pass over, then, this change in the local administration, with these few approving remarks. We cannot speak in the same terms of approbation of the changes in the Home Government. We have already expressed incidentally our opinions regarding the mutilation of the Court of Directors. Believing, as we do, that the maintenance of the independence of the Court in all its original integrity is essential to the good Government of India, we greatly deplore the change. We admit the truth of the oft-repeated statement that the best men are not always elected by the Court of Proprietors. We admit that many very distinguished men have been deterred from offering themselves for election by their abhorrence of the canvass. We have already, indeed, expressed our opinion upon this subject; and expressing it, we have suggested the expediency of introducing into the Court a certain number, say one-third, of nominated Directors. But it was our opinion then, as it is now, that these Directors, thus exempted from the penalties of the canvass, should be nominated by the Court, that is, that every third vacancy should be filled up by internal election. This opinion seems to have been shared by a considerable section of the House of Commons. But the supporters of the Ministry, aided by the India Reformers, were too strong for the independent members, and the clause conferring the power of nomination upon the Crown ministers was carried. This, as we have said, appears to be a step in the wrong direction, a step backward. Sir James Graham, with an indiscretion censured even by some of his best friends, admitted that the object of the change was to introduce the small end of the wedge, that it is to take the first step towards the entire absorption of the East India Company. We do not argue the matter upon these grounds. The absorption of the Company has not yet been determined upon. It is to exist, but maimed, mutilated, and impaired. The ministerial element is to be strengthened in the Home Government of India. The barrier between India and party, which is now the safe-guard of the country, is to be attenuated and debilitated, in the prospect of its falling down bodily. If the ultimate object of the change be, as implied by Sir James Graham, utterly to destroy the

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Court, there was some astuteness, whatever honesty there may have been, in thus initiating a measure, which being calculated to impair the efficiency and utility of the body, will probably, in due course of time, afford materials for a true Bill to be brought against it. It is clear, however, that if the Queen's minister, not seeing any just grounds now for extinguishing the Court, should, some years hence, declare that it so inefficiently performs its duties as to warrant its extinction, that very inefficiency which seals its doom will be attributable to the Crown ministers themselves. What a comment will this be on the boasted reform of the Court!

There is no reason to doubt that, in the first instance, the members nominated by the Ministry will be able and independent men. The names of the first batch of ministerial nominees have been freely mentioned; and we can hardly doubt that if the selection had been left to the Court of Directors, the same men would have been named. But we have no guarantee for this purity of nomination, when the subject is no longer fresh in the public mind, and the eyes of the community are no longer fixed intently upon the selecting ministers. That the power of selection may be made, and that some day it will be made, a political lever, there is little room to doubt. Such men as Sir George Pollock and Mr. Millett, whether elected by the Proprietors, by the Court of Directors, or by the Crown minister, are little likely to become mere tools. They have no connexion with party. They are above all political influences. But the principle once established, the system of ministerial nomination once fully in force, we have little hope that the ministers of the day will continually rise above all considerations of party—that they will look only to personal efficiency, and appoint the best men, without a thought of the services which the ministerial nominees may render to the ministers in return. At all events, whatever may be the working of the new arrangement, we must protest against the principle involved in the change. It cannot be too often, or too emphatically declared, that the efficiency of the Indian Government is dependent on its freedom from party influences. Make the Government of India a Government by party, and, alas for the country!—alas, for the people!

Upon the clause by which the whole Covenanted Civil Service is to be thrown open to public competition, we do not purpose to discourse in detail. The subject is so large a one, so interesting, and important, that we must reserve it for consideration in a separate article, when we have before us the regula-

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tions and restrictions under which candidates are to be admitted to compete for these valuable appointments. We have seen, with unmixed gratification, that the amendment proposed by Mr. Monckton Milnes was successful, inasmuch as the competition clause, in so far as it related to the military seminary at Addiscombe, was expunged from the Bill. This is the best thing that was done in Committee. No one had a word to say against the Addiscombe system. No one could say that the officers of the Company's Engineers and Artillery regiments are surpassed by those of any service in the world. What object there could possibly be in attempting to improve a system in which no one had discovered any defects, it is impossible to conjecture. The attempt can only be regarded as a weak concession to the clamors of the reform party. It was expedient, in order to appease this clamor, that the Company's power and the Company's privileges should be cut down, and so it was determined that the most valuable portion of their patronage should be taken from them, without any reference to the effect of the change upon the efficiency of the public service. But when the subject of the Addiscombe patronage came to be fairly discussed, it was found that no one had anything to say against the existing system, and so ministers wisely determined to amend the clause, and to leave intact the system which has produced the finest set of officers in the world.

We purpose only to say a few words more in the present article. It will have been observed by all who have perused, from first to last, the debates in the Commons, that the whole question of our connexion with India has been regarded and discussed in any thing but a broad and comprehensive point of view, that the tone assumed has not been elevated and dignified, that there has been nothing like an indication of an enlarged desire to regenerate the teeming millions of this great and interesting country. We do not object to the practicability of the debates. Vague generalities would have been greatly out of place at such a time and on such an occasion. But there is a practicability in great matters, as well as in small; and we do not see that the real wants of India have yet been taken into account. There have been some passing allusions to the great subject of education. But it has never been a substantive topic of debate. Little has been said about it. Nothing has been done. But the real want of India is a great scheme of education. It is something, doubtless, to improve the administrative machinery of our Indian Empire, but, after all, what

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is good Government until the people of the country are in a condition to profit by it? The great obstacle to the success of our administrative experiments resides in the ignorance and debasement of the people.

ERRATA IN ART. I.

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
13	9 of notes	800 A. D.	300 A. D.
19	18 of text	Jyâd	Iyâd.
21	26 ditto	fortress,.....	fortresses,
22	6 of notes	Zenobias, general in Egypt,	Zenobia's general in Egypt,
23	2 of text	Adis	Adi.
24	6 of notes	dele the first *and*	
26	20 of text	seat	sect
27	38 ditto	Hinda	Kinda
32	20 ditto	tribulation	retribution
34	10 of notes	Liquieu	Lequien
37	7 of text	Hassân Abu Thâbit	Hassân ibn Thâbit
40	3 of notes	ابي	الي
45	12 of text	after *even* insert *then*	
46	6 of notes	her son	his son
„	19 ditto	البطالاح	البطاح
47	18 ditto	*tribes*	the *tribes*
51	2 ditto	Hodzeifa the First, ...	Hodzeifa, the first
53	12 ditto	Am Shams	Ain Shams
54	6 of text	Ameer	Amr
„	11 of notes	Morât.....	Monât
57	20 of text	Atlantic.....	Aelanitic

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*A Manual of Buddhism, in its Modern Development. Translated from Singhalese MSS. By R. Spence Hardy, Author of Eastern Monachism, &c. London. Partridge and Oakey.* 1853.

IN our Twenty-second Number, we inserted an article on a work published by Mr. Hardy, entitled *Eastern Monachism*, on which occasion we presented an analysis of each chapter. It is our intention to follow the same plan in the present instance, as by this method our readers will be furnished with a brief, but connected, epitome of the leading features of modern Buddhism. We may remark that the *Manual* is more exclusively Indian in its character, and that the digressions are omitted which made the *Monachism* less acceptable to those who wish to confine their attention to the system of Gótama *per se*.

I. *The System of the Universe.*—The first chapter treats of the cycles of chronology, the clusters of worlds that are called sakwalas, and the periodical revolutions of the universe.

The normal number of the Buddhists is an *asankya*, which, according to Csoma Körösi, requires a unit with 140 cyphers to express it.* Were a solid rock, a cubic yojana in bulk, to be slightly touched, once in a hundred years, with a piece of cloth of the softest texture, the time would come, when, by this almost imperceptible mode of attrition, the rock would be worn down to the size of a small seed; but even this immense period would not be equal to an asankya. From the time that the age of man increases from ten years to an asankya, and decreases from an asankya to ten years, thus completing the entire series, from limited to vast, and from vast to limited, is an *anta-kalpa*. In each anta-kalpa there are eight *yugs*, similar to the yugs of the brahmans in character, but more extended in duration. The Supreme Budhas are never born in a kali-yug. Twenty anta-kalpas make an *asankya-kalpa*, and four asankya-kalpas a *maha-kalpa*.

* It may help such of our readers as have some knowledge of mathematical notation, not indeed to form any apprehension of the magnitude of this number, but to remember it, if we remind them, that it is "the number whose logarithm is 140."—ED. *C. R.*

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There are innumerable systems of worlds. The space to which the light of one sun extends is called a *sakwala*. The sakwalas are scattered throughout space, in sections of three, and between the three sakwalas is the *Lókántarika* or hell. Each sakwala contains an earth, with four continents, a mountain in the centre called Maha Méru, six déwa-lókas, and twenty brahma-lókas. Attached to each continent there are 2,000 islands. The sakwala is bounded by a wall of rock. At the base of each sakwala is a vacuum, called Ajatákása, above which is the Wá-polowa, or world of wind; above this, the Jala-polowa, or world of water; and above this, the Great Earth, 240,000 yojanas in depth. In the centre of the earth is Méru, 168,000 yojanas in height, its base resting upon a rock with three peaks, Trikúta Parwata. Between this mountain, and the wall at the limit of the sakwala, there are seven concentric circles of rocks, each circle diminishing in elevation as it increases in circumference. Between the circles of rock there are seas, the waters of which are agitated by the continued uprising of the flames from the internal regions. The circumference of the entire sakwala is 3,610,350 yojanas.

The inhabitants of the earth have faces of the same shape as the continents in which they are born. Uturukuru is at the north of Méru, in shape like a square seat. Its inhabitants are a privileged race, free from anxiety and want. Púrwawidésa, on the east, is in shape like a half-moon. Aparagódána, on the west, is like a round mirror. Jambudwípa, on the south, is angular, and is the continent in which the Budhas appear. At its northern part is the great forest of Himála, in which is the Anotatta Lake, whence proceed four rivers, one of which is the Ganges. It contains a jambu tree, 100 yojanas high, from which it receives its name.

The sun, fifty yojanas in diameter, and the moon, forty yojanas, move through the heavens in three paths, and at regular intervals of time are seized by the asurs, Ráhu and Kétu. The declination of the sun is caused by its annual progress from Méru to the limit of the sakwala, and from the limit to Méru. The path of the moon is about a yojana lower than that of the sun. The sun moves, in one day, 2,700,000 yojanas; and the moon, 2,600,000 yojanas. On the day of the dark moon, the two luminaries are together, when the moon cannot be seen, as it is overpowered by the superior light of the sun; but on the second day, the sun has moved 100,000 yojanas further than the moon, which can then be partially seen like a narrow line. On the day of the full moon it is at the greatest distance from the sun, and the whole

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of its disk can be seen. There are nine grahas, or planets, and the heavens are divided into twelve rásis, or signs, and twenty-seven nekatas, or lunar mansions.

The inhabitants of the six déwa-lókas are in the possession of sensuous enjoyments, and delight in crowns, gems, music, and beautiful companions. In the sixteen rúpa-brahma-lókas the enjoyments are entirely intellectual; there is bodily form, but no sensuous pleasure, and in one of them there is a state of unconscious existence. In the last of the arupa-brahma-lókas, the inhabitants are neither conscious nor unconscious. This is the nearest approach to nirwána, or the cessation of existence. There are eight principal narakas, or places of suffering, all situated in the interior of the earth.

The earth, as well as the various worlds connected with it, is subject alternately to destruction and renovation, in an endless series of revolutions. There are three modes of destruction—by fire, by water, and by wind. The first of the four asankya-kalpas is the period of destruction; the second, of nihility; the third, of formation; and the fourth, of continued existence. The four complete the maha-kalpa. Previous to the coming of the destruction, the calamity is announced to men by a déwa. When fire is the agent of destruction, seven suns successively appear, which burn up all that exists. This destruction is entire, so that the place where the world formerly stood becomes utterly void, like the inside of a drum. The beings that have no merit appear in the naraka of some other system, and those that possess merit are born in one of the superior worlds of the same system, some of the superior worlds not being affected by the agencies that destroy all the worlds beneath them.

II. *The Various Orders of Sentient Existence.*—"As all the systems of worlds," we are told, "are homogeneous, so are the 'orders of being by whom they are inhabited, the various 'distinctions that are now presented being only of temporary 'duration. With the exception of those beings who have en-'tered into one of the paths leading to nirwána, there may be 'an interchange of condition between the highest and the lowest. 'He who is now the most degraded of the demons, may one day 'rule the highest of the heavens; he who is at present seated 'upon the most honorable of the celestial thrones, may one 'day writhe amidst the agonies of a place of torment, and the 'worm that we crush under our feet may, in the course of ages, 'become a Supreme Budha. When any of the four paths are 'entered, there is the certainty that, in a definite period, more 'or less remote, nirwána will be obtained, and they who have

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'entered into the paths are regarded as the noblest of all the 'intelligences in the universe. Hence our earth, in the time of 'a Supreme Budha, or when the sacred dharmma is rightly 'understood and faithfully observed, is the most favored of all 'worlds; the priests, or those who observe the precepts, assume 'a higher rank than any other order of being whatever, and 'there is an immeasurable distance between even the most 'exalted of the Déwas or Brahmas, and the teacher of the three 'worlds, who is supreme."

The various orders of intelligence described in this chapter include—

1. Pasé-Budhas. 2. Rahats. 3. Déwas. 4. Brahmas. 5. Gandhárwas. 6. Garundas. 7. Nágas. 8. Yakás. 9. Khumbandas. 10. Asúrs. 11. Rákshas. 12. Prétas, and other monsters. 13. The inhabitants of the narakas. In addition to these intelligences, we have the beast of the fields, the fowls of the air, the fish of the waters, and beings engendered from filth and excrement. All orders of being are included in one or other of the five zati, or conditions:—

1. Déwa, divine. 2. Manusya, human. 3. Préta, monstrous. 4. Tirisan, brute. 5. Niraya, infernal.

There are two orders that are more essentially buddhistical than the others, the Pasé-Budhas and the Rahats. The Pasé-Budhas are inferior to the Supreme Budhas, and never appear in the same kalpa. They learn the way in which nirwána is to be obtained by their own unaided power, but they cannot teach it to others, even as a dumb man, though he may have seen a remarkable dream, cannot explain it. In previous births, they must have practised certain prescribed virtues.

The being who has entered the last of the four paths leading to nirwána is called a Rahat. He is free from that which is regarded by the Buddhists as the root of all evil, the cleaving to sensuous objects. He possesses powers of the most stupendous description, and his knowledge upon religious subjects is free from the least admixture of error. In some cases, the Rahatship was received in an instant; but in every case there had been the exercise of the prescribed course of discipline, in previous states of existence. The cleaving to sensuous objects being the cause, physical as well as moral, of re-production, when this principle becomes extinct, the results it previously produced are no longer presented. Therefore, at the death of the Rahat, existence ceases for ever.

III. *The Primitive Inhabitants of the Earth.*—After the last destruction of the Great Earth, another earth was produced, by the united merit of the sentient beings that existed in the

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superior worlds. In process of time, some of the Brahmas came from these worlds to inhabit the earth. They were, at first, of most splendid appearance, enlightening the earth by their own brightness, so that there was no need of any heavenly luminary, and they lived together in purity and peace. But one of the Brahmas having tasted of a substance that began to form on the surface of the earth, found it to be so delightful to the palate, that he was tempted to taste again; and as others imitated his example, the glory proceeding from their persons was gradually lost.* By the power of their merit, they now created the sun, moon, and planets. From continuing to eat of the terrene production, their bodies became gross, and a difference began to appear in the colour of their skin, some being dark and others fair. Other edible substances appeared in succession, each more gross than the preceding, and from subsisting upon them, the apertures of the body were produced, the generative organs were developed, and then followed passion and sexual intercourse. By this time the substances had ceased to arise spontaneously, and that the means of substance might be procured, the cultivation of the ground was commenced, whence arose the idea of property, and the necessity of territorial division. This was followed by contentions relative to personal rights, and the commission of theft; and a general wish was expressed that some mode of government should be appointed, to restrain the evil-doers. Accordingly, the Brahmas assembled, and chose one of their number to be their king, from whom proceeded the race of the sun and the caste of kings. Some of the Brahmas, grieved by the wickedness of others, began to reprove them, on which account they were called Brahmaná, (Suppressors,) and from them arose the caste of brahmans. Others applied themselves to agriculture and commerce, and from them proceeded the caste of merchants. Others, again, began to hunt in the forest, whence they were called ludda, or sudda, and from them came the Sudras. The observances of the sramana, or asceticism, were indiscriminately practised by all the castes. Thus, all men were originally of one caste; and the difference that was afterwards presented arose from acts that were voluntarily exercised; so that caste is not, as with the brahmans, an essential and immutable ordinance, but the result of circumstances.

IV. *The Budhas who preceded Gótama.*—The succession of the Budhas is infinite in its duration. There ever have been Budhas, and there ever will be, after certain intervals. The

* This seems clearly to be a mythical legend derived from the history of Adam and Eve.—Ed. *C. R.*

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Singhalese suppose, that all traces of the Budhas, who preceded Gótama, are lost, with the exception of such particulars as were revealed respecting them by the great sage and his Rahat, who spoke from intuition. But it is thought by many orientalists, that Gótama was only the reviver of a system that had previously existed. The Budhas differ in caste, size, age, and other personal attributes, but as they are all equally limitless in power and in knowledge, their doctrines are necessarily the same. In the present kalpa, there have been four Budhas, viz. Kakusanda, Kónágamana, Kásyapa, and Gótama; and another Budha is yet to appear, who will be called Maitrí. We have little information relative to the innumerable Budhas who have appeared, until we come to the twenty-four who have immediately preceded Gótama, of each of whom we have a few particulars, and a detail of names and offices connected with their mission.

V. *Gótama Bódhisat.*—The beings who will afterwards become Budha are called, in their incipient state, or during their preparatory births, Bódhisat. We have the history of Gótama Bódhisat in various states of existence, which are divided into three eras—of resolution, of declaration, and of nomination. The narrative of these by-gone births is contained in a popular work, called *The Book of the Five Hundred and Fifty Births.* In each Játaka, there is a legend of Gótama, of more or less extent, setting forth some act that he did, or some virtue in which he excelled. A great part of the reverence with which Gótama is regarded, arises from the supposition, that in numberless births he voluntarily endured untold afflictions and trials, that he might thereby obtain the power to teach sentient beings the path to nirwána, and release them from the troubles of successive existence. Myriads of ages ago, he might have become a Rahat, and thereby ceased to exist; but he chose rather to continue in the stream of births, that he might become the light of the three worlds. The ten primary virtues of the Bódhisat are called Páramitás, and of these virtues, one is prominently presented in each birth. As an instance, we may record the example illustrating the virtue of determined resolution:—"At a certain time, Gótama Bódhisat was born
'as a squirrel, on account of some demerit of a former age.
'In the forest, he was attentive to his young ones, providing for
'them all that was necessary; but a fearful storm arose, and
'the rivers overflowed their banks, so that the tree in which he
'had built his nest was thrown down by the current, and the
'little ones were carried along with it far out to sea. But

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'Bódhisat determined that he would release them; and for this 'purpose he dipped his tail in the waves, and sprinkling the 'water on the land, he thought in this manner to dry up the 'ocean. After he had persevered seven days, he was noticed by 'Sekra, who came to him and asked what he was doing. On 'being told, the déwa said, 'Good squirrel, you are only an 'ignorant animal, and therefore you have commenced this un-'dertaking; the sea is 84,000 yojanas in depth, how then can 'you dry it up? Even a thousand, or a hundred thousand men, 'would be unable to accomplish it, unless they were Rishis.' 'The squirrel replied, 'Most courageous of men, if the men 'were all like you, it would be just as you say, as you have let 'the extent of your courage be known by your declaration; 'but I have no time just now to spend with such imbeciles 'as you, so you may be gone as soon you please.' Then Sekra 'caused the young squirrels to be brought to the land, as he 'was struck with the indomitable courage of the parent. Thus 'was fufilled the wírya-páramitá." In the various ages in which Gótama was a candidate for the Budhaship, he gave, in vicarious acts of charity, more blood, from his own person, than there is water in the great oceans; more flesh than the bulk of a thousand worlds; more eyes than there are stars in the heavens; and more heads than there are atoms in Méru.

It was not always in the world of men that Gótama was born, but he avoided the superior brahma-lókas; as the age to which their inhabitants live is so great, that it would have postponed to too distant a period the reception of the Budha-ship, had he entered upon any of these states. When in the present world, he was not always born of the human species, but he was never any kind of vermin, and never smaller than a snipe. As the Sujáta Játaka is translated without abbreviation, and is of a convenient length for our pages, we select it for insertion, though not of equal interest with some of the other Játakas that appear in the *Manual*:—

"It came to pass, that whilst Gótama resided in the Wihára 'called Jetawana, near the city of Lewet, he related the follow-'ing Játaka, on account of an ascetic who had lost his father. 'In what way? Budha having perceived that an ascetic, who 'had lost his father, endured great affliction in consequence, and 'knowing by what means he could point out the way of relief, 'took with him a large retinue of priests, and proceeded to the 'dwelling of the ascetic. Being honorably seated, he enquired, '''Why are you thus sorrowful, ascetic?' to which the bereaved 'son replied, 'I am thus sorrowful on account of the death of 'my father.' On hearing this, Budha said, "It is to no pur-

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'pose to weep for the dead; a word of advice is given to those 'who weep for the dead thing that is past and gone.' In 'what manner? That which follows is the relation:—

"In a former age, when Brahmadatta was king of Benares, 'Bódhisat was born of a wealthy family, and was called Sujáta. 'The grandfather of Sujáta sickened and died, at which his 'father was exceedingly sorrowful; indeed, his sorrow was so 'great, that he removed the bones from their burial-place, and 'deposited them in a place covered with earth, near his own 'house, whither he went thrice a day to weep. The sorrow 'almost overcame him, he ate not, neither did he drink. Bó-'dhisat thought within himself, that it was proper to attempt 'the assuaging of his father's grief; and, therefore, going to the 'spot where there was a dead buffalo, he put grass and water 'to its mouth, and cried out, 'Oh, buffalo, eat and drink!' 'The people concluded that he was out of his mind, and went 'to inform his father, who, forgetting his parent from his affec-'tion for his son, went to the place where he was, and enquired 'the reason of his conduct. Sujáta replied, "There are the 'feet and the tail, and all the inferior parts of the buffalo 'entire; if it be foolish in me to give grass and water to a 'buffalo, dead, but not decayed, why do you, father, weep for 'my grandfather, when there is no part of him whatever to be 'seen?' The father then said, 'True, my son, what you have 'told me is like the throwing of a vessel of water upon fire; it 'has extinguished my sorrows;' and thus saying, he returned 'many thanks to Sujáta.

"This Sujáta Játaka is finished. I, Budha, am the person 'who was then born as the youth Sujáta."

VI. *The Ancestors of Gótama Budha.*—The ancestry of Sudhódana, the father of Gótama, is traced in this chapter from Maha Sammata, the first monarch chosen by the brahmans. This king, and twenty-seven of his lineal descendants, reigned each an Asankya, and retained, in a considerable degree, the original splendour of their race. There then followed 84,000 kings of the Mahádéwa race, of inferior dignity, each of whom reigned 336,000 years. The Okkáka race succeeded, of which there were two dynasties, and in each 100,000 kings. During the existence of this race, the age of man gradually decreased, until it arrived at its present length. The last of the kings of this race, who reigned at Benares, was called Amba, and his principal queen Hasta, by whom he had four sons and five daughters. After the death of Hasta, Amba married a young maiden, by whom he had a son, Janta; and as this queen, by her wiles, prevailed on him

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to grant the succession to her son, the other princes were sent from the city, accompanied by their sisters, to seek their fortune in some other part of the world. The banished princes were led to choose Kapilawastu, or Kimbulwat, not far from the borders of Nepaul, as their residence; they married their sisters, making the elder sister the queen-mother, and from these progenitors, and at this place, arose the race of Sákya. After 222,769 princes had reigned at Kapila, the kingdom was received in hereditary succession by Jayaséna, after whom came Singa-hanu, and then Sudhódana, the father of Gótama Budha. It is said, that from Maha Sammata to Sudhódana, in lineal succession, there were 706,787 princes, but how this result is worked out does not appear. There are various legends in the chapter, some of which have a striking parallel in the fabulous histories of ancient Europe.

VII. *The Legendary Life of Gótama Budha.*—In our Number already referred to, (December, 1851,) we have noticed the principal circumstances in the earlier part of the life of Gótama; and shall, therefore, to avoid repetition, omit some details that it would otherwise have been necessary to transcribe.

The last state of existence, in which Gótama lived, previous to his birth, as the son of Sudhódana, was in one of the Déwalókas. His conception was attended by the occurrence of thirty-two great wonders, by which his expected appearance became known to 10,000 other sakwalas. His mother, on her way from Kapila to Kóli, the residence of her royal parents, turned aside to visit the garden of Lumbini. Admiring its beauties, she approached a sal tree, which bent its branches around her of its own accord; and whilst she was in this sylvan retreat, the birth of her wonderful child commenced. He was received by Maha Brahma in a golden net, who said to his mother, "Rejoice, for the son you have brought forth will 'be the support of the world." The principal déwas and brahmas of 10,000 sakwalas immediately assembled, and presented to the future Budha an offering of flowers, exclaiming, "Thou art the greatest of beings; there is here no one like 'thee; no one greater than thee; thou art supreme." The destiny of the child was foretold by Káladéwala and other brahmans. Every precaution was taken by his father to prevent his becoming a recluse, as he wished that he should forego the Budhaship, and enjoy the honours to which he was born as a prince. Five days after his birth, he was named Sidhártta, and in his sixteenth year he was married to the princess Yasódhara. On the day of the birth of his first-born, he sported in one of the

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royal gardens, and was unusually cheerful and merry; but when the birth of his son was announced to him, he resolved to put into practice the wish he had previously formed, to abandon the world and all its pleasures for ever. On returning to the palace, he had a parting glance at his wife and child, who were both asleep at the time, and then retired into the wilderness. He cut off his hair with his own hand, that he might assume the appearance of a mendicant; but the robe, and the other requisites for a course of asceticism, were brought to him by supernatural means. Seven days he remained without food, but afterwards went to the city of Rajagaha (Rajagriha), which he entered by the eastern gate, and went in regular order from house to house with the alms-bowl.

We insert the account of his visit to Rajagaha, at that time the capital of Magadha, that the manner of the legends that are connected with this part of Gótama's history may be the better understood.

"At this season," we are told in the *Manual*, "there was 'celebrated in the city a nekata festival, caled *Æ*sala-keli, which 'commenced on the seventh day of the moon; and as all the 'citizens had left their usual employment to see the sports, not 'fewer than sixteen kelas of people gathered around him to 'gaze upon his beauty. Some said that the regent of the 'moon, through fear of the asur Ráhu, had come down to the 'earth; others, that it could not be the regent of the moon, 'but that the Déwa Ananga had come to see their festival; but 'others said, that it could not be the Ananga, as his body was 'half-burnt by Maha Jowara, but upon this recluse they could 'see no fire. It was then argued, that he was Sekra; but others 'replied, 'How you talk? How can it be Sekra? Where are 'his thousand eyes? Where are his elephants, his discus, and his 'throne? It must certainly be Maha Brahma, who has come to 'see if the brahman ascetics are diligent in the study of the four 'vedas.' Others again maintained, that it was neither one 'nor other of these beings, but a holy personage who had 'appeared to bless the world. The citizens informed the king 'Bimsara (Vimbasara), that a mysterious being was seen; 'but whether he were a Yaká, a Déwa, a Brahma, or Vishnu, 'they were unable to tell. The king went to look at him 'from one of the towers of the palace; but he said to his 'courtiers, 'I cannot decide whether it be a déwa or not; but 'let some one follow him when he leaves the city, and watch 'him; if he be a demon (one not a man), he will vanish; if he 'be a déwa, he will ascend to the sky; if a nága, he will descend 'into the earth; if a garunda, he will fly away like a bird; but

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'if a man, he will eat the food he has received, in some conve-
'nient place.' When the prince had received as much food as
'was sufficient, he retired from the city of the rock Sándhawa,
'and under the shade of a tree began to eat the contents of his
'alms-bowl. Previous to this time, he had always been accus-
'tomed to the most delicate fare; but even the sight of what
'he had now to eat, was enough to turn his stomach, as he had
'never seen or touched such food before; but he reflected that it
'was necessary he should endure such hardships, if he wished to
'become Budha, and that he must conform in all things to the
'precepts. Thus he spake unto himself, 'Sidhártta, thy body
'is not of polished gold; it is composed of many elements and
'members; this food, entering into the house of my body, will
'be first received into the mortar of my mouth, when it will be
'pounded by the pestle of my teeth; sifted by the winnow of my
'tongue, and mixed with the liquid of my saliva; after which it
'will descend into the vessel of my abdomen, and pass into the
'oven of my stomach, there to be again mixed with the water of
'my gastric juice, and reduced by the fire of my digestive facul-
'ty; the fan of my wind will blow this fire; in sixty hours (a
'day) this food will turn to excrement, and be expelled. This
'food is, therefore, clean and pure in comparison with that
'into which it will be converted. Sidhártta! thy body is com-
'posed of the four elements, and this food is the same; there-
'fore, let element be joined to element.' By these meditations,
'he overcame his antipathy to the food and swallowed it.

"The messengers informed the king, that the recluse had
'eaten the food, whereupon, Bimsara went to the rock, and
'enquired what was his name and family, when he discovered
'that in former years he had been his own friend. On learning
'the dignity of the prince's character, he expostulated with
'him, and said, 'What is this that you are doing? No prince
'of your exalted race was ever before a mendicant. There
'are connected with Rajagaha 80,000 inferior towns, and eigh-
'teen kelas of people; the countries of Anga and Magadha
'are 300 yojanas in extent, and bring me in a countless treasure.
'The city was once the residence of a Chakrawartti; and even
'now there are the five grades of nobles; therefore come, and
'divide the kingdom with me.' But the prince replied, 'In
'seven days I shall reject the Chakrawarttiship; so that if I
'were to take the half of your kingdom, it would be like
'throwing away the magical jewel, chinta-mánikya, for a com-
'mon pebble. I want not an earthly kingdom; I seek to be-
'come Budha.' The king tried in many ways to overcome his
'objections; but as he could not prevail, he received from him

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'a promise, that when he began to promulgate his doctrines, his 'first discourse should be delivered in Rajagaha. The king then 'returned to the city."

Soon afterwards, Gótama retired to the wilderness, where he remained six years, practising austerities; but the object of his ambition was not thereby gained. At the end of this period, he had a severe contest with Wasawartti Mári, said to be the ruler of one of the déwa-lókas, but evidently a personification of the power of evil.

The sun had not gone down, when the prince overcame Mára. At the tenth hour, he received the wisdom by which he knew the exact circumstances of all the beings who have ever existed in the endless and infinite worlds. At the twentieth hour he received the divine eyes by which he saw all worlds as clearly as if they were close at hand. At the tenth hour after midnight, he received the knowledge that unfolds the causes of the repetition of existence. At the dawn of the day, every remain of evil desire being destroyed, a Supreme Budha was revealed to the wondering world. The moment that the prince became Budha, like a vessel overflowing with honey, his mind overflowed with the ambrosia of the truth, and he uttered certain stanzas, thus translated by Mr. Gogerly :—

"Through various transmigrations
I must travel, if I do not discover
The builder whom I seek ;
Painful are repeated transmigrations !
I have seen the architect (and said)
Thou shalt not build me another house ;
Thy rafters are broken,
Thy roof-timbers scattered ;
My mind is detached (from all existing objects)
I have attained to the extinction of desire."

By the builder, as we shall afterwards more clearly see, we are to understand *upádána*, the cleaving to sensuous objects, and *karma*, moral action.

The first offering that he received after he became a Supreme Budha, was from two merchants, from whom he received some delicious honey. Previous to this, he had not taken any food whatever for the space of forty-nine days. Among his earliest converts were fifty-four princes of Kósala, and a thousand fire-worshippers. Serizut and Mugalan, who afterwards became his two principal disciples, were led to embrace his faith, by hearing one of his priests repeat the well-known stanza :—

"All things proceed from some cause ;
This cause has been declared by the Tathá Gata ;
All kings will cease to exist :
This is that which is declared by the Maha-Sramana."

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Not long afterwards, Gótama held a convocation, at which 1,200 Rahats were present, when he repeated the stanza which is frequently seen in connexion with the above *confessio fidei*.

"This is the advice of the Budhas,
Avoid all demerit,
Obtain all merit,
Cleanse the mind from all evil desire."

On a visit that Gótama paid to his native city, his father confessed his faith in the doctrines of his gifted son; and Ráhula, his own son, and Nanda, his half-brother, embraced the priesthood. In the ninth month after he received the Budhaship, he visited Ceylon, and on two subsequent occasions, he did the island a similar honour, the accounts of which are not confined to the Singhalese, but are known also to the people of Tibet.

One of the most extended of the legends refers to Jíwaka, who gave medicine to Gótama; and it is of some interest, as illustrating the nature of some of the surgical operations that must have been practised at the time it was written. The great sage was not put to much inconvenience by his physician. In this way was the medicine given. Jíwaka, after making the necessary enquiries, discovered that there were three causes of the disease; and in order to remove them, he prepared three lotus flowers, into each of which he put some drug that he had prepared. The flowers were then given to Budha at three separate times, and by smelling at them the desired effect was produced.

An attempt was made to injure the character of Gótama, by a female unbeliever, Chinchi, who, at the instigation of the Tirttaka heretics, accused him of incontinence; but his innocence was fully proved, by the interposition of Sekra.

The visit paid by Gótama, in the course of his ministry, to the celestial worlds, is a favourite subject of illustration among Budhist authors. "At three steps," the legend informs us, "Budha went to the lóka of Sekra, that he might preach
'to the déwas and brahmas. The déwa thought within himself,
'when he knew of his approach, 'My throne is sixty yojanas
'long, fifty broad, and fifteen high; how, then, will Budha
'appear when seated on it, as he is only twelve cubits high?'
'But as this was the principal throne, and no other could be
'offered to Budha, he prepared it for his reception, and went
'with a great retinue to meet him. When Budha seated him-
'self upon the throne, it became exactly the proper size, being
'no higher than his knee. As he knew the thoughts of Sekra,
'in order to show his great power, he caused his robe to extend

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'itself on all sides, as the déwas were looking on, until it became 'more than a thousand miles long and eight hundred broad, 'and covered the throne, so that it appeared like a seat prepared 'expressly for the saying of *bana*. Then Budha appeared as 'if of proper size for the throne; the seat and its occupant 'were equal to each other. And when the déwas saw this dis-'play of his power, the whole assemblage offered him adoration.

"As the people (in the world of men) did not see Budha, 'they began to be uneasy, and enquired of Mugalan whither 'he had gone; but he sent them to Amirudha, that that priest 'might have an opportunity of exhibiting his great knowledge. 'By the priest they were informed, that the sage had gone to 'Tawutisá, where he would keep the ordinance called *wass*, 'so that three months must elapse before he could return. On 'hearing this, the people expressed their willingness to remain 'during that period, and pitched their tents in the same spot. 'Then Anépidu, the upásika, proclaimed that he would supply 'the whole company with whatever they might require, whe-'ther garments, food, water, or fuel, until the arrival of Budha. 'During this period Mugalan said bana, and answered the 'questions that were proposed to him. All lived together in 'friendship and peace; the natural secretions were not formed, 'they were like the inhabitants of Uturukuru. The multitude 'extended to thirty-six yojanas. When Budha said bana in 'Tawutisá, they heard his voice, and knowing whence it pro-'ceeded, they clapped their hands. By this hearing of bana, 'many were enabled to enter the paths.

"The déwas, with Mátru as their chief, requested Budha 'to open the door of Abhidhármma, which had been shut during 'a whole budháutara, and to agitate the sea of the Abhidhárm-'ma, as the fish-king Timingala agitates the ocean; as from 'the day he became Budha, like men athirst seeking for water, 'they were continually looking out for the period when the 'unfolding of the Abhidhármma should commence. Then Budha 'lifted up his voice, the sound filling the whole Sakwala as with 'a delightful perfume, and said, 'Kusala-dhámma, akusala-dhám-'ma, awyakha-dhámma,' these being the first words of the Abhi-'dhármma, which is divided into eight prakaranas. The full 'meaning of the Abhidhármma is known to the Budhas alone; 'even the déwas and brahmas cannot attain to it; when, there-'fore, it was declared by Gótama to the beings assembled in 'Tawutisá, it was in a simplified manner, as they were capable 'of understanding it. When he began, the various beings re-'flected thus, 'Is this the Abhidhármma? we had heard that it 'was so profound that no one could understand it.'

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"Budha saw their thoughts, and as he proceeded, the manner
' of his discourse made its meaning gradually deeper. Then
' the beings were able to understand some parts, and not
' others, it was like an image seen in the shadow. They
' said sádhu in approbation, the words still becoming more
' and more profound. The Abhidhármama now became to them
' like a form seen in a dream; its meaning was hid from them,
' and was perceived by none but Gótama. Not understanding
' any part, they remained like imagery painted upon a wall,
' in utter silence. In a little time Budha again simplified his
' discourse, when they once more expressed their approbation,
' and began to think, ' The Abhidhármma is not so difficult, it
' is easy to understand,' which, when the preacher perceived,
' he gradually passed to a profounder style. Thus, during half
' a night, Budha rapidly declared the bana of the Abhidhármma.
' In the time occupied by others to say one letter, Ananda says
' eight; in the time that Ananda says one, Seriyut says eight;
' in the time that Seriyut says one, Budha says eight; so that
' Budha can repeat 512 letters as rapidly as the priests can
' repeat one. When in Tawutisá, he repeated the bana thus
' quickly, because the apprehension of the déwas was of equal
' celerity.

"In one hundred of our years the déwas eat but once; and
' had Budha taken his accustomed meals in their presence
' during the period he performed wass in Tawutisá, they
' would have thought that he was always eating. Therefore,
' at the usual hours of refection, he caused another Budha to
' appear and occupy his place, whilst he himself went to the
' Anotatta lake, and, as his alms-bowl here came to him in a
' miraculous manner, he took it to Uturukuru, where he
' received food. At this time Seriyut and 500 priests called
' Waggula were in Sakaspura, keeping wass. When Budha
' had eaten the food he received in Uturukuru, he went to
' the same city, and at the request of Seriyut repeated all
' that he and the representative of Budha had said to the
' déwas. It would have occupied too much time to repeat the
' whole, and it was therefore spoken in an abridged form;
' but such was the wisdom of Seriyut, that when Budha
' declared to him one thing, from that one he learnt a hundred.
' The things he thus learnt, he was commanded by Gótama
' to teach in full to the 500 Waggula priests, who would after-
' wards be able to teach others, and thus the words of the
' Ahbidhármma would be preserved to future ages for the
' benefit of the faithful. When the rehearsal was concluded,
' Budha returned to the déwa-lóká, and causing the other
' form to disappear, took its place. This occurred daily.

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"The Abhidhármma was completed when three months of
'wass had passed over, and at its conclusion the Déwa
'Mátru (the mother of Gotama, now became a déwa) said to
'Budha, 'You who have been born from my womb so many
'times, have now rendered me a recompense. In one birth,
'from being a slave I became the wife of the king of Benares,
'that exaltation was not equal to the privilege I now receive.
'From the time of Pigumutura Budha, during a kap-laksha,
'you sought no other mother, and I sought no other son. Now,
'my reward is received.' Not Mátru alone, but eighty kelas
'and a thousand déwas and brahmas entered the paths.

"After eighty-three days had expired, the multitude assem-
'bled at Lewet, enquired of Mugalan when Budha might
'again be expected to appear. To ascertain this, the priest
'departed, in the presence of the people, to Tawutisá, where
'he appeared before Budha, and asked when he would return to
'the earth, as the multitude of the faithful at Lewet had been
'waiting three months in the anxious expectation of seeing
'him. Budha informed him, that in seven days he should
'proceed to Sakaspura, to which place Mugalan was directed
'to bring the people from Lewet. On the return of the
'priest, after hearing the information he conveyed to them,
'the upásakas enquired the distance from Lewet to Sakaspura,
'and were told that it was thirty yojanas. They then asked
'how the young and the lame were to go such a distance;
'but Mugalan informed them, that by the power of Budha,
'and his own power, they would be enabled to go without
'any inconvenience, and in the same instant, more quickly than
'if they had gone upon swift horses, sooner than betel can
'be taken from the bag and mixed with the lime, they were
'transported through the air to Sakaspura as if it were in a
'dream.

"The time had now arrived when Budha was to take his
'departure from the déwa-lóka. Sekra reflected that he had
'come from the earth at three steps, but that it would be
'right to celebrate his departure with special honours.
'He, therefore, caused a ladder of gold to extend from Maha
'Méru to Sakaspura. At the right side of this ladder there
'was another, also of gold, upon which the déwas appeared
'with instruments of music; and on the left there was another
'of silver, upon which the brahmas appeared, holding canopies,
'or umbrellas. These ladders were more than 80,000 yojanas
'in length. The steps in the ladder of Budha were alter-
'nately of gold, silver, coral, ruby, emerald, and other gems,
'and it was beautifully ornamented. The whole appeared
'to the people of the earth like three rainbows. When Budha

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'commenced his descent, all the worlds from Awichi to Bha-
'wagra were illuminated by the same light. The charac-
'teristic marks upon his person appeared to the multitude
'assembled at Sakaspura, as plainly as the inscription upon
'a golden coin held in the hand, and as they looked at him,
'they said to each other, 'Now he is upon the golden step,'
'or the silver, or some other. Sekra preceded him on the
'same ladder, blowing the conch, whilst on the other ladders
'were the déwas and brahmas. The people who saw him thus
'honoured, all formed within themselves the wish to become
'Budhas.

"The first to pay his respects to Budha on arriving at
'Sakaspura was Seriyut; and after he had worshipped the
'déwa of déwas, he enquired if all who had formed the wish to
'become Budhas would have their wishes gratified. Budha re-
'plied,' If they had not performed the páramitás in former births,
'how could they have exercised the wish? Those who have
'superior merit will become Supreme Budhas; the next in order
'will be Pasé-Budhas; and the others will be priests. Thus all
'will receive one or other of the three Bódhi.' After this de-
'claration had been made, Budha resolved upon giving evidence
'before the people of the superior wisdom of Seriyut. In the
'first place he asked a question, that those who had not entered
'the paths could answer; then he asked another, but they
'were silent, and those who had entered the first path answered.
'Thus each class was successively silent, and the one above
'answered as he passed to those in the second path, and the third,
'and then proceeded to the inferior (kshina,) the middle (triwidyá-
'práptа,) and the chief (shatabhigny-áprápta) sráwakas, then to
'Mugalan and Seriyut; and to Seriyut alone. Last of all he pro-
'pounded a question that the Budhas alone could answer. After
'this exercise, Budha said to Seriyut the words bhuta-midang,
'which the priest explained in a kóti of ways, though none of the
'other sráwakas, who were present, understood the meaning.
'As Seriyut proceeded, Gótama listened with the pleasure a
'father feels when witnessing the cleverness of his son, and
'then declared that in wisdom he was the chief of his disciples.
'All this honour was received by Seriyut, because in a former
'age he had given in alms a stylus and a blank book for the
'writing of the bana."

More than one attempt was made to assassinate Gótama, which failed, necessarily, as it is not possible to take the life of a Supreme Budha. His brother-in-law, Déwadatta, envied him on account of the honours he received, and entered into an alliance with Ajásat, the wicked son of Bimsara, that by their

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united power they might accomplish his destruction. They first employed a number of archers, but the intended assassins became priests, and their design was thereby frustrated. On another occasion, Déwadatta hurled an immense stone at Budha, by the help of a machine, but in its passage through the air it broke into two pieces, and a small portion, rolling towards the sage, struck his foot, without inflicting any further injury. An enraged elephant was afterwards let loose against him, as he was passing through the streets of the city with his alms-bowl, but the moment that it heard his voice, it was pacified, and going towards him in the gentlest manner did him reverence. The king Ajásat was afterwards converted to Buddhism, but Déwadatta remained a sceptic until near the time of his death, when he began to relent, but it was too late, and he miserably perished.

After the exercise of his high office for the period of forty-five years, Budha prepared to pass away from the vicissitudes of existence, and enter nirwána. The cause of his dissolution was from partaking of an offering of pork, presented to him by the smith Chundar, a citizen of Páwa. On his way from this place to Kusinára, in Assam, he was taken ill, but was able, with great difficulty, to reach a garden of sal trees, to which the princes of Malwa were accustomed to resort for recreation. On entering it, he said to his attendant, "Ananda, I am weary, I wish to lie down." The princes were sent for; and on their arrival, he gave them a suitable exhortation. To the assembled priests, he also gave a solemn charge, and after saying, "I depart to nirwána; I leave with you my ordinances; the elements of the omniscient will pass away; the three gems will pass away;" he ceased to exist. The burning of his body was an imposing ceremony. His relics were carefully collected from the ashes, and distributed among certain princes and priests. These events are said, by the Singhalese authors, to have taken place in the year that, according to our mode of reckoning, would be B. C. 543, in the eightieth year of his age.

Mr. Hardy enumerates fifty-six instances in which the name of the great sage has been differently spelt by European authors. He has chosen the form Budha as being the most simple, but tells us that "the form Buddha is etymologically the most correct." The etymology of the other names, or epithets, by which Budha is known, are also given.

The fifty-two sections of this chapter present a more extended account of the founder of the system of Buddhism than is to be met with in any other English author. Many of the legends are wild and extravagant; but there can be no doubt that Góta-

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ma was a real personage of royal parentage, the great promoter, if not the originator, of a system that was monastic in its discipline and atheistic in its doctrine, and that has spread more extensively, as to numbers, than any other form of error that has yet appeared among men.

VIII. *The Dignity, Virtues, and Powers of Budha.*—All the honours that the most fertile imagination can invent have been given to the Budhas. The eye cannot see anything, nor the ear hear anything, nor the mind think of anything, more excellent, or more worthy of regard. They are the joy of the whole world; the helpers of the helpless; having more merit than the most meritorious; the only deliverers. The lofty Maha Méru may be reflected in a mirror, the eye of a needle may be used as a comparison for the whole sky, even so may the words of a stanza be used to declare the excellence of the Budhas; but their power is utterly incompetent to accomplish the purpose aright. Were a rishi to create a thousand or a thousand thousand mouths, and with these to repeat the praises of the three gems (the Budhas, the Law, and the Priesthood) during the year of a maha-kalpa, even in this period the whole would not be declared.

The Budhas are men, born from the womb of a woman. Were they to appear as déwas or brahmas, their wisdom and power would be attributed to a wrong origin, and men would neither respect them aright nor put their trust in them.

Several attempts were made to measure the stature of Gótama, but they all failed, as he always appeared to exceed the scale of mensuration, and the power of the being who presumed to essay the trial, although on one occasion it was done by Ráhu, who is himself 4,800 yojanas high. He could walk in a space not larger than a mustard seed; and he could mount, at three steps, to the celestial regions. When he passed along the road, if there were any thorns, stones, roots, or other substances, that would have obstructed his progress, they removed from his path of their own accord; if there was mud, it became dry; if there were any elevations, they passed away, like butter that sees the fire, until the whole path was as level as the head of a drum; and the air around him appeared as if sweetened by perfumes.

The thirty hours of the night are divided into three watches. It was the custom of Gótama to sleep during one-third of the third watch, or three hours and one-third. In the first watch he said bana; in the second watch he answered questions put to him by the déwas; and in the first division of the third watch he slept, in the second exercised meditation, and in the

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6. Manó-winyána, mind consciousness, is the perceiving of the thoughts that are in the mind. Manó (in other places called hita, sita, and chitta) is the chief of the winyánas. It is like an overseer who continually urges on his labourers to work; like the first scholar in the school, who repeats his lesson, and is then followed by all the other scholars; or like the head workman, who sets all his men in motion when he himself begins to work.

As a large fish agitates the water in which it swims or sports, so the hita moves the rúpa, or body. Its powers are brought into exercise rapidly, like the quick movements of a mother when she sees her child in danger of falling into a well.

The essential properties of existence are enumerated by Budha, in order to convince us that there is no self, or soul. We are to contemplate the unreality of our being, that we may learn to despise it, and try to secure its cessation. None of the khandas taken separately are the self, and taken conjointly they are not the self. There is no such thing as a soul, the home of a self apart from the five khandas. There can, therefore, be no such process as that which is generally understood by the term transmigration:—

In the commencement of the conversations that were held between Milinda and Nágaséna, the king said, "How is your reverence known? What is your name?" Nágaséna replied, "I am called Nágaséna by my parents, and by the priests and others; but Nágaséna is not an existence, or being, pudgala." Milinda: "Then to whom are the various offerings made (that are presented to you as priest?) Who receives these offerings? Who keeps the precepts? Who enters the paths? There is no merit or demerit; neither the one nor the other can be acquired; there is no reward; no retribution. Were any one to kill Nágaséna he would not be guilty of murder. You have not been instructed; nor have you been received into the priesthood. Who is Nágaséna? What is he? Are the teeth Nágaséna? Or is the skin, the flesh, the heart, or the blood Nágaséna? Is the outward form Nágaséna? Are any of the five khandas (mentioning each of them separately) Nágaséna? Are all the five khandas (conjointly) Nágaséna? Leaving out the five khandas, is that which remains Nágaséna?" All these questions were answered in the negative. Milinda: "Then I do not see Nágaséna. Nágaséna is a mere sound, without any meaning. You have spoken an untruth. There is no Nágaséna." Nágaséna: "Did your majesty come here on foot or in a chariot?" Milinda: "In a chariot." Nágaséna: "What is a chariot? Is the ornamented cover the chariot? Are the wheels, the spokes of the wheels, or the reins, the chariot? Is the seat, the yoke, or the goad, the chariot? Are all these (conjointly) the chariot? Leaving out all these, is that which remains the chariot?" All these questions were answered in the negative. Nágaséna: "Then I see no chariot; it is only a sound, a name. In saying that you came in a chariot, you have uttered an untruth. There is no chariot. I appeal to the nobles, and ask them if it be proper that the great king of all Jambudwipa should utter an untruth?" The five hundred nobles who had accompanied the king declared that his majesty had not previously met with any one whose arguments were so powerful, and asked him what reply he would give. Milinda: "No untruth have I uttered, venerable priest. The ornamented cover, the wheels, the seat, and the other parts; all these things united, or combined, form the chariot. They are the usual signs by which that which is called a chariot is known."

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Nágaséna: "In like manner, it is not the skin, the hair, the heart, or the blood that is Nágaséna. All these united, or combined, form the acknowledged sign by which Nágaséna is known; but the existent being, the man, is not hereby seen. The same things were declared by Budha to the priestess Wajira: —'As the various parts, the different adjuncts of a vehicle, form, when united, that which is called a chariot; so, when the five khandas are united in one aggregate, or body, they constitute that which is called a being, a living existence.'"

The origin of being cannot be understood, unless it be by some one who is possessed of supernatural powers. The cause of *continued* existence is declared in the formula called paticha samuppáda. On account of ignorance, merit and demerit (kusala and akusala) are produced; on account of merit and demerit, consciousness; on account of consciousness, body and mind (rupa and náma). Rupa is said to signify, according to the definition of the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, the material form; náma signifies the whole of the mental powers; and by the two combined, we are to understand the complete being, body and mind. On account of body and mind, the six organs of sense are produced; on account of the six organs of sense, touch, or contact; on account of contact, desire; on account of desire, sensation, (of pleasure or pain); on account of sensation, cleaving, or clinging to existing objects; on account of clinging to existing objects, renewed existence; on account of renewed existence, birth; on account of birth, death, with its causes and consequences. When there is the cessation of ignorance, there is the cessation of all its educts. The whole body of sorrow evanishes, or passes away. Of the origin of ignorance we know nothing. No one but a Budha can tell how the chain of existence commenced.

The cause of reproduction after death is upádána, which in the above formula is translated "the cleaving to existing objects." At death, the five khandas are dissolved. Their reciprocity of influence has ceased for ever. But the upádána still exists, and on the breaking up of the khandas, it produces another being. It cannot but exert its power; another being must necessarily be produced. The manner of its operation is, however, controlled by karma, literally action, which is said to be "the aggregate result of all previous acts, in unbroken 'succession, from the commencement of existence, in the births 'innumerable that have been received in past ages." When the karma is good, the being produced is in a state of happiness or privilege; but if it be evil, the being is united to degradation and misery. Yet no sentient being can tell in what state the karma he possesses will appoint his next birth, however meritorious may be the acts of his present existence. In that

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karma there may be some awful crime, committed myriads of ages ago, but not yet expiated; and like an hereditary disease, it may break out in uncontrollable violence in the next birth, whilst the result of present merit, though certain of ultimate accomplishment, may be postponed to an indefinite period. The most devoted Budhist is thus deprived of all hope in death.

As it is the karma of the being, and not the being himself that receives a renewal of existence, it is evident that there is properly no moral responsibility. The karma is transferred to another being, of which it is in part the cause. The manner in which the Budhists endeavour to avoid this conclusion, will be seen by the following extract from the *Milinda Prasna*:—

The king of Sägal said to Nägaséna, "What is it that is conceived?" Nägaséna replied, "These two: náma and rúpa." Milinda: "Are the same náma and rúpa that are conceived here, or in the present birth, conceived elsewhere, or in another birth?" Nägaséna: "No: this náma and rúpa (or mind and body) acquires karma, whether it be good or bad: and by means of this karma, another náma and rúpa is produced." Milinda: "Then if the same nama rúpa is not again produced, or conceived, that being is delivered from the consequences of sinful action." Nágaséna: "How so? If there be no future birth (that is, if nirwâna be attained), there is deliverance; but if there be a future birth, deliverance from the consequences of siuful action does not necessarily follow. Thus a man steals a number of mangos, and takes them away; but he is seized by the owner, who brings him before the king, and says, 'Sire, this man has stolen my mangos.' But the robber replies, 'I have not stolen his mangos; the mango he set in the ground was one; these mangos are other and different to that; I do not deserve to be punished.' Now, your majesty, would this plea be valid; would no punishment be deserved?" Milinda: "He would certainly deserve punishment." Nágaséna: "Why?" Milinda: "Because, whatever he may say, the mangos he stole were the produet of the mango originally set by the man from whom they were stolen, and therefore punishment ought to be inflicted." Nágaséna: "In like manner, by means of the karma produced by this náma and rúpa another náma and rúpa is caused; there is therefore no deliverance (in this way) from the consequences of sinful action. (The same process is illustrated by the sowing of grain and the setting of the sugar-cane) Again, a man lights a fire in the dry season, and by his neglecting to extinguish it, another fire is produced, which sets fire to his neighbour's rice-field, or to his field of dry grain. The owner of the field seizes him, and bringing him before the king, says, 'Sire, by this man my field has been burnt;' but the man replies, 'I did not burn his field; true, I neglected to put out a fire I had kindled, but the fire kindled by me was one, the fire that burnt his field was another;' would it be right that upon such a plea he should be released?" Milinda: "No; because the fire that did the damage was produced by the fire that he kindled and neglected to put out." Nágaséna: "Again, a man takes a light, and ascending into an upper room, there eats his food; but whilst doing so, the flame of his lamp sets fire to the thatch of the roof; by this means the house is burnt, and not this house alone, but the other houses of the village. Then the villagers seize him, and say, 'Man, why did you burn our village?' But he replies, 'Good people, I did not burn your

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village; I was eating my food by the light of a lamp, when the flame rose and set fire to the thatch of the roof; but the flame that I kindled was one, and the flame that burnt the house was another, and the flame that burnt the village was another.' Now were he to persist in this plea when brought before the king, the decision would still be given against him; for this reason, because the flame that burnt the village was caused by the flame from the thatch, and this flame was caused by the flame from the lamp. Again, a man gives money to a girl for a maintenance, that afterwards he may marry her; the girl grows up, when another man gives her money and marries her. Hearing this, the first man demands the girl, as he has given her money; but the other man replies, 'No; the girl to whom you gave the money was a child, but this is a grown-up young woman; she cannot therefore belong to you.' Now if such a plea as this were set up in the court, it would be given against the man who made it; for this reason, that the child had gradually grown into the woman. Again, a man purchases a vessel of milk from the cowherd, and leaves it in his hand until the next day: but when he comes at the appointed time to receive it, he finds that it has become curd; so he says to the cowherd, 'I did not purchase curd; give me my vessel of milk.' Now, if a case like this were brought before your majesty, how would you decide it?" Milinda: "I should decide in favour of the cowherd, because it would be evident that the curd had been produced from the milk." Nagasena: "In like manner, one mind and body dies; another mind and body is conceived; but as the second mind and body is produced by (the karma of) the first mind and body, there is no deliverance (by this means) from the consequence of moral action."

These illustrations are not worthy of being called an argument; and it must be a singular phase of mind that can regard them as conclusive. The doctrine they would inculcate is too subtle to be comprehended by the general mind. Hence we see that among all Buddhists, with the exception of the learned few, the nexus between one state of existence and another is not the karma, the moral actions of the being, but the ever-living individuality.

X. *The Ethics of Buddhism.*—The superior prohibitions are divided into three sections. 1. Those that belong to the body, viz., the taking of life, the taking of that which is not given, and the holding of carnal intercourse with the female who belongs to another person. 2. Those of the speech, viz., lying, slander, abuse, and unprofitable conversation. 3. Those of the mind, viz., covetousness, malice, and scepticism. There are other evils that are to be avoided, such as the drinking of intoxicating liquors, gambling, idleness, improper associations, and the frequenting of places of amusement. These prohibitions refer to the householder only, and have no reference to the ten obligations that are binding upon the priest. The laws of the priesthood include the whole of the series here enumerated, with many others of much greater strictness.

The translations from the Singhalese authors that are given in the *Manual*, are so contrary to each other, that the sincere

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Budhist must often be in great perplexity how to act; whilst the insincere have so many exceptions and reservations, that the precept becomes almost a dead letter. The following are some of the explanations relative to the taking of life, prána-ghâta. "There are five things," we are told, in the Sadharmmaratnakáré, "necessary to constitute the crime of taking life. '1. There must be the knowledge that there is life. 2. There 'must be the assurance that a living being is present. 3. There 'must be the intention of taking life. 4. With this intention 'there must be something done, as the placing of a bow, or 'spear, or the setting of a snare; and there must be some move-'ment towards it, as walking, running, or jumping. 5. The 'life must be actually taken." "Under certain circumstances 'one's own life may be given up, but the life of another is never 'to be taken." "He who takes the life of a large animal, will 'have greater demerit than he who takes the life of a small one; 'because greater skill or artifice is required in taking the life of 'the former than of the latter. When the life of a man is 'taken, the demerit increases in proportion to the merit of the 'person slain; the two extremes being, the sceptic and the 'rahat."

The obligation to observe the precepts is usually taken in the presence of a priest; and it would seem to be supposed, that it is only when thus voluntarily taken that the observance ensures merit. Any number of the obligations may be taken; and they may be taken for a limited period, or for as long as there is the power of observance, or until death. They may be taken either separately or together. When taken to be kept separately, though one should be broken, it does not impair the merit of the rest; but if they are taken to be kept collectively, if one be broken, the whole are impaired.

"The moral code," says Mr. Hardy, at the conclusion of the chapter, "becomes powerless for good, as it is destitute of all 'real authority. Gótama taught the propriety of certain ob-'servances, because all other Budhas had done the same; but 'something more is required before man can be restrained from 'vice, and preserved in the path of purity. There is pro-'perly no law. The Budhist can take upon himself certain 'obligations, or resolve to keep certain precepts; as many or as 'few as he pleases; and for any length of time he pleases. It is 'his own act that makes them binding, and not any objective 'authority. Even when he takes the obligations, there is this 'convenient clause in the form that he repeats to the priest: 'I 'embrace the five precepts (or the eight, as the case may be) to 'obey them severally, *as far as I am able*, from this time for-'ward.' From the absence of a superior motive to obedience,

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'Budhism becomes a system of selfishness. The principle set 'forth in the vicarious endurances of the Bódhisat is forgotten. 'It is a vast scheme of profits and losses, reduced to regular 'order. The disciple of Budha is not taught to abhor crime, 'because of its exceeding sinfulness; but because its commission 'will be to him a personal injury. There is no moral pollution 'in sin; it is merely a calamity to be deprecated, or a misfortune 'to be shunned."

The *Appendix* contains an account of the Singhalese MSS., whence the translations that appear in the *Manual* are taken. The principal are the Pansiya-panas-játaka, the Milinda Prasna, the Wisudhi Márgga, and the Amáwatura. The works vary in size from a few pages to 2,400 pages; and are written upon the leaf of the talipot, one of the largest having nine lines upon each page, and about 100 letters in each line.

Our task is now ended. In the epitome now furnished, of Mr. Hardy's new work, our readers are in possession of a more compendious, and, at the same time, more comprehensive and intelligible, account of Budhism, than is anywhere else to be found. We trust, however, that this brief epitome of so vast and intricate a subject—a subject, too, so fraught with interest and importance, as regards the evangelization of hundreds of millions of our fellow-creatures, will only have the effect of whetting their appetite for a speedy perusal of the original work itself. Mr. Hardy undertook an adventurous and difficult task; and bravely has he encountered the difficulties, and nobly has he consummated his great design. And where ought he to look for sympathising readers, if it be not in the East? If it be not among intelligent European philanthropists, whose lot is cast in the midst, or in the immediate vicinity, of the millions that are the blinded votaries of the gigantic system of Budhism, which he so vividly and elaborately pourtrays? We do trust, therefore, that this new work will meet with such a sale in the East as will encourage Mr. Hardy to persevere in his useful researches for the future, as well as repay him for all the toil and hazards of the past. It seems providential that such works as Mr. Hardy has now given to the world, should appear at the very time when the great rebellion in China is tearing up the mighty fabric of Budhism there. And as India gave its Budhism to China, let Christians in India be the foremost in manifesting an intelligent interest in all that is fitted to throw light on that stupendous system of error, and hasten on the emancipation of myriads from its destructive sway.

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ART II.—1. *Buchanan's Journey to Mysore, Canara, and Malabar.* 1807.

2. *Madras Petition to Parliament.*

3. *Friend of India.*

WITHIN a few days of the commencement of the present century, Dr. Francis Buchanan entered the district of Canara, in the course of a journey "performed under the orders of 'the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, for the express pur-'pose of investigating the state of agriculture, arts, and 'commerce, the religion, manners and customs, the history, 'natural and civil, and antiquities, in the dominions of the 'Rajah of Mysore, and the countries acquired by the Hon'ble 'East India Company, in the late and former wars, from 'Tippoo Sultan." The results of the journey were published in three volumes, quarto, by order of the Court of Directors, in 1807. The work contains a great deal of valuable information on the varied subjects to which Dr. Buchanan's attention was turned; but the book has now become scarce; and as it lays claim to no attractions of style or narrative, the lapse of half a century, with the changes induced, as well as the opening out of more accurate sources of information, have deprived the work of much of its interest with reference to Canara, except as a means of comparison between the state of a beautiful and fertile province, when it came under the British dominion, and the state of the same province after a little more than half a century of British rule.

For this purpose the work is invaluable, and we think that at the present moment it will not be uninteresting, if we endeavour to establish this comparison. We therefore propose to attempt, in this article, a slight sketch of the province, and to trace its progress in commerce and agriculture, from the date of Dr. Buchanan's journey, to the present time.

We are not without hopes that this attempt may be of some practical use. The subject of British rule, and British institutions generally throughout India, is so vast and overwhelming, that it may be refreshing to turn from the wider field of enquiry, and to allow the eye to rest for a moment on one small spot. It may be useful to enquire how British institutions have worked there, whether population has increased, whether cultivation has extended, whether the value of land has risen, whether commerce has flourished, whether new sources of wealth have opened out, in consequence of the connexion of the country

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with the home market; and if so, whether with these a field has been opened for the extension of British manufactures. It may be interesting to learn whether this province has received any of the fostering care of Government in the promotion of public works. To follow these questions through the history of a single province, may really give a more accurate idea of the vastness of the questions now under debate, than many sheets of statistical figures, which comprise, in one view, provinces inhabited by different nations, and affected by many varying causes, but still forming an integral part of what is known as British India.

At the same time, should our reader spread before him the map of India, and after looking with some patience, discover the position of the province, and find it a mere spot, it will be useful to remember that the description which we propose to attempt, is of a country of the length of England, and the area of Wales, that the population exceeds one million, that is, that it is more thickly peopled than Scotland, or Wales,* and that the revenue raised upon the province is equal to that of the island of Mauritius, administered by its Governor and Legislative Council. This province is one out of twenty-one, placed under the controul of the Governor and Council of one of the minor Presidencies.

If, in the course of these enquiries, we should find reason to believe that the province has made greater advances than many others, in agricultural and commercial prosperity, we shall be tempted into the enquiry, how far this is due to advantages of position and seasons, and how far to the effects of local institutions, especially as affecting the tenure and assessment of the land.

If the reader will cast his eye upon the map of Southern India, and suppose the south-west monsoon to be rolling its masses of vapour from the ocean upon the land, he may conceive them spreading like a thick canopy over the narrow strip which forms the provinces of Malabar and Canara, and resting upon the line of Ghâts which separate those provinces from Mysore and Coimbatore. From the close of May to the beginning of September, the rain continues, with little intermission, to pour down upon the sea-ward districts and the sea-ward side of the mountain range; while masses of clouds occasionally over-top the higher mountains, or are blown through their gaps, and spreading in lighter vapour through the atmosphere, or falling in mild and fertilizing showers, give to the

* Per square mile: Scotland 101, Wales 123, Canara 126, Prussia 128, England 297, Belgium 323.

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line which runs along the eastern side of the Ghâts, one of the most delicious climates within the tropics. At this season the houses of the coast districts are covered with a casing of cocoanut leaves, which still fail to prevent the ruin of silk dresses and musical instruments, while books and pictures are reduced to a state of pulp. The ryot of the coast, with his coarse blanket thrown over his head, so as to form a pent roof on his shoulders, patiently defies the storm, and ploughs his terraced fields, secure that the prolonged rains will bring to maturity the seed which he entrusts to lands which need no artificial irrigation, while the European residents of Mercara in Coorg, and Ootacamund on the Neilgherries, hasten to take refuge behind the higher range, and exchange the tedious and dreary season for the Italian climate of Frazerpett and Cotugherry.

If the reader examines the map still more closely, he will see that, although the waters fall chiefly on the western side of the mountains, they are drained off in two different directions. The great body swells the innumerable streams which flow from the Ghâts to the westward, and bears down a rich deposit of alluvial soil; its early course is rapid and impetuous, but as it nears the coast, it is checked by bars thrown up at the meeting of the sea tide, and compelled to spread and deposit its burden over the rich fields which border the rivers and surround their extensive back waters.

By a bountiful provision of Providence, the remaining body of water has a longer journey to perform. Several streams find their way through the Ghâts eastward, and after each yielding a portion of their waters at the bidding of man's industry, to fertilize the tracts through which they pass, they unite as much of their several streams as has surmounted the dams and escaped the artificial reservoirs, and under the name of their principal, the Cavery, they bear the unfailing bounties of the south-western monsoon through some of the hottest and driest lands of India. At frequent intervals they continue to dispense their invaluable treasure wherever the industry and ingenuity of man court the gift, and finally they spread in one wide sheet of cultivation over the delta of Tanjore.

The mountain range which we have thus described, does not mark the division of the waters more distinctly than it does that of the institutions of the people who inhabit the plains, into which its eastern and its western spurs gradually subside, while the mountains themselves give shelter to various tribes, differing in language and feature, from those of the plain, and

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from one another, and each enjoying their peculiar institutions. The Todawars and the Badagas of the Neilgherries, and the brave and warlike Coorgs, are each a distinct mountain tribe.

How human institutions and social manners are modified by the physical conformation of a country, and affected by its climate, is a subject which has often been treated, but has not yet been exhausted. Mountains have often been the abode of liberty, but the "Mountain Nymph," though taking her name from these poetical regions, has not seldom deigned to dwell in flat and dreary marshes. An inaccessible situation, and a soil unfit to tempt the avarice of a conqueror, would seem to be the circumstances which generally determined her abode, and these were found not only in the mountains of Scotland, of Wales, of Switzerland, and of Coorg, but in the lagunes of Venice, and the meres of Holland, in the swamps of La Rochelle, and the fens of our own Lincolnshire and Glastonbury. The peculiar clanship of mountainous countries, whether in Scotland or the Pyrenees, may probably be traced to another physical cause, added to the sequestered position of their valleys; namely their varying soil. For it makes a wide difference in the manners of a people, whether they cultivate only one kind of produce, and must resort to a market for the rest of their wants, as is usual in flat countries, or whether they cultivate at once the slopes of a hill and the depths of a valley, where their fields, their orchards, their sheepwalks, and their meadows, supply them with most of the articles of their food and clothing, and render a visit to a fair or market a more rare occurrence.

These effects of the formation of the soil are more obvious, and have attracted more attention than those produced by the distribution of water; but it is to this distribution that many national peculiarities and local institutions have been accurately traced. Upon the district which we are about to describe, the effect is peculiarly striking.

A very marked difference, we have said, exists between the habits and customs of the people who are separated by this mountain chain.

The western coast is inhabited by tribes, among whom the rights of individual private property have been recognised from time immemorial. We found the soil in the possession of a class of independent proprietors, whose tenure, while it was more ancient, was as distinctly recorded, and as pertinaciously maintained, as that of the landlords of England. In the plains of the eastern coast, these rights had so far disappeared, that it was a point of controversy whether they had ever existed, and, even when they were most apparent, they appeared

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in a less perfect form, vested not in individuals, but in village communities, or a kind of small republic interposed between the cultivators and the Government; institutions invaluable, no doubt, as the guilds of the middle ages; but a proof of imperfect rights and insecure individual tenure. While others traced to historical incidents these diversities in a tenure, and in the results which flow from them, Sir Thomas Munro, one of the most accurate of observers, derived them far more correctly from the physical position of the two countries with reference to the distribution of water. On one side of the mountain range this indispensable blessing is received direct from Heaven; on the other, as we have seen, through a channel which requires for its distribution the agency of man.

In the oldest book extant in the world, it had already been shown how greatly this difference may influence the happiness of a people. In contrasting the land of their captivity with the land of God's promise, the Jewish leader had observed, "the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven: a land which the Lord thy God careth for: the eyes of the Lord thy God are upon it from the beginning of the year, even unto the end of the year. (Deut. xi. 10,—12.) And if we follow the distribution of the water effected by this mountain range, we find precisely the same contrast between the flat and alluvial plains of the Cavery, and the hills and valleys of Canara, as between the delta of the Nile, and the terraced vineyards and sloping cornfields of Palestine and Lebanon. And the same social results have followed. In one we find the clustered cities, the superb temples, the potent priesthood, the very wealthy and the very poor, all the signs of property having run into masses; in the other the scattered homesteads, the village shrine, the sequestered farms, the more equable distribution of wealth, which comes nearest to the description of every man living under his own vine and his own fig tree.

We have given prominence to this subject, because the narrow strip of the western coast is thus widely different from the rest of the Madras Presidency. We may have occasion, in a future article, to follow the collected body of the eastward stream, which scarcely yields to the Nile in any point of interest, except the mystery of its source. It washes the walls of cities of no mean historical interest, and reflects the towers of temples superior in beauty, if not equal in magni-

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tude, to those of Carnac. But our object would be to describe the works by which its blessings are spread over a rich but arid soil, to estimate the value of this great bounty of nature, and to examine the institutions through which its blessings reach the cultivator. Our present object is to describe the country situated to the westward of the mountain, and in a subsequent page we shall have occasion to revert to this leading feature, when we speak of its land tenures, upon which its bearing is all-important.

The district of Canara Proper lies between the Ghât mountains and the sea, extending from the frontier of the province of Malabar at Kavay, to that of the Goa territory, near Sedashegur. The length of the coast line is 230 miles. The breadth varies from eight to fifty miles. To this is to be added a tract of country above the Ghats, having a superficial area of 2,744 square miles, forming originally a portion of the kingdoms of Sonda and Bilgi.

The whole district, above and below the Ghâts, is estimated to contain 8,360 square miles, or 5,350,400 acres, of which, probably, about one million are cultivated.

Canara Payenghat consists, for the most part, of a series of rough undulations of laterite rock, intersected by numerous streams and broad estuaries. To the ravines and valleys formed by these streams, and to the sandy or alluvial soils which surround the estuaries or form the coast line, cultivation is principally confined. It is only very gradually that it is extending up the slopes of the hills on the coast.

Possessing in these valleys a fertile soil, continually renewed from its well-wooded mountains, the district abounds in the richest productions of tropical vegetation. It has its sandy sea-board lined with cocoanuts, its alluvial plains bearing their treble crop of rice, and rich patches of sugar cane; and its deep ravines at the foot of the mountains, crowded with pepper, cardamum, and betel palm. But in addition to these, the mountains rising from this base attain, in several places, a sufficient altitude, to display the vegetation of a temperate climate, and the teak, ebony and sandal, which clothe their base, give place to the raspberry, the salop, the wild rose and the violet. Intermediate between these is a plateau, on which wheat grows by the side of the rice and the sugar cane.

The continued rains of the S. W. monsoon, averaging about 120 inches a year, combined with a tropical sun, clothe each successive range with ever-varied forms of vegetable life, and to the botanist the district offers a boundless and an almost unexplored field. To the geologist also it offers many points of

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interest, and the sources of the golden grains found in the sands of the mountain torrents, the laterite rock, the slate and the limestone, have hitherto been very cursorily examined. A portion of the province as yet unalluded to, adds a further subject of interest. Several islands of the Laccadive group, belong to Canara, and afford the opportunity of studying the coralline formation.

The scenery of the district is varied and beautiful. The estuaries of the coast are, in fact, broad salt-water lakes, studded with wooded islands, and surrounded by fertile alluvial plains, from which rise the undulating laterite hills, backed by the long waving line of the Ghât mountains. Passing from the coast to the interior, each depression in the laterite range is found to be a sequestered valley, the basin of which is occupied by rice fields, surrounded by gardens of cocoanuts, plantain, betel palm, and pepper vine. The thatched homestead of the proprietor appears among this thick vegetation, and scattered huts of his tenants and Dhers (late slaves) are surrounded by their clumps of garden trees.

A belt of forest clothes the undulating surface at the foot of the mountain range, and in travelling from the coast, this has to be passed before the ascent is commenced. In ascending from this level the timber becomes finer, the rocks are more abrupt, the torrents become waterfalls, and all the features of mountain scenery are met with in their grandest form. In the south of the district the westward streams take their rise on the western slope only of the mountains, and are but small detached torrents, until they unite into rivers at the base of the mountains. The Cavery, as described above, and the Toonga and the Budra, take their source in the mountains, and drain off to the eastward all that falls on the eastern slope. In the north of the district it is different; rivers which have collected the great body of the water on the eastern slopes, swelled by the drainage of an extensive table-land, have found a passage through the mountains westward. They burst the rocky barrier at a great elevation, and form, perhaps, the noblest falls in the world. Of these, the falls of Garisippa are the best known, and have, for some time past, attracted visitors from all parts of India. A scene more perfect in the combination of sublimity and beauty, is perhaps nowhere to be met with, than is afforded by the stupendous chasm of 890 feet, its dashing cataracts, and all the accessories of the most beautiful surrounding scenery. Every form of grandeur and loveliness, that foliage, rock, and water, can assume, are here presented. The Lushington falls, yielding in beauty only to those of Gari-

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sippa, though situated within a few miles of the most frequented road, were concealed in the dense jungle, and unvisited till within the last few years ; and it has since been discovered that the Gangawali river also reaches the lower level by a series of rapids, through a gorge affording scenes of the greatest magnificence.

Canara Balaghat, or the tract above the Ghâts, differs essentially from the coast district. It consists of the undulating crests of the mountains, gradually subsiding to the level of the Deccan. The magnificent jungle of the Ghâts gradually dwindles into stunted teak and saul, and finally disappears in the open plains of the Mahratta frontier. The scattered houses and farms are exchanged for clustered villages ; and the double hedge which encloses them, and the towers of refuge which rise in their centre, shew that the border track came within the sweep of the mounted marauders. The talook of Soopah, extending from the semicircular frontier of Goa to the east and south, consists of a vast forest, in which a few higher and grassy undulations rise like far scattered islands. Cultivation is carried on in the deeper and well-watered glens, but seen from an elevation the shadows of the clouds seem to float over one uninterrupted sea of foliage. More than a million of acres are comprised within this talook, in which are included the Goand forests, abounding in teak and other valuable woods. To the southward the jungle is less continuous, and a mixture of grassy glades, and clumps of wood-land, form the characteristic of the Bilghi talook.

Canara is almost exclusively an agricultural country. The staple products are rice, betelnut, pepper, cardamums, cocoanuts and timber. The climate is unfavourable to manufactures, and unless the production of salt, by solar evaporation, be included under this head, they may be said to be unknown. But though not a manufacturing country, it is eminently a commercial one. Beyond the line of the Ghâts lie the fertile lands of Darwar, Bellary and Mysore, and the products of these countries find their way to the larger markets of the world through the ports of Canara ; and we shall have occasion to show hereafter that wherever a passage has been opened through the Ghâts, a rich stream of produce has invariably poured from the table-land of the interior to the coast.

The principal ports are those of Mangalore, Cundapore, Butkul, Coompta, and Sedashegur. The principal trade is with Arabia, Cutch, Bombay, Malabar and Goa. The trade with Arabia, and through Arabia with Europe, is spoken of in the earliest annals of commerce, and Major Rennell and

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Dr. Robertson have imagined that they identified the Musiris* and Barace of ancient authors with the Meerjan and Barcelore of modern times. Both Meerjan and Barcelore have fallen from their greatness. Meerjan has been supplanted by the busy and rising, but inconvenient port of Coompta; and Barcelore or Busoor has shared the fall of Nugger, of which capital it may be considered to have been the sea port. Improved navigation has led commerce to seek, in more eastern regions, the pearls and other riches which, according to ancient authors, met the western merchants on this coast; but the pepper for which it was celebrated still attracts the traders of Arabia and Europe, and other sources of wealth have sprung up in abundance.

The connexion of our own nation with the district, dates from an early period, but has left but few traces. Some tombs of our fellow-countrymen, still to be seen at Butkul, bear the following inscriptions, and the site of this early settlement seems to show that the pepper trade was their principal object, as the pepper of Canara is to this day generally named from "Butkole," where it is considered to be obtained of the finest quality.

Here lyeth the body of William Barton, CHYRURGION. Dec. XXX. November, ANNO DOM. NRI. CHRISTI. Salv. Mundi MDC.

Here lyeth the body of George Wye, Merchant. Dec. XXXI. March, Anno Dom. NRI. CHRISTI SAL. MUNDI. MDCXXXVII.

Here lyeth the body of Anto. Vern Worthy, merchant. Dec. I. April, Anno Dom. NRI. Christi Salv. Mundi. MDC XXXVII.

Could any records of this little settlement be obtained, they might throw some light on the geology of the coast, for local tradition states that the vessels of the foreigners ascended the river to the spot where their settlement then stood, and where

* Heeren says, Muziris in Limyrica will be found in the present Mangalore, and Nelkynda survives in Nelicéram. He elsewhere says the author of the Periplus speaking of Nelkynda, states that the Malabar thrum was brought thither from the interior, viz., Malabar thrum is the term used to denote betel. Can Nilkynda have any thing to do with Nikoond; the road through which would convey the betel to the coast from the gardens of Nilghi and Soonda?

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their bodies now repose; a fact which, if authenticated, would prove a remarkable change in the level of the coast, as no vessels can now ascend the river.

In more recent days our connexion with the country was of a warlike character. Canara had fallen into the hands of Hyder and Tippoo, and the forts of Rajamandroog, Honore, and Mangalore, were scenes on which the gallantry of our troops was prominently displayed. But these spots were occupied only as military posts, from which our forces might penetrate to the interior of the Sultan's dominions, and our occupation of the country, as the ruling power, dates from the fall of Seringapatam, in 1799. Our wish is to collect from the pages of Buchanan, and from official sources, indications of the condition of the country, when it passed into our hands, and to trace its progress up to the present time.

Not tradition only, but authentic records, handed from father to son, widely scattered through the district, as well as collected in public archives, prove that there was once a golden age in Canara, when the assessment on the land was equivalent only to the seed sown, and other imposts were almost unknown. The extensive ruins of ancient cities, specially of Guersippa, Moodbiddery, and Sissal, and the remains of magnificent avenues, still attest the wealth and beneficence of the rulers of the land, while the denseness of the population is indicated by the traces of field boundaries, on lands too high and poor to have been brought under the plough at any subsequent period. But exaction commenced at an early date. Between the years 1334 and 1347, (the time of our Edward III.) the Rajah of Bajanugger made a fresh assessment, which raised the Government demand nominally to one-sixth, and actually to one-fourth of the produce. In 1587 the country passed under the Bedarnore dynasty, and times grew worse and worse. The Mogul Peishkush, and the Mahratta Chout, each gave occasion for the state to levy fresh taxes upon the land, and a total revision of the assessment was made, by which it was greatly raised. The various heads of taxation consolidated by this revision, formed for a century the demand upon the land; still, as large reductions were made under the name of enams, had exaction stopped there, the province might still have flourished, the actual collections being under thirteen lakhs of rupees.

But in 1764 the country came under the dominion of Hyder, and passing from him to the Sultan, its decline was rapid and complete. All enams were resumed, deductions for waste land were cancelled, and invention was racked for new sources of exaction. The demand was raised to thirty-two lakhs of

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Rupees, and although only twenty-four lakhs reached the treasury of the Sultan, the remainder afforded boundless scope for extortion. Its population thinned by intestine feuds, its most industrious cultivators driven into banishment, its trade crippled by hostile fleets, and intercepted by swarms of pirates, its principal trading ports occupied by a foreign enemy, and beleaguered by the ill-disciplined plundering hordes of the Sultan, the country presented a scene of indescribable wretchedness. A number of petty poligars revived in the midst of this confusion the hereditary claims of their families to various portions of the district, and filled the country with plundering bands. Perhaps, after the decline of population, the strongest evidence of the universal wretchedness is that, among a people who cling to their lands with hereditary affection, twelve thousand estates, or about a fourth of the whole number, were abandoned by their possessors, and had lapsed to Government.

It required the firmness and genius of a Munro to restore order and confidence in the midst of confusion such as this, and to him the task was assigned on the cession of the country to the British; he was summoned from his labours in the Baramahl, to take charge of this new acquisition. When he entered the district, the petty chiefs openly resisted his authority, and the great body of the landholders revived a practice with which they had been familiar under weaker Governments, of organizing a passive resistance, and refusing to assemble to settle their rents. But they had to deal with a soldier and a statesman gifted beyond other men with the power of using severity and kindness, each exactly in its proper degree. One or two plundering Rajahs were hanged, and their bands dispersed, others were pensioned, and the Ryots saw nothing to encourage farther combination in the man who did not even offer to treat for terms, but calmly gave them time to dissolve their confederations. Major Munro remained in Canara for less than two years, when he was summoned to another field of labour, in the ceded districts; but in that time he had made himself acquainted with the financial history of the province, and traced back for centuries the proprietory right in the land, which he found in full force, though overlaid by the exactions of the late Government. He saw that there existed here what it had been the labour of his master, Read, and of himself, to create in Salem,—a body of landholders, owning properties of varying sizes, the spontaneous growth of a Ryotwari system. He saw that peace, and a reduction of the excessive Government demand, was all that the country required, and recom-

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mending to Government as liberal a reduction of the exactions of later rulers, as he considered the Government of those days likely to concede, he handed over the country, divided into two collectorates, to his successors, one of whom was the nephew of his master and friend, Read; and after laying down the line of policy which he recommended them to pursue, left for the ceded districts, there to resume the labour of laying the foundation for future prosperity, by a Ryotwari settlement.

It was just as Munro left the district that Dr. Buchanan's mission took place. He found the province in profound peace, but the traces of its late troubles were still fresh, and commerce and cultivation were only beginning to revive. To compare the state of the country then with what it now is, we shall select a few of the more prominent points which caught the eye of the traveller in his progress through the district, and compare his descriptions with existing facts, and afterwards collect some of a more general nature from his work, and from official sources.

Dr. Buchanan entered the district from the south; and his first observations have reference to a tract of country belonging to Malayala, one of the three principal and well-defined divisions, of which the province is composed.* The forts which stud this part of the country are sufficiently indicative of the former condition of its inhabitants. From Cavay to Bekul, at distances of from five to ten miles, strong well-built fortresses of laterite stone occupy the more prominent headlands. This country formed the scene of repeated struggles between the Nelaishwer Rajas, who formerly governed it, and their successive invaders. These were the Ikeri Rajas, Hyder, and Tippoo. The Nelaishwer Rajas were reduced to the rank of petty princes, but whenever the fortunes of their conquerors declined, they constantly endeavoured to recover their power, and rose in rebellion against their ruler. But the country was subject to a greater depopulation and misery than arises from a mere political struggle. With each alternation of fortune, one of the hostile races which divide the country, either the Nayrs or the Moplahs, gained the ascendancy, and each in turn persecuted the other. The Moplahs are the least numerous, but they are the most vindictive, and when the Mahomedan conquest gave them the upper hand, the Nayrs were driven to the jungles of the interior, or forcibly circumcised.

For some time after we took the country, the cultivators

* Malayala, Tulava, and Haiga.

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were still obliged to find nightly shelter under the walls of the forts, and it is not surprising that Buchanan's notes speak of deserted fields and scanty population.

These signs met him at every step. He speaks of the dominions of the Nelaishwer Raja as "exceedingly depopulated by war and by famine;" "the inner parts of the country are much over-grown with woods, and are very thinly inhabited." Of the upper land, even round the Fort of Hossdroog, he writes: "It is now waste, but when there were plenty of people, it 'was cultivated with ragy, horse gram, sesamum, and different 'pulses." "Still," he remarks further on, "more grain is raised 'in the country than the small number of inhabitants can con-'sume. The people are accused by the Tahsildar of excessive 'indolence and of drunkenness, vices which he attributes to 'the constant troubles which prevailed during the government 'of the Sultan." "Very few of the landlords remain, and even 'the mortgagees are ready to give up all the land which they 'cannot cultivate, with their own stock, to any one who will 'pay the land-tax."

The country thus described by Buchanan in 1801, is, after the lapse of fifty-two years, one of the most flourishing portions of a prosperous province, and there is, perhaps, no portion which exhibits more distinctly the effects of a settled Government.

The Nelaishwer Rajas are now pensioners, and extensive landholders, living on their estates, and possessing a great deal of hereditary influence over the Nayrs of the district, but without political authority. The tract above described, comprises an area of 440 square miles, extending from the sea-coast to the watershed of the Ghâts. It contains a population of 48,719 souls, or 110 to the square mile, that is, it is more populous than Scotland. Considering how great a portion of its surface is occupied by rugged mountains, broad rivers and estuaries, and a wide sea margin of barren sand, this is a great density of the population. The higher lands described by Buchanan again bear their crops of pulses and ragy, and even the wooded lands of the interior are eagerly contended for, and put under periodical crops. In fact, so far from mortgagees abandoning their claims, so great is the demand for land, that the period of fallow, if it may be so called, for Coomery cultivation* has been reduced from twelve, to nine and eight years.

* A species of cultivation carried on by felling and burning the jungle on the slopes of the mountains.

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This advance has not been unattended by some concomitant evils. The landlords are become very wealthy, but the previous history of the country has left its traces apparent in its present condition. The rich are very rich; the poor are very poor. The land has fallen chiefly into the hands of the influential families among the Nayrs, a very few wealthy Moplahs, and the Pagodas. There is a struggle on the part of the poorer Moplahs to obtain holdings direct from the Government, and to rid themselves of the claims of the pretended lords of the soil. But as far as wide-spread plantations, extended clearances, increased trade, improved houses, and the enhanced value of land indicate prosperity, the signs of it are seen on every side.

From Malayala the traveller passed into Tulava, the central division of Canara, in which the capital Mangalore is placed. We accompany him only to find similar traces of depopulation and suffering. Even the fertile valley of the Naitravati, on which the capital stands, was but partially cultivated. The most industrious cultivators, the Christians, had been driven into exile, and the pepper gardens wantonly destroyed by Tippoo, to injure the commerce of the English; the ravages of the Raja of Coorg, upon this territory of his enemy, the Sultan, had not been less severe than those of the Sultan himself, so that the unfortunate inhabitants had suffered equally from their own rulers, and from foreign invasion. Scanty population, deserted villages, neglected roads, and the ravages of wild beasts, are the principal themes of Dr. Buchanan's notes.

Should a traveller in the present day follow the same route, he will traverse the valley of the Naitravati by an excellent and well-bridged carriage road, and will see on every side the most careful cultivation. Arriving at the town of Buntwal, the head of the navigation and the inland depôt of the trade of Mangalore, he will find three roads converging in this busy town, each crowded with the produce of Canara and Mysore. Coffee, tobacco, and rice, are the staple articles of trade.

If we follow the traveller to the northern division, we have the following notice of the town of Coompta:—"About two coss from Huldeypure, I came," he writes, "to a town named 'Cumty. It seems to have been formerly a place of some 'note. Its lanes are straight, and fenced with stone walls, 'and it has many cocoanut gardens. Twice it had the mis-'fortune of having Tippoo's army encamped in its vicinity, and 'on both occasions it was burned down by some of the 'irregulars." The trade of the port is not even alluded to.

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This town is now the commercial capital of North Canara, at which three Ghâts from the upper country converge. The value of the exports of last season was 51,54,228 rupees, and the commerce gave employment to 1,00,830 tons of shipping.

It would be uninteresting to general readers unacquainted with the country, to continue local descriptions such as these; suffice it to say that, through the whole of the tour, Dr. Buchanan's notes tell the same tale. We have allusions to pirates still infesting the coast, and cutting out boats from the rivers, and we have such tables of exports and imports as prove that commerce had almost deserted the land. In contrast with this picture, we have, at the end of half a century, the following leading facts. The population, which amounted to 5,92,000, when the country came under our Government, has increased to 9,99,011, that is to say, it has all but doubled. The land, which Buchanan described as abandoned even by mortgagees, is saleable, wherever a distinct title can be established, at sixteen years' purchase, and often even higher. The country, whose agriculture and inland commerce in 1800 enabled it to feed a population of 592,000, and to export a surplus of 4,00,256 maunds of rice, now feeds an additional population of 400,000 souls, and exports 13,15,564 maunds. The general exports of the province, which in 1800 were valued at little more than 8,80,000 rupees, have risen in 1852-3 to more than 73,00,000 rupees. In a country which was found destitute of roads, there are now 600 miles of good cart roads. Where no wheeled-carriage, except Tippoo's and General Mathew's guns, were ever seen, there are now six passes through the mountains, adapted to carts, and a seventh under construction; and carts from the upper country are counted by hundreds.

The extension of agriculture must be deduced from the above facts, from the rising value of land, the increased exports with increased population, and from the fact that these are accompanied by lower prices. There are no accurate accounts of the cultivated area.

Scarcely less satisfactory than these general statements, is the fact that improvement is advancing with accelerated pace, a remark which applies to the resources of the district, but still more to its inland commerce. The human race is of slow growth, and so, according to Lord Chatham, is confidence. It required the lapse of many years for a new generation to reach maturity, and for industry to recover heart. Up to 1830 we find a fluctuating and even a declining revenue. But from

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that time we have a steady increase. The land revenue, which at the end of thirty years scarcely exceeded the collections of the first years of our Government, and averaged about sixteen lakhs of rupees, has steadily advanced to eighteen lakhs. The salt revenue, which holds the place of the excise revenue of England as an indication of the state of the country, has nearly doubled in the same time. It has risen from about two and a half lakhs to nearly five lakhs of rupees; and the same may be said of the excise on spirits, while the rents of the ferries, (the turnpikes of the district and the index of its traffic) have risen from 3,000 to more than 10,000 rupees.

While the staple products of the district show a very large increase, two different trades have sprung up of late years, one in the north and one in the south of the province, and each is yearly increasing in importance. Neither cotton nor coffee finds even a place in Buchanan's tables. The value of the cotton now exported from Coompta, has risen to 42,72,744 rupees, and the coffee exported from Mangalore, is upwards of 1,000 tons, of the value of 2,22,000 rupees.

So recent and rapid has been the development of these trades, that the increase in coffee has been from 474 candies, the average from 1833 to 1837, to 4,117, the present export. The exports of cotton, which from 1833 to 1837 averaged 9,721 candies, have risen to 71,261.*

From the contemplation of facts such as these, we are naturally led to a survey of the financial measures which have been concurrent with this development of the resources of the province, and to the enquiry whether facts, which appear to us eminently gratifying, have resulted from any distinct measures of the Government, or have been the growth merely of peace and indigenous industry. To follow out this enquiry, we shall sketch the financial history of the district in as few words as we can.

Each field or garden, or group of fields or gardens, belonging to the same proprietor, was under the ancient government entered in his account, called in the Native language "a wurg," and for the aggregate assessment of these lands the "wurgdar" was responsible. The plots might be in different parts of the village, or in separate villages, or even in separate Mouzas, but if entered in the name of one proprietor, they became an integral

* In the above figures the revenue derived from the Coorg territory, added in 1834, is omitted. In reference to the salt revenue, it is necessary to mention that the price was raised between the two periods of comparison.

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part of his holding. The name "wurg" insensibly passed from the account to the land, and has been translated by the word "estate," and if it is kept in mind that the lands constituting these estates are often widely scattered, the term is sufficiently correct. Thus the proprietory lands of the districts were found, on our accession, grouped into about fifty thousand estates of the most varied dimensions. The original claim of Government upon these estates was the Bednore assessment, said to have been originally one-sixth of the produce, ascertained by a survey (without measurement) of the land. This assessment, called the "shist," was recorded in the village accounts against each estate. To this were added, under every conceivable name, the exactions of the late Government. These went by the name of "shamil," or additions.

Munro's first measure was to record all the demands he found upon these estates, and the shist and shamil of each estate formed the "beriz," or assessment to which the holder of the estate found himself liable under our Government.

Munro considered, that as Collector, he was bound to realize as large a portion of the revenues ceded to us by the Sultan, as he could do without severity, and that it was the function of Government alone to surrender the rights it had won: the refractory spirit displayed by the landholders, also showed him that indulgence would be viewed as weakness. It was for him, he said, to make the duty easy to his successors. "Where there has been nothing but anarchy for the 'last seven years," he wrote, "order can only be established 'by being inflexible—indulgence can be thought of after-'wards."

He therefore made his collection as high as he thought the state of the country permitted, but told the Government distinctly that if the country was to flourish, they must abandon the greater portion of Tippoo's exactions. He drew up, at a later date, a standard of reductions for different portions of the district.

Unfortunately, no decided measures were taken, and for twenty years the subject continued under discussion, while the settlement was made on the principle of taking as much of the beriz as the circumstances of the proprietors admitted; and since the salt monopoly and the tobacco monopoly, as well as the stamp duties, were added to the taxation, the country did not show signs of prosperity. On the contrary, a spirit of discontent appeared among the people, which, after fourteen years of experience, Read attributed to over-taxation.

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That the district was really more highly taxed than the rest of the Presidency, may well be doubted; but there is, perhaps, no other district where there is a body of people, every one of whom has, in his family, documents or traditions, which prove an easier tenure of their patrimony to have once been their lot. The Government were convinced that some measures of relief were necessary, and those which they adopted were eminently beneficial. An enquiry was made into the capabilities of the estates, and taking the average of previous collections as the standard, where the estates had been regularly cultivated, and in other cases a discretionary maximum founded upon the estimated produce of the half cultivated estates, and assigning a period for the gradual collection of this, the estates of the district were relieved from a demand of 1,74,000 rupees, which hung over them, and the profits of increased industry are thus secured to their owners. At the same time the languishing commerce of the coast was revived by a reduction of the duty on rice, from ten to three per cent., at a sacrifice of 1,40,000 rupees.

From this time the prosperity of the district may be dated; but its progress was comparatively slow, and in 1830 fresh troubles occurred; and a passive resistance of taxation was again organized, but one which in this case is not to be attributed to fiscal causes.

From about the year 1833, the tide of the improvement which we have described above, set in, and has been steady and rapid; and within that period the following measures have been carried out.

The demand upon a large number of estates, which failed to come up to the reduced standard, or to which the previous revision had not extended, was reduced to an amount adjusted to their capabilities. The effect of this has been most remarkable, and agriculture has made a great advance. The pressure thus withdrawn, was a sum never really added to the revenues of the state, while it disheartened the landholder, and discouraged improvement. From the date of its withdrawal, the increase of the Government revenue has been unchecked.

The next great measure of relief was the abolition of the transit duties. With a frontier of 300 miles, these pressed with perhaps greater severity upon this than upon other districts, and under this head was included an excise upon the staple products, betelnut, pepper, and cardamums. This measure relieved the province from taxation to the extent of 3,00,000 rupees, and has changed the entire state of the

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garden cultivators, from one of indebtedness and poverty, to affluence and content.

The abolition of sea customs from port to port, and of all duty on cotton in transit to Bombay, has effected for the sea-borne trade what the last great measure had done for that of the interior, and nearly a similar sum of 3,00,000 has been remitted to the traders of the coast.

A still greater boon has since been conferred. A tobacco monopoly had been established in this province, and taxation could not possibly assume a worse form; and not only were its own inherent evils of the greatest magnitude, but so long as it existed, the abolition of the transit duties failed of half its advantages. Search on the frontier, domiciliary visits, and oppression of every kind, could still be practised under the pretext of zeal for the interest of Government. This has now been swept away, and the country is released of a taxation which may be reckoned at 2,00,000 rupees.

Concurrently with these measures, there has been steady advance in the recognition of the claims of a large province to the aid of Government, in the construction of public roads. Since 1837 above 5,00,000 rupees have been expended, we will not say on the improvement, but in the creation of public roads, chiefly from the coast, through the line of mountains, to the table land of Mysore, Bellary, and Darwar; and most amply has the expenditure been reimbursed. Every year, for the last seventeen years, has seen many miles of road opened to commerce, and it has seen them crowded, as soon as made, by thousands of bullocks and hundreds of carts. In a country where this first duty of the ruling power had been neglected, from a traditionary age to the present time, what could be done in fifteen years with small means, is but a fraction of what is due to the country; but it marks a most important era in its progress.

Within the same period slavery has been abolished, and a population of 1,18,630 souls have been emancipated from a complete though mild servitude, and made the proprietors of their own industry.

To sum up the results of these measures, and to show at a glance the progress of the last twenty years, we repeat the figures above given, with a few additions, in a tabular form.

Population and Revenue of Canara, exclusive of Coorg Maganies.

Years.	Population.	Land Rev.	Moturpha.	Abkarry.	Salt.	Stamps.	Ferry Farms.
1802...	5,92,635	...	...	9,761	(1806) 2,56,847	(1808) 12,074	(1804) 837
1832...	7,18,333	16,18,817	8,989	39,443	2,48,838	29,444	2,789
1852...	9,99,011	18,28,846	16,492	78,901	4,43,175	55,519	9,452

	Imports of Copper.	Dates.	Piece Goods.	Total Imports.
1812...	3,196	2,861	1,31,589	3,44,563
1837...	43,463	12,938	1,02,659	5,83,243
1852...	68,536	27,702	1,71,705	9,89,096
1853...	40,967	59,591	2,53,748	14,32,153

	Exports of Cotton.		Coffee.		Rice.		Total Exports.
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	
	Candies Mds.		Candies Mds.		Moorahs.		
1812...	2,874-6	3,05,436	3-16	643	12,35,853	24,17,536	33,77,763
1837...	15,294-16	13,70,415	176-16	17,681	10,77,949	18,85,960	41,89,786
1852...	28,888-5	15,74,133	3,153-8	1,60,527	14,63,029	21,28,377	51,89,785
1853...	71,261-14	42,79,238	4,117-18	2,22,039	13,15,564	18,68,668	73,68,072

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We do not think that any one can read the facts which we have now laid before him, without coming to the conclusion, that under the Government which has existed for about half a century, a province which had been reduced to a state of great misery, by a long period of oppression, and, which came into our possession in an exhausted state, has, in a most remarkable degree, revived from its fallen fortunes, and is advancing rapidly in the course of improvement; and that this effect has resulted,—*first*, from the repose which a strong paramount power has afforded, and *secondly*, from a course of liberal policy which has been followed out in late years: nor do we think that he will fail to conceive that the institutions of the country must be such as tend to the advancement of the people in social progress, if only peace, security of tenure, and moderation in taxation, allow of the free operation of industry and enterprise.

If then, we be asked, what is the leading principle in the institutions of the country upon which we should fix as chiefly affecting the condition of the people, we answer, without fear of contradiction, a Ryotwari tenure, the "magic of property;" of individual private property. We have described a country in which there are no traces of village communities holding the land in common, of Zemindari tenures, of mowzawa assessment, or of village leases, but one in which the settlement has invariably been made with the proprietor of each holding, small or great, and property has been allowed to run into masses, or to divide into fragments, according to the natural course of human affairs, and the existing laws of inheritance. Owing to that marked feature in its climate, to which we before alluded, which has made every separate holding independent of its neighbour, and the absence of that grasp upon the land which Government possesses, wherever its cultivation is dependent upon large works of irrigation, through all the changes of Government, and all the periods of anarchy, the Ryotwari tenure has remained uninfringed.

It is not therefore without an object that we have, at the present moment, attempted to bring the above facts before our readers. In September last we published an article on the Madras Land Revenue, in which we endeavoured to show that Ryotwari tenure and over-assessment had often been blended together, so that the evils of one have been attributed to the other. This position has been disputed by many, and it has been said that there is in Ryotwari tenure something inherently repressive; and as it is a point which we deem of great importance, we have thought that it would be useful to ascertain what are the effects of Ryotwari tenure, under a light assess-

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ment when the two have been found in conjunction. This is a fair line of argument. In the province which we have described, Ryotwari tenure has existed from the remotest recorded period, and as long as the assessment was light, the province is proved, by concurring evidence, to have been most flourishing. Exaction pressed it to the earth, but no sooner was the pressure diminished, than it recovered, in proportion to the diminution, with an elasticity which has not, we think, appeared to be inherent in other institutions in the same degree.

If the arguments which we have drawn from the facts and figured statements given above, are correct, namely, that the district which we have described has advanced in a remarkable manner in all those circumstances which are usually taken as indications of national prosperity, it must, we think, be admitted that there is not, in Ryotwari tenure, any thing essentially repressive, but the contrary.

It may be said, perhaps, that we have described a system very different from what is usually understood by a Madras Ryotwari tenure. We have shown that the land is grouped into estates, and it would appear that all improvements effected upon these holdings are unaccompanied by any increased demand; and to this may be added the fact that, in the course of generations, and under frequent changes of Government, many encroachments have been made on the surrounding waste, till the assessment on many of the holdings has virtually been greatly reduced.* But what is this but to show that there is no necessary connexion between Ryotwari tenure and either over-assessment, or the taxation of improvements; and if, freed from this weight, Ryotwari tenure has proved to be admirably adapted to developing the resources of a country, by stimulating the industry of the people, is it not a fair inference that by designedly and deliberately following elsewhere the course which has been the growth of circumstances in this instance, the results will be the same?

It is to offer this view of the subject that we have thus brought forward the above very slight sketch of a province in which there are now fifty-five thousand proprietors of lands,

* From this and other causes, the assessment has become extremely unequal. In many parts of the district it is still far too high, while in others the Government does not receive its fair dues. The absence of any survey, and the ill-defined limits of the estates, give opportunities for further annual encroachments on the waste lands; and it is doubtful whether any measure, short of a general survey, will solve the many difficulties by which the revenue management of the province is perplexed. But this question, and others still under discussion, we have not touched upon, as they do not seem to us to affect the general argument.

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paying the land tax direct to the Government, often in minute sums; and yet in which the revenue is collected with ease, as it always will be where the land has saleable value. There are, at present, in Canara, fifty-five thousand holdings, of which nineteen thousand pay less than ten rupees a year, and yet sales for arrears of revenue are almost unknown, and the reference to the European officer is as frequently on the question, who shall be *allowed* to pay, as who shall be *made* to pay, the dues of Government. The rent-roll of the whole district we append in a note.*

The tenure then is certainly essentially Ryotwari; but with those measures which have reduced taxation, and raised the value of land till it is saleable throughout the district, except in the jungly and unhealthy, or thinly peopled portions, have disappeared those evils which have been represented as inherent in the system. In the coast talooks, annual scrutiny is unknown, and the landholder, thoroughly aware of the amount of his assessment, may pay it and stand independent of the Revenue officer. The yearly settlement of the Cusbah talook, paying a revenue of more than two lakhs of rupees, occupies two afternoons; because the cultivable land is all appropriated

* *Abstract of the Rent-roll of the Canara district.*

	No. of Ryots.	Amount of Assessment.		
		Rs.	A.	P.
Ryots paying 1,000 rupees and upwards.....	29	41,261	15	3
750 to 1,000 rupees.....	25	21,286	1	3
500 to 750 rupees	84	49,335	4	3
250 to 500 rupees.....	437	1,45,075	14	10
200 to 250 rupees...	334	73,532	3	0
150 to 200 rupees.....	728	1,25,385	11	4
100 to 150 rupees.....	1,887	2,25,663	1	3
75 to 100 rupees.....	2,234	1,93,006	13	6
50 to 75 rupees.....	4,910	2,97,839	12	5
40 to 50 rupees.....	3,541	1,57,786	11	6
30 to 40 rupees.....	4,888	1,69,101	3	7
20 to 30 rupees.....	6,935	1,70,602	3	8
10 to 20 rupees...	10,228	1,49,080	9	9
Under 10 rupees.....	19,182	1,79,045	6	4
Total.....	55,442	19,98,002	15	11

The collections of the Land Revenue are made with striking punctuality, and the balances irrecoverable are of the most trifling amount. Those struck off in the last five years on account of losses by floods, or fire, or other causes, contrasted with the settlement of the year, afford convincing proof of this.

Year.	*Assessment.*	*Struck off.*
1258.....	18,85,476.....	714
1259.....	18,96,603.....	986
1260.....	19,04,731.....	199
1261.....	19,14,101.....	53
1262.....	.....	174

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and all saleable: and the time occupied in the settlement of other talooks is exactly in an inverse ratio to the saleable value of the land, increasing inwards from the coast to those tracts where cultivation is still struggling with the jungle.

The landed property of the district is grouping itself into holdings of every size, and while on the one hand the commercial, and what may be called the intellectual, classes, the servants of Government, the court pleaders, &c., invest their property in land whenever they are able to obtain it, and thus a new landlord class intermediate between the actual cultivators and the Government is spontaneously growing up,—on the other a numerous class of able-bodied men are ready to give their labour for daily hire, and, when the harvest of the coast is completed, proceed above the Ghâts to gather in the later crops of that elevation, or to labour in the Betel or pepper gardens. For the public works there is never any difficulty in collecting two or three hundred efficient workmen. Here, therefore, the supposed equalizing and impoverishing effects of Ryotwari tenure do not appear; but, with a growth proportioned to the net profit left to the owner, a new proprietory body is extending, and the complaint in the province is, that such is the case, that estates split to pieces by the Hindu law of inheritance, and the family divisions which it entails, are passing from the hereditary resident proprietors to the moneyed classes of the towns. This transfer from one class to another* is not due to any effect of Ryotwari tenure, but arises from the same process of "morcellement" as is in progress in France, and in other parts of Europe, under the law which compels the division of inherited property among all the children; and it is aided in Canara by that most pernicious law by which property descends to the sister's children, an endless source of family disunion, fraud, and waste.†

* Of the native servants now in the employment of Government (exclusive of the heads of villages and other village officers) 386 are the owners of 2,082 estates of various sizes, the aggregate assessment on which is Rs. 48,598-12-3.

† Since the above was written, we have met with the following passage in *The life and Letters of Niebuhr*, which strikingly illustrates what we have here stated.

"In Westphalia, and other parts, we have in the entailed free-holds an hereditary yeomanry, in whom, wherever they exist, we possess a highly respectable peasant aristocracy, wealthy enough to give their sons a good education, with the consciousness of an honorable descent, and a youth not depressed by poverty; and thus to add respectable members to the middle class, especially to the clergy of both confessions. But, wherever the Code Napoleon has been introduced, its adherents, who have gained the public ear by assuming to be the representatives of public opinion, insist upon the divisibility of landed property. They had already surreptitiously obtained a confirmation of the French and Westphalian ordinances; and though this is suspended, heaven knows how the matter will be decided at last! Yet, people have before their eyes, the example of other German countries, where

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We are not arguing that where village communities exist in their integrity, and are in accordance with the feelings of the people, it would be advisable or just to break them down; or that any one system would be applicable to the whole of India; but we do argue that any endeavour artificially to create an intermediate proprietory body between the cultivators of the soil and the Government, be it composed of village corporations, of Zemindars, or of farmers of the revenue, is unjust towards the present owners of the soil, and that such institutions must be injurious where they are not the spontaneous growth of the country, and supported by the affections of the people. Where none such are found, a Ryotwari settlement is, we believe, the only just and wise measure that can be adopted, and, when a Ryotwari settlement has once been made, to attempt any other would, we are persuaded, be a step backwards.

We cannot for a moment believe that any change will ever be made in Sir Thomas Munro's settlements, further than by developing them, by measures such as those which have been traced in the history of this province; but at the present moment, when those who profess to speak the sentiments of the people of India, have been led to record, in a deliberate petition to Parliament, sentiments adverse to the opinion of the greatest and wisest man that ever ruled over them, and to suggest measures destructive of that individual property which can best draw forth the industry of a nation and save the humble from oppression, we have thought that it might not be useless to offer other views as fair matter for candid discussion; and we are satisfied that those who have represented the people of the Madras Presidency as adverse to the system of Munro, may have uttered the sentiments of a few persons at the capital, but have not expressed the feelings of the body of the people.

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this cursed divisibility has existed for ages, and the whole agricultural population are beggars. In the district of Montauban, now belonging to Nassau, no deputy can be chosen for the Diet, because it does not contain a single elector. The qualification for an elector consists in paying one florin (1s. 8d.) land-tax. This sounds incredible, but my informant lives close to the district, and has known that part of the country from his infancy. There, on the Rhine, the larger estates are entirely disappearing, and the smaller ones are constantly divided, and sub-divided; and what a class are the peasantry! An estate which is considered one of the largest, was lately sold for 85,000 francs. (£3,400) Manufacturers, advocates, &c., &c., buy plots of land, and farm them out, so that in the neighborhood of the towns the peasant proprietors are vanishing, as in Italy.—*Niebuhr's Life*, Vol. II, p. 304.

Here then we see evils precisely similar to those which have been attributed to the Ryotwari system—but they are not there ascribed to the machinery by which the land tax is collected, but to the law which is breaking every landed property into pieces—and is destroying equally the larger landlords, and the peasant proprietors of Europe, and the Zemindari estates and the Ryotwari holdings of India.

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We are sure that, if the real desires of the great body of the landholders of Madras, small and great, had been truly represented, it would have been comprised in these few words, "a light assessment, and tenure direct from the Government."

In the late discussions much has been written on the relative merits of the revenue systems of the several Presidencies, but we cannot but think that far too much stress has been laid on the system of collection, while a far more important question has been left in the back ground. That important question is, not what system of collection is best, but what amount of taxation can a country bear; and it is idle to compare two systems, if one is a was d to an oppressive, the other to an easy taxation. It was wmeasu object of bringing this view of the question prominently thrord, that we endeavoured, in a former article, to institute a comparison between a Ryotwari district of Madras and one of the districts of the N. W. Provinces, and to show how much heavier is the pressure of taxation generally in Madras; and it is with the same view that we have endeavoured to follow the results of the gradual alleviation of the burdens on the land, the Ryotwari system being maintained in its integrity, in the province we have now described.

If, in one part of India we are expending millions to construct magnificent canals, and dispense the water at one or two Rupees per acre, and in another part we continue to demand 75 per cent of the produce, amounting to thirty rupees an acre and upwards, what fair comparison can be made between the village tenures of the one and the Ryotwari tenures of the other. It matters little what may be the course pursued for reducing the taxation of the Madras districts; whether it be done by a direct sacrifice of revenue (as in Cawnpore) or by taking an average of previous collections, and making this a maximum of demand, or by adding so much waste land to present holdings as shall reduce the assessment to a moderate demand on the whole (as has virtually been done in Canara,) or whether all these be combined; whatever may be the course pursued, the reductions which Sir T. Munro showed to be indispensable, must be carried out before his system can be condemned. But if, when Ryotwari assessment has been made as light as that of the N. W., or as that of the Zemindari estates of Bengal, it fails to produce results as beneficial,—then, and then only, will it have been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

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ART. III.—1. *Political Incidents of the First Burmese War. By Thos. Campbell Robertson.*

2. *Commons' Committee: Minutes of Evidence.*

3. *The Six Travels of John Baptista Tavernier. (Translation.)*

BEFORE Assam fell under the rule of the British Government, the country had, for a long period, been harassed by the repeated invasions of savage tribes. The people, scattered abroad, and driven from their homes by the crushing oppression of their barbarous conquerors, and the classes who cultivated the lands, had been impoverished by exactions, and brought to the lowest state of degradation by the tyrannical exercise of power, which deprived them of the hard-earned fruits of their labours. Under their own Rajas, little or no protection was extended to the lower classes against the oppressions of the rich and powerful; those below a certain rank were not allowed to build a house, except with gable ends; and to construct one with two round ends, was considered high treason! It was also against orders for any but a noble, to wear a cloth reaching lower than the knee, whilst those of the Doom tribe were marked with a fish on the forehead, to prevent their being mistaken for more respectable people. In consequence of these laws, and the absence of impartial justice, a large portion of the people had been reduced to slavery by the upper classes, and the widest differences obtained in the social scale, as the Rajas, who respected no rights in their poorer subjects, were in the constant habit of willing away both men and lands, as a support for such Brahmins and noble families as could afford to make the necessary presents.

The people, from the depressing effects of such continued oppressions, had been reduced to a condition of abject wretchedness, which destroyed in them any feelings of independence and courage they may have ever possessed: those of the nobility, who retained any energy of character, were mostly noted for their barbarity and cruelty, but the greater part of them had relapsed into a state of imbecility, caused by the indulgence in profligate habits, and were in fact dependent on their slaves for subsistence. This miserable condition, so prejudicial to both rich and poor, left the country an easy prey to the more hardy tribes on the frontiers, and such of the people as possessed the necessary daring to engage in lawless habits of plunder and the violent pursuit of wealth; and it is therefore not to be wondered at, that the valley of Assam

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should have offered such a tempting field for the successive inroads of the Ahoms, Chutteahs, Moahmoreahs, Muttucks, Burmese, Booteahs, Dufflas, and Khossiahs, all of whom, within the last century or two, have plundered and devastated the country, and reduced the population from what it formerly was, when the country was entirely cultivated—which there is little doubt it was at one time—and left it to be occupied by the British Government, when all order had been destroyed, society in a state of wreck, the people deprived of their wealth by plunder, agriculture at the lowest ebb, and not one-tenth of the province under cultivation.

In 1826 Assam was obtained from the Burmese by the treaty of Yandaboo, and measures were immediately taken to introduce order and peace throughout the country. The hill tribes were restrained from making inroads into the plains, and the dacoits and depredators of all kinds were apprehended, and security afforded to all classes. Under the change of rulers, the aspect of affairs soon began to improve, and hundreds of families, who had fled the country during the Burmese occupation, and had been residing in different parts of Bengal, now commenced returning to their homes:—the officers of the former Assamese Government, who could not be provided with the means of support by employment in the public service, were granted liberal pensions, and those who had held fiscal charge of the divisions of the districts, were retained in their situations, and as far as possible, every care was taken not to deprive these men of the positions they had occupied in the former construction of society by too radical a change in the institutions of the country. As the proprietory right in the land in Assam had always been considered as vested in the Government for the time being, the former system of management, but considerably improved and simplified, was continued, and the revenue collected through officers, of whom one is appointed to the charge of each estate, and who in some districts are called Moujadars, in others Choudris and Patgiris, and who may therefore be considered to have a prescriptive right to these appointments. It was, however, found that the estates, called Purgunnas or Moujas, required to be defined by laying down new boundaries, as they had become interlaced with each other, which would have occasioned many disputes, and led to much contention. A new arrangement, therefore, took place of all the Purgunnas, &c., each of which was formed into an estate of a convenient size, and the ryots maintained in all their just pretensions ; and as no claims to the lands, or rents of any intermediate parties, (except the Lakhirajdars) had to be dealt

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with, the ryots are acknowledged to have the only title to the possession of the land, which they have, since 1834, held under the protection of a Pottah direct from the Collector of each district. Under this system, the ryots have, to a great extent, recovered from the utter state of depression to which they had been sunk, while the industrious among them are at the present time in as good, if not better, circumstances than any of the same class in other parts of India. This may be gathered from the fact, that whereas, on the first accession of the British Government to the province, few amongst the common people were possessed of any property, and had scarcely clothes enough to cover themselves, the generality of them may now be seen to be well dressed, and to show signs of being in the possession of no few comforts; in former times, such a thing as pots and pans of metal were never to be met with in the houses of the ryots, who prepared their food in joints of bamboos, and ate their meals off the leaves of the plantain tree; now, however, those who do not possess these necessary articles of household use, are the exception to the general rule: and for further proof that the people are really well off, it is only necessary to refer to the state of crime, which, except of a very petty nature, is now almost unknown, and which, it may be remarked, is a sure sign of prosperity among the people, as such a state of things could not exist if men were driven to seek a precarious subsistence by the commission of crime, either by the oppressions of the rich, or for want of the means of securing an honest livelihood. The state of comfort enjoyed by the people at the present time, as compared with that of thirty years ago, therefore forms a very favourable contrast, and speaks well for the arrangements which have produced such happy results; and that the people have advanced as much in wealth as comfort, may be inferred from the fact, that during the native rule, it was found impossible to collect from the district of Kamroop, the petty sum of 22,000 Naraini Rupees, equal to about 7,000 Company's Rupees, without resorting to every species of cruelty; whilst at present the gross revenue of that district amounts to about three and a half lakhs of Company's Rupees, which is realized with comparative ease, and without having recourse to any except the ordinary means of obtaining payment.

The complete and substantial protection of the ryots from oppression has always been the principal object, which it has been the desire of our rulers to attain, in all the arrangements made for the government of the country. This, it may be

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asserted, has been fully accomplished, and that without disturbing the existing relations of different classes. As a body, the ryots of Assam may safely be said to be far better off than those in Bengal Proper, where they are subject to the will and pleasure of zemindars, who in the treatment of their tenants are beyond any control from the European representative of Government in charge of the district; and that the ryots of Bengal are shamefully oppressed and cruelly ground down by the people whom the legislation of Lord Cornwallis has constituted their lords and masters, and who treat them more as serfs than free men, there cannot be a reasonable doubt; whereas the managers of estates in Assam, being subject to removal for mis-conduct, have the fear of dismissal always before their eyes, which, of itself, is generally sufficient to restrain them from the perpetration of any very gross acts of tyranny. The zemindari system of Bengal could not therefore be introduced into Assam with any chance of benefiting the mass of the people, who have the greatest claim to the protection and sympathy of the rulers of the country; neither would raising the present race of managers of estates to the rank and position of zemindars, be at all likely, eventually, to prove advantageous to them, as the same result, judging from experience, would be sure to occur in Assam, which has happened in Bengal, where the majority of the old families have been sold out of their estates, and those of the greatest respectability reduced to beggary. But if these objections exist against the introduction of the zemindari system, there are also many equally cogent, which may be urged against the purely ryotwari mode of settlement, as known in the Madras Presidency, and for which but few advocates are to be found in these days. All systems appear to have their weak points, but this is generally* acknowledged to be so cumbersome that it is quite unmanageable, on account of the endless detail which has to be attended to by the officers of Government, who, being unable to cope with the mass of minutiæ, are obliged to leave the real working of the system to their native subordinates, to whom the system of assessing the value of crops and calculating the amount of remissions, affords the fullest opportunities for peculation, and the receiving of bribes. But besides the impracticability of managing such a vast amount of petty detail, and keeping an efficient control over the whole system, it is extremely doubtful whether it is the proper duty

* But not universally. Witness the immediately preceding article.—*Ed. C. R.*

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of the Government to undertake the office of direct interference in the individual welfare of each separate ryot, and whether it is not preferable to make the ryot rely entirely on his own exertions, rather than to be dependent in any way on the assistance of Government, which can only be but very ineffectually afforded, and which, if withdrawn, must leave the ryots less capable of managing their own concerns. The system of pure ryotwari, therefore, which contemplates so much interference of the state with the most ordinary labours of individuals, cannot be said to contain within itself any principle of self-progress, and is not such as will eventually be found the best adapted to secure to the mass of the people a state of permanent prosperity.

But if the ryotwari settlement, with khass collections, is at best but a doubtful good to the lower classes, it never could be advisable to put in practice where its introduction would occasion the dismissal from their offices of nearly all the respectable people in a province, and thereby create an amount of suffering and destitution, as distressing to behold as it would be inexpedient to produce. If it be admitted, that neither zemindari nor pure ryotwari would be suited to the condition of Assam, it might be asked, why could not the Mouzawari plan of management be adopted, as it exists in the Upper Provinces. It is usually admitted, that this plan has succeeded better than any other yet tried in India; and many, from its apparent success, have supposed it to be the best mode of dealing with the people which could be devised. This, however, is still but a matter of opinion, and it requires a longer trial than has yet been given it, to prove whether it will eventually stand the test of time. It will of course be acknowledged by its greatest admirers, that to make it possible, this kind of settlement requires that a peculiar construction should exist in the component parts of each community, and that it is only applicable to villages, in which the communities are perfect, or nearly so. It is not a mode of settlement, therefore, which can be made at will; and it may admit of a reasonable doubt, whether the perfect communities, now in existence, are likely long to continue so, and whether it does not require the assistance of some legal enactments to maintain them in their present condition, so as to ensure the continued working of the system; for as each member has a separate holding, to which a right of some kind must attach, it is not easy to perceive how it would be possible to prevent a member parting with the right to his share in any way he chose, or how the courts could

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be restrained from selling in execution of a decree passed against him, a man's right to a share, whether that right were proprietory, or merely the right of possession. It would in fact be necessary to declare, that no rights of any kind should be transferable, which would, by rendering the land unsaleable, make it no longer of any marketable value. It seems to be allowed, that the intrusion of strangers into these model villages must be strictly guarded against. Neither, for the same reasons, would it be proper to allow any one of the members to forsake the calling to which he had been born. This, of course, was possible under Hindu laws, by which every man is condemned by caste to be just what his father was before him; it does, in fact, represent the leading idea of Hindu society, where a man who is born a barber is obliged to shave the whole village, and each individual has an allotted share of duty to perform, out of the trammel of which he cannot swerve. But under such a code as this, it would scarcely be contended that room was left for individual freedom of action, or that the advancement of civilization would not soon destroy so forced a system. The idea of these village communities is therefore only adapted to barbarous times, and requires the perpetuation of Hindu customs to enable it to stand its ground, but which the progress of events must be constantly tending to overthrow, and which it decidedly is not the call of the British Government to maintain. It, therefore, certainly does appear improbable, that the village communities, now in a state of perfect organization, are at all likely to remain very long in their primitive condition; the spirit of the age is against their continuance; and communism, although it has been tried in Europe, has only met with very limited success, and does not appear to make much progress. As remarked by Mr. Campbell in his work on Modern India, it is wonderful that these corporations work so well as they do, and while he accepts the fact that they do work well, he goes on almost immediately after to mention, that in the provinces the communities have been, and still are being ruined. This, of itself, would be enough to show that the system is not compatible with the laws as administered under the British Government; and as separate interests arise, and the bond of union becomes loosened by a diversity of causes, it is natural to suppose that contentions and variances will occur, which will split up the communities into opposite factions, and cause the members to separate at last into independent proprietors; no permanent good can therefore be expected to result

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from this arrangement, as it seems to possess within itself the seeds of its own destruction, which will sooner or later cause it to break down, and prove, from its own inherent rottenness, that it was only fitted for an age which is fast passing away.

But apart from any objections which may exist to the system of joint responsibility, it would of course be out of the question to attempt the introduction of Mouzawari settlements, where, as in Assam, these communities, at all events, at the present time, have no existence whatever; and as Assam was not originally peopled by Hindus, the probability is that, this being a Hindu institution, it never was in force in the province. The Mouzawari of the North West Provinces is therefore impracticable in Assam, and there remains to be considered but one other mode of settlement, except that which is actually in force in the province at the present time, called the farming or Ijarah system, and to which the present management bears some resemblance, and with which it is now proposed to contrast it, with the view of showing, that for this country at least, it possesses many advantages.

As said before, the principal object which has constantly been held in view in the fiscal arrangements in Assam, has been to afford full protection to the ryots, and at the same time to disturb as little as possible the existing relations of classes. For this purpose, the revenue system is so adapted, that if the Collector does his duty properly, and makes himself tolerably well acquainted with the people in his district, by visiting every part himself, it is quite impossible that the ryots can suffer much oppression, as he has the power of dismissing any of the Mofussil officers, who may be guilty of any abuse of authority. The system may be characterized as a combination of the rytowari and Ijarah methods of settlement, uniting the advantages of both, without retaining the defects of either. It is ryotwari as respects the ryot, who holds the title to his lands direct from the Collector, and whose lands are assessed at a certain fixed rate, sufficiently light, so as always to leave to the cultivator a fair remuneration for his labour. To each Purgunna or Mouza a manager or superintendent is appointed, who carries out all the details of the internal management of the estate under the Collector's orders; but besides performing all the duties of a subordinate agent, the officer in charge of the estate also contracts to collect and pay in the revenue, reduced, when making the settlement, to a fixed sum, for the trouble and risk of doing which he receives a commission, besides having the privilege of letting out any of the jungle

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lands to new settlers to compensate for any losses he may sustain by deaths or desertions. In making settlements with these officers, the first thing to be ascertained is the amount of land under cultivation, which is done by measurements made field by field. This completed, the ryots all receive pottahs, and the assessment on the total of them being computed, the amount of commission is deducted from the gross revenue, and a settlement is made either for a short or long period, according as the nature of the cultivation in the estate is of a permanent or shifting character. Under this arrangement the Government always knows exactly what will be realized, and the details of management do not practically occasion much inconvenience to the Collector in charge of the district; for as the superintendents know that they are subject at any time to dismissal for misconduct or oppression of the ryots, this operates as such an effectual check, that the people enjoy the greatest freedom from tyranny, and have, in fact, very seldom any thing to complain of.

The superintendents of estates, although employed in adjusting the differences of the ryots amongst themselves, do not interfere in any way likely to make the ryot less reliant on himself, whilst they themselves are never dismissed except for gross misbehaviour, and seldom lose their appointments for falling into arrears, as they all are obliged to furnish security, which generally prevents its being necessary to deprive them of their situations on that account. It is a rule laid down, that all the managers shall live on the estates they hold charge of, and as the appointments are held as long as the incumbent conducts himself with propriety, these situations have, in many instances, been retained in the same family from generation to generation. There are matters of detail, of a very secondary nature, that may perhaps require a little alteration, and this, as well as other systems, may, no doubt, have its weak points; but taken on the whole, it is nicely balanced, and its success beyond dispute; for to its beneficial working must be attributed the good order and comfort which prevail amongst the people of the province.

If it is allowed that this is a true description of the actual state of affairs, all that is now required is that judicious improvements should be made with the view of perfecting the present arrangements. It has been attempted to show, that neither the system of Bengal, Madras, nor of the North West Provinces would be preferable, and it is quite as easy to prove that farming, according to the regulations, would be of no

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benefit either to the ryots, or the families now holding fiscal charges.

As regards the former, they would no longer receive that substantial protection against oppression which is now afforded them, as a farmer is only removeable for neglecting to pay his revenue. Knowing this, every means, legal and illegal, would be resorted to for compelling the ryots to pay whatever was demanded; fierce up-country burkundazes would be entertained to terrify the people, and instead of being instruments in the hands of the Collector to improve the estates, the farmers would, to save themselves from dismissal, think of little else than how to devise schemes for squeezing the ryots, and soon revert to their old oppressive habits, which it has taken years of care and attention to break them off, but which at last has happily been attained. Under the farming regulations, the Collector would no longer be regarded as the protector of the ryots, as he would not have the power to interfere in their behalf, and all that a poor man could do when wronged, would be to bring a case against the farmer in the Criminal or Summary Suit Court, in which the chance of carrying his case successfully through, against so powerful an antagonist, is so much against the weaker party, that it is better perhaps for the ryot not to attempt it; for even if successful, he renders his opponent an enemy for life. To hand the ryot over to the tender mercy of a farmer of revenue, would therefore evidently be, to place him in a worse position than that which he now occupies, which of itself is a sufficient reason against its adoption. But it has yet to be seen in what way the managers of estates would be benefited by making them farmers. They would, it might be urged, be freed from the fear of being dismissed for misconduct; but against this they would have to set off the disadvantage of being subject to losses caused by inundations, and the cutting away of land by rivers, for which remissions are now granted. The good men amongst them would therefore be decided losers by the change, and as for the bad ones, no one, it is supposed, would care much what became of them. Another evil attendant on farming is the option allowed of sub-letting, which enables the farmer himself to live away from the estate; and as the Collector has no control over the selection of under-farmers, it would not be possible for him any longer to make arrangements for the affairs of the estates being conducted by the persons best fitted to advance their prosperity, and some difficulties would also be thrown in the way of giving Government grants of jungle wastes, as the farmers would

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of course object to any interference of the Collector with the lands contained in their estates.*

It is supposed by many, that by giving a man a more permanent hold of an estate, he would feel a greater interest in it, and do more to promote its improvement than if he were subject to removal, or only obtained charge of one on a short lease. The truth of this proposition, however, when applied to the natives of this country, does not seem to be borne out by experience, and never will operate in that way, until it is possible to instil into their minds the same views which would influence an English gentleman in like circumstances. The zemindars of Bengal, taken as a body, do nothing whatever to improve their estates, and it is only very lately that the few really enlightened amongst them have made any exertions at all in that way. The inducement to a mere farmer would, under the most favourable circumstances, be hardly sufficient to ensure the expenditure of much skill and money in making improvements. To warrant the laying-out of capital, a man must feel the property on which it is spent to be his own, so that with this object in view, the granting of a Zemindari tenure would be more likely to succeed than merely letting out the estates in farm. It will, however, be quite time for the Government to think of parting with its Zemindari rights, when the people of the country are fitted by education to occupy such a position, and are sufficiently civilized to enable them to fulfil properly the duties which devolve on the proprietors of landed estates.

Under the plan of management in force in Assam, a great

* It is scarcely necessary to explain with reference to the subject of farming, that although the word would, according to the English sense, be understood to mean that an estate was let out at a certain rent to a person who actually cultivates the land at his own risk, such is by no means what the term implies when taken in the Indian sense. The farmer at home may be seen out of a morning superintending the ploughing of the fields, and attending to the draining of the land, ordering a fence to be repaired here, or a ditch to be cleaned there; it is his business to see that the farming operations are carried on in the best possible manner, for having to pay all the farm servants their wages, his chance of profit depends on their labour being turned to the best account. To make a farm pay, tends necessarily, as a matter of course, to improve it, and in reading of farming in India, no doubt, the people of England think the same sort of thing takes place in this country. This, however, is a great mistake, for instead of the Indian farmer paying any attention to the fields, the flocks and herds, he being merely a farmer of the revenue, may be seen sitting in his kacheri in state, ordering this or that ryot to be dragged before him to pay his rent, and directing his property to be sold by auction if his threats do not produce the desired effect: these farmers have, in fact, nothing to do with the lands whatever, as in every case the ryots hold possession of the soil under some tenure, subject only to the payment of a certain rent,—they are in plain English little more than tax-gatherers; and whereas the inducements in the one case all tend to the improvement of estates, the other, from there being no interest conferred in the land, has but too often had the opposite effect of causing them to deteriorate, and ended in the impoverishment and ruin of the ryots.

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deal more is possible than has been done, as no obstacles stand in the way of carrying out improvements to any extent. The Choudri, Patgiri, or Mouzadar, whichever title he may hold, instead of being a bar, is of the greatest assistance in the hands of an able Collector, in forwarding operations for the good of the country: it is part of his duty to aid in promoting the welfare of the ryots resident in the Purgunna or Mouja under his charge; and as agent, he should be the right-hand man of the Collector in superintending all works designed to benefit the estates; he is especially required to visit and inspect the Government vernacular schools, and do his best to see that the scholars regularly attend, and that the pandits do not neglect their duty; roads, such as they are, are repaired under his directions; and the Collector, in visiting the district each year, points out and suggests many small works of utility, which, with proper management, can usually be executed without drawing upon the state for the expenditure of its finances. A Collector, to do his duty, must attend to all matters connected with improvements in the district; he should originate and suggest plans for adoption, and see that they are properly performed by those in charge of estates; the general idea must be given by him, leaving all the detail to be carried out by his subordinates. Under this system, the Government have to look to the exertions of a European gentleman to improve a district, instead of trusting to the natives of the country; and which, the relative intellectual state of the two being considered, is likely to succeed the best, it is not difficult to decide. The duties of a Collector are, therefore, of great importance to the welfare of the people, and as much must depend on the capacities of this officer, any one who considers he has done his duty if he manages to realize the revenue, is not a person fit to hold the appointment, and has no business to undertake the office of a Collector in Assam.

To ensure to Assam the blessings it now enjoys, and to promote its general advancement, it is essentially necessary, for some time at least, that the present organization of society should be maintained; it is suited to the condition of the country, and peculiarly well adapted to the state of a people just emerging out of the pale of barbarism. Under the present system the people can be taught; and although there is much in their social condition which requires to be improved, the blemishes in their character cannot be shown to be dependent on, or in any way to be caused by, the general administration of their affairs. What is required to induce greater prosperity

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among the people, is the infusion of energy and enterprize into individual character; this must be a work of time, but it has already been effected to an extent but little discernible to any, except those who are intimately acquainted with their previous habits. At present the great drawback to their advancement is the excessive and almost universal indulgence in the use of opium, which exerts a most baneful effect on all classes, but especially on the common people, who are unable, like the rich, to counteract its ill effects by the use of a nutritious and generous diet: it consequently preys on the vitals of the poor, and exhausts both their strength and means of support. Opium is, in fact, the curse of Assam, and until the people are prohibited from cultivating it for their own consumption, it is hopeless to expect any amelioration of the national character; there are perhaps no people on the face of the earth to whom nature has given a more fertile soil, and a country better adapted for the cultivation of all the more profitable articles of trade; and it is only their excessive laziness, and extreme ignorance of agriculture, that hinders their taking the full advantage of the great capabilities of the land. They are poor, because they will not work; but when once they are broken of the habit of using opium to excess, and the drug becomes an article of luxury, instead of being in common use by every man, woman, and child, which at present is but too often the case amongst the lower orders,—then, and not till then, will a change for the better take place in the disposition of the Assamese, and sloth and idleness disappear as their peculiar characteristic.

There is another cause which has a very depressing effect on the people, and which has always been attended with the same results in all parts of the earth, namely, a great want of intercourse with the rest of the world. Assam is, in fact, almost isolated from all other countries, the valley being surrounded by impenetrable mountains, inhabited by tribes of indigent savages. Strangers are seldom met with in any part of the country, as the roads which exist, lead to no place of general resort, and are not a thoroughfare from one country to another; there is therefore a great stagnation of ideas among the people themselves, and the greatest dread is felt by most of them at the very thought of trusting themselves below Gowalparah. For travel they have no inclination; their experience of men and manners is, therefore, mostly confined to what they may observe in the narrow limits of their own native villages; the roads which formerly did exist have nearly all fallen into disuse, and are generally impassable from being

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over-grown with jungle; this, however, is not a matter of much moment, as, with few exceptions, the lines of communication which had been constructed by the Assam Kings, at a great expense of men and labour, do not lead in directions now adapted to the requirements of the country. What is now wanted is, that two trunk roads, passable throughout the year for foot passengers and beasts of burden, should be completed as soon as possible: that on the south bank should communicate with the district of Mymensing in Bengal, and continue upwards through Gowalparah, Gowahatty, Nowgong, Golaghaut, Jorehaut, Sibsagur, and so on to Dibrooghur, the capital of Upper Assam; whilst that on the north bank would effect a junction with the road from Rungpore, and passing through Rungamattee, traverse the northern part of the Gowalparah district, and continue east through the centre of the thickly populated parts of Kamroop, and proceed on to Mungledge in Durung Tezpore, a little north of Bishnath and Luckimpore, from whence it might cross the Brahmaputra, and join the road on the south bank. These two main lines, with the road already existing from Gowahatty across the Cherra Hills to Sylhet, would answer all the purposes of rendering the province accessible from without, and admit of intercourse being kept up by land with all the neighbouring districts, which at present are entirely cut off during a great part of the year, for want of passable roads, to all those who do not possess the means of travelling by water, or whom this tedious and dangerous way of moving may not suit. It is true that the Brahmaputra, as a natural highway, affords great facilities of communication, but during the rains the navigation is extremely hazardous, and scarcely passable for any boats, except the canoes of the country and powerful steamers. The banks of the river being subject to inundation, are mostly covered with dense jungle, which makes tracking a matter of great difficulty; it is therefore only in the dry season that the Brahmaputra is adapted for the passage of the ordinary country boats; and as at that time its course is very circuitous, and the channels near the shore greatly blocked up with sand-banks, it takes a moderate sized boat, on an average, six weeks to go from Dacca to Gowahatty, a distance which a man might easily walk in fifteen days, along a road kept in decent repair. Comparatively speaking, few of the people of Assam possess boats, as the population is principally confined to the interior, away from the banks of the Brahmaputra, where but little use could be made of them; roads are therefore quite as much required in Assam as in other countries; but the Government can hardly be expected to provide for the construction of more

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than the main lines. The Mofussil roads, with branches from the trunk, might be very properly left to be made or paid for by the people of the country. For this purpose a fund should be raised by assessment, a certain portion of which might be expended in keeping up serais (called Namghors in Assam,) for travellers to rest in, digging wells at the halting places badly supplied with water, cleaning and repairing the tanks, planting trees along the roads, and keeping in order the village school-houses.

In point of productiveness, there is, perhaps, no part of India that surpasses Assam ; the soil is rich and varied, and according to its elevation, land may be found adapted for nearly all the crops which are culturable in tropical climates. There are low lands and high lands, alluvial soils and clay soils, open plains and dense forests—all of which are suited for the growth of some particular product. In the hilly countries, which surround the valley, cotton is grown in considerable quantities, though of inferior quality; lac is also an article, which, in these hills, as well as in the plains, is produced extensively, and is of a very good kind; munjeet and red chillies are likewise brought down for sale by the hill people, but not in great quantities ; these, however, with numerous other descriptions of produce, can all be cultivated with success in the hilly regions bordering on Assam, and the quantity produced at present could be increased to almost any extent, if the population were sufficient and their exertions properly directed.

In the plains, the crops mostly in favour with the natives, are rice of all kinds, mustard seed, opium, pulses, sugar-cane, silk and cotton, the last of which is mostly used up in the manufacture of home fabrics; it must, however, be allowed, that in the cultivation of these articles, very little knowledge of farming is brought into operation, and the least possible labour expended in rearing them. The people almost seem to think that Nature should supply all their wants, and that crops, which will not grow spontaneously, are scarcely fit to be cultivated ; the extreme fertility of the soil, and the little labour required in agriculture, has, no doubt, tended very much to induce those habits of idleness, and want of active exertion, so observable in all the people of the province. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that labour should be difficult to obtain for hire, as a man has only to provide himself with a pair of bullocks and a few of the most simple agricultural instruments, select a piece of land to his liking, of which there is plenty to be had in all quarters, and with the expenditure of the

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most limited amount of labour, he is nearly certain to provide himself with all the actual necessaries of life.

The want of labour is certainly the greatest difficulty which European speculators have to contend with in establishing and carrying on any factories in Assam. During the cold weather, after the summer crop of rice has been gathered in, labourers are obtainable in large numbers, and may be prevailed upon to stay with their employers for some months: the annual rains, however, no sooner set in, than off they go to their rice fields, which no ordinary rate of wages will induce them to desert. The people are in general so well off at home, that three or four rupees a month is not looked upon as sufficient compensation for the loss they would sustain by entirely giving up their own cultivation. It is consequently impossible to calculate with certainty on being able to keep together any number of labourers during the whole year.

Of late years considerable attention has been attracted to the province by the decided success which has latterly attended the operations of the Assam Tea Company. It is now a well-ascertained fact, that the cultivation and manufacture of tea in Assam is a profitable speculation, and that its sale is no longer dependent on the novelty of the article; the extended production of this commodity may therefore be looked for as a certain result of this success, and as there is land enough to accommodate all settlers for many a year to come, the only thing which speculators and capitalists need be careful in providing for, is the supply of sufficient labourers necessary to carry on their factories. These, no doubt, are obtainable from many of the over-stocked districts of Bengal, from which the removal of a portion of their surplus population to Assam would be a mutual advantage. But besides tea there are many other articles of trade, the cultivation of which may be made to yield a profitable return, such as sugar, coffee, lac, many of the fibrous grasses, and other products, all of which could be grown to any extent. Experiments have been made of uniting in one concern the manufacture of both tea and sugar, which has been attended with marked success, as tea being manufactured in the rains, and sugar in the dry weather, the great press of work does not fall at once in both departments, which admits of all the labourers being kept in full work during the whole year round, by being employed alternately in one or the other according as circumstances may require.

Without the importation of labourers, or the immigration of people of their own accord into Assam, it must be a very long time indeed before the vast area of jungle wastes can be

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reclaimed. The people of the country are not at all likely to extend their cultivation much beyond its present limits; and far from an increase being probable just at present, it is to be feared that an actual decrease will take place, on account of the great mortality among the people caused by cholera, and the destruction of immense numbers of cattle by a murrain during the last two years. Under the most favourable circumstances it would take a very long time before the natural increase amongst the inhabitants themselves would be sufficient to bring the whole of the province under cultivation; but if immigration could only once be established, it would probably go on rapidly increasing, as the agricultural classes of Bengal would find their position much improved by the change. In this way the wilds of Assam might soon be teeming with happy people; instead of presenting the appearance of desolate wastes, the people of the country would also be benefited by mixing with others, whose knowledge of agriculture is somewhat greater than their own, as example is always better than precepts; wild beasts and impenetrable forests would soon be replaced by thriving families and beautiful villages, trade would increase, and wealth accumulate, and the valley again regain its former amount of population amid the blessings of peace and prosperity.

Having thus discussed this question of the Land Revenue pretty fully, we shall now indulge in some miscellaneous observations, partly suggested by the publications whose titles stand at the head of this article, the first two of which have appeared since the publication of our article on Assam in No. XXXVIII., and partly supplied from our own experience in the province.

"We cannot foretell," says Mr. Robertson, formerly Commissioner of Assam, "what the future historian will say of 'the contest now in progess in the Irrawaddy, but it may be 'safely predicated of the last war with Ava, that it was not 'merely just and necessary in its origin, but absolutely and 'positively unavoidable."

As might be naturally expected, many of Mr. Robertson's observations bear with much interest upon present circumstances. The following, although not directly connected with Assam, is a well-told version of an oft-told tale:—

"The position of the Bengal sepoy, as he is called from the 'presidency to which he belongs, though Hindustani sepoy 'would be the more distinctive title to give him, as he is gene-'rally drawn from the provinces of the middle and upper Ganges,

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'is one of the puzzles proving of difficult solution to those who 'visit India for the first time at a mature age. The Bengal 'sepoy is virtually a militia-man, one engaged for a service 'limited to Hindu land. He can no more be, with justice, 'required to serve beyond the limits of Hinduism, than an 'English militia-man could, during the war in Europe, have 'been required to serve out of the British isles. To embark 'on board ship, unless enlisted with that understanding, can, 'under no circumstances, be justly exacted of him. When 'wanted beyond seas, the practice in former days was to 'announce the service, and call for volunteers; and it was thus 'that the native battalions were formed, which so well upheld 'the character of the Bengal army in Egypt, at the Mauritius, 'and at Java. Since then the practice has been introduced of 'raising battalions for general service, in which the condition 'of entering is, that the sepoy shall be prepared to embark if 'required, and this is the case with the whole native army at 'Madras. In respect to such regiments, therefore, there is no 'difficulty; but with the rest of the Bengal army, and, I believe, 'by far the best portion of it, there can be no doubt of the 'sepoy's right to refuse to go on board a ship, and some doubt 'of our Government's right to send him, even by land, beyond 'the limits over which the Hindu faith prevails.

"The order for certain regiments at Barrackpore, near Cal- 'cutta, to move down to Chittagong and Arracan, had excited 'a spirit of discontent among the men, such as a Malcolm or 'an Ochterlony would, probably, have appeased, without force 'or bloodshed, but which, under the handling of the chief 'military authorities of the day, men imperfectly acquainted 'with the character of the sepoy, and disdaining to humour 'his peculiarities, led, on the 1st November, 1824, to one of 'the most deplorable scenes recorded in the history of British 'India.

"The sepoy is, in some respects, like a child in his tempera- 'ment, and never was his childish frowardness more decidedly 'evinced than on the occasion in question. The order resisted, 'was one to march without the usual aid in the way of carriage, 'which circumstances rendered it impossible for the Govern- 'ment to supply. The sepoys were unreasonable and disobe- 'dient, but that they were not animated by any really malevo- 'lent spirit, is evident from the place where their contumacy 'was displayed.

"If, instead of breaking out at Barrackpore, where regi- 'ments of Europeans were at hand to reduce them, they had 'postponed the explosion, until after a few days march towards

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'Chittagong, they would have had their officers in their power, 'and might have done what they liked. This consideration had 'no weight with those who had to deal with them, and who, 'acting in strict and somewhat pedantic conformity with Euro- 'pean precedent, fixed a certain number of minutes for laying 'down arms, and did every thing in that hard and dry manner, 'by which it is so easy, in moments of excitement, to push an 'Indian Prince to war, an Indian subject to revolt, and an 'Indian soldier to mutiny.

"It is impossible to say precisely, at this distance of time, 'what could have been done; but nothing worse can be imagined 'than what *was* done, in the opening of a fire from an almost 'masked battery, upon men whose muskets, there is good reason 'to believe, were unloaded, and then, *horribile dictu!* setting 'our own British-born soldier to the dreadful task of treating 'his ancient companion in arms, the Jack sepoy of the days 'of Lake, as his fellest foe.

"So intense was the interest taken in this event by the native 'soldiery, that we discovered to our surprise, intelligence of 'the mutiny and its suppression to have been received in the 'lines at Chittagong, before it reached General Morrison and 'myself, though it was transmitted to us by a special express. 'The effect produced on the sepoy mind, seemed to be one of 'horror and amazement. "They are your own men whom you 'have been destroying," said an old native officer, in talking of 'the matter, and seemed afraid to trust himself to say more. 'Among the English residents at Chittagong, then mostly mili- 'tary, the account of what had happened was received by some 'with concern, but by too many with undissembled satisfaction. 'There was one person however, and he an officer of His 'Majesty's army, fresh from Europe, who seemed intuitively to 'take the humane, the enlightened, and the just view of the 'question. This was the late Col. Grant, of the 54th foot. 'I sat next him at dinner, on the evening of the day on which 'the news from Barrackpore had been received, and I remember 'well the contrast exhibited between his calm clear-sighted 'reflections on what had happened, and the hasty passionate 'comments of many others at the table."

Nearly thirty years have passed over this scene, and we may be thankful that the earth has been spared witnessing another like. They might be not unfrequently precipitated. Only ten years back, some ticklish matters occurred at the disbanding of the Upper Assam Sebundy corps. While a more recent difficulty was occasioned, at the commencement of this second war against Burmah, concerning one of the most

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distinguished regiments in India, bearing on its colours "Seringapatam," "Candahar," "Ghuzni," "Caubul." Honour be to the sentiments of the late Col. Grant! How has the word "loyalty" been perverted and abused to serve men's bad and selfish passions!

Elsewhere Mr. Robertson thus touches upon military matters: and upon a subject that has been a good deal discussed of late, and of which but one view seems to be taken by all who are qualified to form a judgment respecting it:—

"I shall make no apology for this trespass upon what is, perhaps, exclusively soldier's ground, because the bias of the present day, towards an undue depreciation of native capacity, and a disregard for purely native feeling, is quite as strong among our countrymen in civil, as among those in military situations of power and command. This bias necessarily engenders a contemptuous bearing towards a people of keen susceptibility, who are more easily to be led by their attachment to individuals, than by their reverence for any system, however wise and beneficial.

"This is peculiarly the case with the military classes of Upper India, of whom the Bengal army is, or ought to be, composed; and therefore those who wish the Bengal sepoy to be what his predecessors were under Lake and Ochterlony, should inquire how those commanders conducted themselves towards their native officers and men, and try to regulate their own deportment accordingly. The worst of the repulsive system is, that it produces the very faults which it imputes; for the men naturally become estranged from superiors, who evince no sympathy for them. Allusion has been made to the days of Lake and Ochterlony, but it is unnecessary to go so far back, to find proofs of what good service sepoys may, under judicious management, be brought to render.

"Almost simultaneously with the march on Arracan, Col. Alfred Richards was employed, with an army consisting of natives alone, in driving the Burmese out of Assam. The present Sir James Brooke, then a young Ensign, serving under Col. Richards, had been allowed to act on a suggestion of his own, for supplying the want of cavalry in Assam, by selecting 100 sepoys, who could ride, and mounting them on ponies taken from the enemy.

"When, at the attack of Runjpore, in Upper Assam, this young officer fell, as it was supposed, mortally wounded, one of his own dismounted troopers, employed with others in carrying him from the field, perceiving that his sword had fallen, exclaimed, 'It shall never be said that my master left the field with-

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'out his sword,' and ran back into the midst of the fire to 'look for it.

"This little troop had always been employed under its juve- 'nile commander, in accompanying the Quarter Master General 'of the force in Assam, the late Capt. Neufville, and would, it 'may be safely asserted, have followed either of those two 'officers on any enterprise, however dangerous.

"If we ask the reason, it was not because the sepoys were 'much better than others, but simply, because their leaders 'were both of them men of enlarged minds, and engaging man- 'ners, who did not think it beneath them to conciliate the affec- 'tions, as well as to command the obedience, of those over whom 'they were placed."

Similar testimony has been given by Lieut.-Genl. Sir George Pollock, before the Commons' Committee. In his examination, he admitted a change in the relation between officers and sepoys, which he partly attributed to the effect of the system of withdrawing so many of the former for civil staff situations. He suggested, as a palliative, an encrease of the number of officers, but this remedy would not meet the case. It is not number only which is thus rendered deficient, but *esprit de corps*. The interest of a soldier should lie in his proper profession. The corps should be his *domicilium*.

Simultaneously, we find Mr. Marshman urging limitation to the period of service, and plainly designating a civilian waiting on after twenty or twenty-five years, as staying "longer than he ought to do." Circulation of *personnel* becomes as necessary in India as change of air. After so long enjoyment at the feast, the lines of Lucretius may be addressed, though we would wish to see the good man enjoy a pension!

"Cur non, ut plenus vitæ conviva, recedis;
Aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?"

Thus may one easy remedy be found. The two interests, the army and the civil staff, may not be so separate from each other. They may be furthered and promoted together.

There is recorded also, at this time, the deliberate and earnest opinion delivered by Sir Charles Trevelyan, that the period has now arrived, when, instead of further augmentation, the military forces in India ought to be greatly reduced, for there is no longer the slightest necessity for continuing to keep up such a vast army. Why, surely Sir Charles must, in heart at least, be one of the peace party!

We hazarded an opinion in our former article upon Assam, in favour of stamps as a check upon vain litigation. Since then we learn that the present Deputy Commissioner has hit upon

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some other remedy instead. There can be no doubt that gratuitous justice is the right principle. Government assumes so much respecting territory, magistracy, taxation, and so forth, that the least it can do in return is to afford protection without further payment. Nor can it even do this perfectly. Injury still goes on, state machinery itself becomes imperfect and corrupt—still it is bound to try to administer justice, and to protect the rights and liberties of the people, without extra expenses. We therefore rejoice to hear of any better plan than stamps as a check upon frivolous cases. Especially where the course of proceedings is not rapid, but slow. We admire the windings of the shining Dove bounding the fair shires of Stafford and Derby, but can descry no beauty in a meandering *mukudma*, albeit we have heard "the law's delays," (enumerated by the philosophical Prince of Denmark, among those ills of life which only religion can render supportable), represented as most delectable. Another desideratum is the power of enforcing decrees. Whereas at present, if a plaintiff should at length obtain a decree in his favour, he is sometimes obnoxious to the banter of the other side.

Mr. Robertson's account of the meeting of the British and Burmese Commissioners, is curious and suggestive. Here were two parties meeting at Melloon, and claiming, without any misgivings, the right to dispose, as they pleased, of other countries.

"*British.* Do you cede the four Provinces of Arracan?

"*Burmese.* We do.

"*British.* Will you cede Assam?

"To this no distinct reply could be obtained, and after half 'an hour of fruitless talk, a note-book was produced, in which 'one of the chiefs made a memorandum of the provinces requir-'ed in cession, &c., &c., &c."

Thus, indeed, do men "call the lands after their own names." Truly, "the kings of the gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them, are called benefactors. But," it is added, "ye shall not be so." Benefactors! yes, as the Psalmist sayeth, "men will praise thee, when thou doest well to thyself." In fact, by what title can one generation possess and monopolise, and bequeath the soil of the earth, so that they who come after shall be as interlopers upon sufferance? All the places taken before hand. No room left. They had better go back again!

The conclusion of Mr. Robertson's volume is full of temperate and enlightened observation, which reflects credit on the head and heart of the author. We commend the work to those who wish to form a just judgment about our eastern

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frontier. The question about the annexation of Prome and Pegu, was at that time debated and rejected. The boundary line, the nature of the country, the character of the people, were discussed, and the number of troops necessary for such a frontier was calculated at six European regiments, and a strong native force.

"There is a peculiarity," says Mr. Robertson, "in our relations with the Burmese, which, of all our Indian rulers, the Marquis of Hastings alone seems clearly to have discerned. That people does not form part of the great Indian family of nations. What passes among them, does not enter into the bill of fare served up to native quidnuncs. Little or nothing of it would be known to Indian durbars, if it were not forced upon their notice, by our own indiscreet disclosures. The Burmese are, as Mr. Price said, children in knowledge, and it would be well if we were to treat them as such, and not allow every burst of petulance, on their part, to hurry us into wars, to be waged at the cost of the poor people of India."—"We ourselves give a factitious importance to Burmese surliness, and then cry out that the dignity of the British Government will suffer in the eyes of the natives, if the injury, of which they know nothing, be not avenged by a war for which they must pay."—"The assertion will be hooted at, but it may be maintained, that the Burmese have made good Mr. Price's prediction, in 1826, that they would never again seek a rupture with the British. No subsequent preparation, on their part, has ever evinced a consciousness of any thing having been done to provoke a war."—"The word and blow diplomacy has a show of vigour to win the applause of the more ardent worshippers of progress; but it is not the diplomacy of Barry, Close, Malcolm, Elphinstone, or Metcalfe, in earlier days; or of George Clerk, and Sutherland, who kept the Punjab and Rajputana quiet and friendly, during a more recent season of disaster, when the hostility of those states would have worked our ruin.'

"If, however, the system under which our Empire has risen and thriven, is to be discarded in our dealings with the ultra-gangetic nations, would it not be better that the Crown should take all the countries east of the Yeomadong mountains, and form of them another colonial dependency like Ceylon? The cost of the war now in progress, and of other wars looming in the distance, would then fall, as it ought to do, on the people of Great Britain, and not on the natives of India."

At the meeting of the native community at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 29th of July last, the chairman, Raja Radha-

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kant Deb, Bahadur, is reported to have remarked, "as to the 'increase of revenue, it may be said that it follows territorial 'aggrandizement, as a matter of course. This circumstance, 'generally speaking, is a source of great gratification to us." But an eminent modern English economist, who has been compared to Spinoza, is far from confirming this rosy view. He says, "it turns out, that extension of empire is not syno-'nymous with increase of wealth; but that, on the contrary, 'aggressions, bred of the desire for territorial gain, entail 'loss."*

The following conversations with some young folk in Assam, will give some idea of the state of sentiment prevailing amongst various classes of the community. They have at least the merit of being genuine, and may possess some interest for the missionary and the philanthropist :—

SIBRAM AND GENTLEMAN.

G. Tell me, Sibram, when in company with other young men of Gowhatty, do you ever converse about what is to come after death?

S. Yes, Sir, very frequently.

G. And upon other subjects of religion?

S. Certainly.

G. Your generation, I believe, do not exactly follow the creed of your fathers?

S. Not strictly in all things.

G. You do not really worship idols?

S. *(Smiling.)* No, Sir, but some still love to preserve ancient customs, like Baboo D. C.

G. What then do you know, or believe, of God?

S. We do not know much. We know God is great, and wise, and fine, and that He is angry with vice, and pleased with good.

G. What do you know of God's will?

S. We know but little, but our inward heart tells us in some measure what is right, and what is wrong.

G. And after death, what then?

S. Good people will be happy, but bad people will be punished.

G. Well, Purmanundoh, have you been performing your poojah, that you come thus crowned with flowers?

* Social statistics, by Herbert Spencer.

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Pur. I am not in the habit of poojaing, Sir.
G. How then do you worship the gods?
Pur. We go to a temple, and there we meditate and pray.
G. From book, or as you think at the moment?
Pur. From book.
G. According to you, when a man dies, what happens?
Pur. His body becomes dissolved.
G. And his soul?
Pur. That does not die.
G. And is the soul conscious of former existence?
Pur. No, Sir, it cannot remember. Otherwise we should remember what we did before.
G. The soul then lived before?
Pur. Of course, Sir, it is divine.
G. And are earth, and stones, and trees divine?
Pur. No, Sir, they are not divine.
G. Is there no difference between the fate of good souls and of bad souls?
Pur. By sin they become separate from God.
G. The souls of men then continue to survive?
Pur. Yes, Sir.
G. In what manner?
Pur. In other forms.
G. How will the good and bad differ?
Pur. The good will have better forms, and the bad will have worse forms.
G. Explain further.
Pur. A bad soul will be united to a duck or a cat, or some meaner form.
G. How are you now instructed?
Pur. We have books, Sir, in our houses.
G. Have you teachers to explain the meaning?
Pur. Formerly we used to have teachers, but now in Assam there are few remaining, and they are very poor.
G. Well, you may take leave now, and proceed to your scholars.
Pur. Very well. Good day, Sir.

G. Katiram, how is your father now?
K. In the same state, Sir, as he has long been, or rather, he grows worse.
G. Tell me his present condition.
K. His hands and feet, Sir, are now both gone, his arms are stiff, and he can hardly bend them. Pieces of bone are

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coming forth. His body feels as if insects kept falling upon it, he can scarcely speak, and cannot eat or drink.

G. Does he take any medicines?

K. No, Sir, he now only wishes to appease the spirits.

G. Is he an old man?

K. He is about forty years old, Sir; if he were not thus affected, he would be strong.

G. Is his mind at ease?

K. Yes, Sir, his friends join to observe the customs, and lend him assistance. One thing he desires, with your aid, to collect together those of his own caste, and entertain them at a meal, and make his salaam, and receive their blessings.

G. Very well, Katee, I will afford this, do you see to the preparation.

K. If you please, Sir, it should be to-morrow night.

G. Very good.

K. (*Salams and exit.*)

Occurrences like the following are not confined to Assam, but are common in all Eastern countries.

Before going on board my boat, to proceed to Tezpore, Jellahu, an omedwar, related to my Tekelah, presented himself with some flowers which he placed in my hand. He was an intelligent well-disposed lad, who had been waiting patiently for employment, and I said, that on my return he should wait attendance and receive some *koraky*, until he could obtain a situation. At this he went off, having made his salaam, in high glee. In the evening I went on board, and moved the following morning. At that time cholera was sweeping away the people of Gowhatty. We made a long trip to Tezpore, being delayed by the fitful weather after the vernal equinox. Ere arriving, we all, self, servants, maunjee, and boatmen, were expecting to hear news from our home at Gowhatty; in particular, Katiram chuprassee, who had left his newly married wife, and knew that a letter from his *chota bhai* would have been despatched. He brought with speed a packet of *daks*, out of which I gave him an Assamese letter. He retired forthwith to read it, and returned after a while with a changed countenance. I asked, is all well?

K. All well in your honor's bungalow.

G. And at your home?

K. All well in your slave's house, but (bursting into tears) Jellahu is dead.

G. Dead!

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K. Yes, saheb, he was taken with cholera the night after your honour started, and died next morning.

G. I half thought you were going to bring him with you, and you remember I spoke, ere leaving, of finding some employment for him on return.

K. Yes, Sir. Jellahu was a good person, and we were like brothers, and he was very useful for me at home, and when I was absent from home.

On returning, I inquired and learned further particulars.

During the afternoon, Jellahu had been very well and happy, playing, laughing, and singing with his friends. He was taken slightly ill, without being alarmed. Then he got worse. They laid him down inside a house, and attended him all night.

G. Did he think he should not recover?

K. In the morning his strength was gone, and he knew what condition he was in.

G. Did he want for any thing?

K. No, Sir, all was done as usual.

G. Did he suffer much pain?

K. The pain became less towards the end.

G. Was his mind unhappy?

K. No, sir, he invited his neighbours around, and made them his farewell, and they uttered their good wishes.

G. Was he in fear of dying?

K. No, sir, not in fear.

G. Did they afterwards burn him?

K. No, sir, I was absent from home with your honour, and there were no means of procuring wood for burning, nor strength for carrying him away so far to the sands of the river, so they laid him in the earth, on the little hillock at the back of our house.

GENTLEMAN AND BROJIAHKANTOH.

G. I want to know, Brojiah, how you young men of Assam go on now as regards religion.

B. O, my lord, this is a bad age we live in, and during its continuance religion does not flourish.

G. Do you think many Assamese will become Christian?

B. Who knows? but I do not think they will.

G. Do you think they will give up any bad customs of their own, and adopt any good ones of ours?

B. They may do so, preserving their caste.

G. But not otherwise?

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B. By breaking their caste, they become worse.

G. But your customs are so unsocial: your friends cannot even invite you to dinner.

B. (*Laughing.*) We can converse and associate so far as custom allows.

G. Have you learned any thing concerning our religion?

B. Yes, my lord, I have heard and read of it. It is very good.

G. Have you heard any other words as good?

B. All religion is, in some degree, similar; some parts are like, and some parts are different.

G. Now, pray, are you religious yourself, according to your own notions?

B. (*Smiling.*) Your slave is not now religious; not all people are religious, nor at all times. Perhaps I may at some time become so.

G. I hope so for your sake. You may now take leave.

B. Salaam.

WITH A BENGALI BOY RESIDENT IN ASSAM.

G. Utsurbanundoh, do you attend office now?

U. No, sir, I go to school.

G. Has your father much work to do?

U. Yes, sir, as Sherishtadar, and he often gives us papers to write out at home.

G. Which are the best qualified writers, Bengalis or Portuguese?

U. The Bengalis, sir, for the higher duties. We call the Goa natives, tash firinghees, but when with them, we address them as "Sir;" yourselves we call Engrezi saheb.

G. And you are a Bengali?

U. Yes, sir; we are Brahmins.

G. Well, can you tell me what happens when a Hindu dies?

U. We mourn and eat no fish, nor——

G. I mean what happens to the person who dies?

U. If his sons perform the ceremonies, he goes to paradise, otherwise to hell.

G. What, for his son's neglect?

U. We do not speak so; we say, a man is born and dies. If he is vicious, then he goes to hell.

G. But if he is good, and his sons are vicious, and do not perform the ceremonies?

U. We do not speak so, sir; we say, a bad man has no son

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who can perform the ceremony. His son will be a Christian, or for some other cause cannot perform the ceremony.

G. But suppose the case of a good man, whose sons are neglectful.

U. Then he has been bad before, in some other form.

G. And what will follow?

U. He will begin again:—we are born a million times before we become a Brahmin. First, we are a maggot, then a tiger, then a cow, and so on to a Brahmin.

G. Then what becomes of the good man?

U. He will go to paradise direct, but a vicious man will begin again; he will become a maggot, then a tiger, and a cow, and so forth, a million of times. It is said, also, that those who see Khamykhya temple will go to paradise.

G. Well, I have stood outside it.

U. Oh, but they must go inside and touch it; but some say, that those who see Khamykhya hill will go to paradise.

G. Then Assam must be a good country, I suppose?

U. O! very few Assamese see Khamykhya; only a few Brahmins.

G. What other country have you seen?

U. I have seen Dhaca, sir, and my house is at Furridpore.

Chundernath. Sir, will you lend me a book?

G. With pleasure; what book do you want?

C. I want First Number Reader.

G. I have not got it.

C. Then what book will you lend?

G. (*Handing over a volume*). Have you ever seen this?

C. (*Looking at it*). Oh, take it away, it is some of your religious books, I do not want to see it.

G. Can you read Bengali Romanized?

C. Yes, sir.

G. Look here, and see if you can understand:

C. (*Reads*). "Dui tin sakhyir pramukhat kathate sakal bishay sthir haibe," Dui tin? Oh! Shakhiar! witnesses! O that is very good.

G. Well, here is a book I will give you.

C. What is it's name?

G. Henry of Eichenfells. I will write your name in it.

C. Thank you, sir, I shall read it in two days. And then what shall I do? Colonel N. lends out a great many books. Why do not you?

G. I am always ready to lend to those who will read them.

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C. To lend books is very good. I have heard it is written in your shastras, sir, if you lend, you shall have more. So if you lend me that one almirah full of books, then you shall have two almirahs full.

G. Come. When you have read that book, I will lend you a larger, that will take you many days to read.

C. Very well; thank you, sir; good evening.

Allusion has been made in one of the above dialogues to the preference still shewn for burial instead of burning. We find this noticed in Tavernier's curious account "of the kingdom of Assam."

"In the city of Azoo,"* says he, "are the tombs of the 'kings of Assam, and of all the royal family. For though they 'are idolators, they never burn their dead bodies, but bury 'them. They believe that the dead go into another world, 'where they that have lived well in this, have plenty of all 'things; but that they who have been ill livers, suffer the want 'of all things, being in a more especial manner afflicted with 'hunger and drought; and that, therefore, it is good to bury 'some thing with them to serve them in their necessities. This 'was the reason that Mirgimola found so much wealth in the 'city of Azoo."

According to Tavernier, "the Assamese were the people that 'formerly invented guns and powder, which spread itself from 'Assam to Pegu, and from Pegu to China, from whence the 'invention has been attributed to the Chinese. However, cer-'tain it is, that Mirgimola brought from thence several pieces 'of cannon, which were all iron guns, and store of excellent 'powder, both made in that country. The powder is round and 'small, like ours, and very strong."

Mirgimola is narrated to have sailed up one of the rivers "that comes from the Lake Chiamay, to the 29th or 30th degree," to have landed his army, and found "a country abounding in all humane necessaries," and, "being a Mahometan," to have "burned and sacked, all wherever he came, to the 35th degree." Here he understands "the king of Assam" to be awaiting his approach with a larger army than was expected, and "that he had several pieces of cannons, and great store of fireworks withal." Whereupon Mirgimola "thought it was not convenient to march any farther," especially as winter was "drawing on, which the Indians are so sensible of, that it is

* Hajoa.

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‘ impossible to make them stir beyond the 30th or 35th degree,
‘ especially to hazard their lives.”

This traveller, who passed the space of forty years, visiting Turkey, Persia, and the Indies, gives a good character of “ the kingdom of Assam” as being “ one of the best countries of all ‘ Asia, for it produces all things necessary for humane subsis-
‘ tence, without any need of foreign supply. There are in it
‘ mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, iron, and great store of silk,
‘ but coarse. The country produces also great store of gum-
‘ lake, of which there is two sorts, one grows under the trees,
‘ of a red colour, wherewith they paint their linen and stuffs;
‘ and when they have drawn out the red juices, the remaining
‘ substance serves to varnish cabinets, and to make wax; being
‘ the best lake in Asia for those uses.”

These observations were made, respecting Assam, about 200 years ago, and present a sad contrast to its present depopulated, impoverished condition. They however do but confirm the testimony which the nature of the country abundantly furnishes, of the prosperous condition which Assam is adapted for attaining, and which, please God, she may again attain, under a liberal, gentle, and popular administration, which shall protect the fair rights and liberties of all classes, and encourage enterprise and progress, rather by removing any restraints and impediments, than by more direct interference.

From parts of Tavernier’s descriptions, we half imagine that he has mixed together the customs of the Assamese with those of the neighbouring hill tribes. Thus he speaks of their greatest delicacy being the flesh of dogs. We have seen a couple of Nagas trot off with a black puppy, which they began preparing beside a tank with much apparent gusto, but such a dish would be as foreign to an Assamese as would be the *Aqua vitæ* with which this author makes the people wash down their food. He describes their making salt, by collecting great heaps “ of that green stuff that swims at the
‘ tops of standing waters, which the ducks and frogs eat. This
‘ they dry and burn; and the ashes thereof being boiled in a
‘ cloth in water, become very good salt. The other way, most
‘ in use, is to take the leaves of Adam’s fig tree, which they dry
‘ and burn; the ashes whereof make a salt so tart, that it is im-
‘ possible to eat until the tartness be taken away; which they
‘ do by putting the ashes in water, where they stir them ten or
‘ twelve hours together; then they strain the substance through
‘ a linen cloth and boil it; as the water boils away, the bottom

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'thickens; and when the water is all boiled away, they find at 'the bottom very good and white salt.

"Of the ashes of these fig-leaves they make a lye, where-'with they wash their silk, which makes it as white as snow, 'but they have not enough to whiten half the silk that grows 'in the country."

He calls the capital of Assam Kennerup,* which he places at thirty days' journey from the former capital bearing the same name. The king required *no subsidies* from the people, but the mines were for his use, which for the ease of his subjects, were worked by slaves. "So that all the natives of 'Assam live at their ease, and every one has his house by him-'self, and in the middle of his ground a fountain, encompassed 'with trees, and most commonly every one an elephant to carry 'their wives; for they have four wives, and when they marry, 'they say to one, 'I take thee to serve me in such a thing,' to the 'other, 'I appoint thee to do such business;' so that every one 'of the wives knows what she has to do in the house." He describes inhabitants in 'the southern parts' answering to the present appearance of the Nagas, "with a bonnet like a blew 'cap upon their heads, hung about with swine's teeth. They 'pierce holes in their ears, that you may thrust your thumb in, 'where they hang pieces of gold and silver. Bracelets also of 'tortoise-shells, and sea-shells, as long as an egg, which they saw 'into circles, are in great esteem among the meaner sort; as 'bracelets of coral and yellow amber among those that are 'rich."

There is something pleasing, despite the drawback of slaves, in 'the king,' so far consulting 'the ease' of his people. An Englishman, on first acquaintance with the Mofussil, is wont to be struck with the unusual predominance of the official element. He hears it asserted that Government *must* support its official even when in the wrong; although there is so much opportunity for imperfect human beings to indulge their own humour at the expense of others, and to abuse their authority. But is not this a partial view? As though a bishop, as of olden time, were to back up merely the clergy of his diocese, ignoring the laity? Let all classes and individuals really see and believe that the government is not for a few officials alone, but for themselves likewise, that what may be called the 'laity,' are protected, as well as professional

* Kamrup.

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officers, and how much will content, union, and rational loyalty be encreased! otherwise there is likelihood that, under the name of privileges and protection, occasion may be furnished for oppression and injustice.

The following is a list of the Assamese holidays, referred to in a former Number, which are not current in Bengal:

Bysak Bihu, seven days. It is the custom in Assam, that on the 30th of the month of Chyet, or the first day of the Bihu, cows and buffaloes are bathed in the rivers, nullahs and lakes, as may happen to be available in the various divisions of the province, after oil and turmeric having been applied to their bodies; and on the second day the people prepare general banquets, and invite their kindred and friends to dine; all the people wear new clothes, and the remaining five days are celebrated by both men and women, with dancing, beating drums, and singing amorous and wanton songs about the country.

Umbubachy, three days in the month of Ashar. It is the belief in Assam that, in accordance with the records made by the ancient pundits in the Hindu Shastras, the earth becomes Rajoswallah for three days, within which time the widows of Brahmins, in the province, are not allowed to dine, but only to live upon milk and fruits; it is also forbidden to plough the lands. But on the fourth day all people become pure and saintly, having washed their clothes, and the yards, and floors of their houses.

Monoshapujah, two days in the month of Serabun. In this puja, agreeably to the customs of Assam, some people, having been attracted by evil spirits, jump, and dance in an astonishing manner; in some places idols are worshipped, and in the Khamykhya hill there is performed a grand puja, with dancing after the fashion described. Those who are possessed by the spirits are called Deodanis.

Magh Bihu, three days. On the 30th of the month Push, or the first day of Bihu, young people, having erected small huts upon the sands in the bed of the rivers, and collected and arranged bambus, plantains, rushes, reeds, and wood, set fire to them in the early morning, while the people around are engaged in reading prayers to the Great God for some time, after which they proceed to their houses and invite their kindred and friends to tiffin, and in the evening amuse themselves with plays and sports. The remaining two days are kept by all the young people of both sexes, by dancing, playing and jumping with great agility.

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Ashukastomi, one day. This holiday is not known to any people in Assam, excepting those who live on the banks of the Brahmaputra. It is the custom among such, being Hindus, to bathe in the river, by which performance, so intended, they become purified, as per affirmation inserted in the shastras kept by the original wise men ;—so saith our pundit.

Total sixteen days, for the holidays peculiar to Assam, as distinct from Bengal, during which the public offices are closed.

The days of the week are thus called :—

Sunday	Deobar.
Monday	Hombar.
Tuesday	Mongulbar.
Wednesday	Budhbar.
Thursday	Birosotibar.
Friday	Hukurbar.
Saturday.....	Honibar.

Mention was made in our previous article of the songs of the Assamese dooms. These melodies would form a singular collection, and would admit of very harmonious treatment. They consist principally of hymns, abounding in Sanskrit words, and the airs are excellently adapted for the exertion of paddling their khel-naos; 'their voices keep tune and their oars keep time.'

The air of the chorus of one of their most universally popular songs, appeared some years ago in a contemporary publication,* and is commonly known as 'Ram bol? To this hymn there belong many hundred verses, called the *pudd*, a few lines of which we have translated as a specimen.

Ram-bol. Hurry-bol. Ek-hey.

"Brahm first I hail, incarnate Sonatam,
The all-avatar-causing Narayan,
Sprung from thy navel, Brahma saw the day,
Thou countless figures dost assume for aye,
First as a fish thou cleavedst ocean's wave
And the four Vedas from the flood didst save,
A tortoise next on river Kheeroododdhy,
A thousand prohurs† thou didst swell thy body,
Thee Rajah Shaitobrot with awe deseries,
The ocean fails to hold thy monstrous size."

And so on for some 1,000 verses.

* Benares Magazine.

† One prohur equal three hours.

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The following act of intercession, with which we now beg to conclude, is adapted from one of the letters of Winfred, Archbishop of Mayence, a zealous Missionary, who suffered martyrdom A. D. 755.*

O merciful God, who willest all men to be saved,
And to come to the knowledge of the truth,
Have mercy upon the Assamese,
Hindus and Mahometans,
And all the inhabitants of Assam.

Send, O Lord, faithful missionaries among them,
That they may escape from corruption and error,
And be united as children of God.
We are all of one blood and one bone,
And man soon goeth the way of all the earth,
None confess unto Thee in the grave,
Death cannot celebrate thee,
We therefore beseech Thee, O Lord,
That thy word have free course and be glorified.
Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

* Vide Churbon's English Church.

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ART. IV.—*Italian Irrigation, being a Report on the Agricultural Canals of Piedmont and Lombardy, addressed to the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by R. Baird Smith, G. S., Captain in the Army, and 1st Lieut. Engineers, Bengal Presidency. Printed by order.* 2 *Vols.* 1852.

ONE chief cause of the shortcomings of British rule in India, is the dulness of our sympathies and interest in the country and its inhabitants. We speak not now of the fervid yet fitful interest awakened by Charter discussions, and in reality maintained by English, not by Indian policy, which will soon relapse into apathy, as surely as in the human frame debility supervenes on fever. But we speak of the ordinary current of Indian public life, of the mechanical manner in which we study affairs, which, if connected with an European country, we should study *con amore*; and we say that the best mode of enlivening attention is, if possible, to associate Indian subjects with their cognate subjects in the West, that thus the ray of European intelligence may be reflected on the opaque objects of Asiatic politics. Few works referring to India have realized this view more completely than the book placed at the head of this article. In the contemplation of the subject of Italian irrigation, the interest of public works in India is heightened by the interest of public works in a land the most lovely and romantic under the sun. The eras of Feroze and Akbar are compared with the eras of the Sforzas and Viscontis; the communities of Hindustan with the communes of the once famed Italian republics; the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna is associated with the Doab of the Ticino and the Adda; the districts of Northern India with the classic plains of Lombardy and Piedmont.

The author is well known as one of the ablest canal officers in this Presidency; and an article from his pen, on the irrigation canals of the North Western Provinces (now recast and reprinted in the present work) previously adorned the pages of this *Review*. When on furlough in England, he was deputed by the Court of Directors to examine the irrigation of Northern Italy, with a view to framing practical suggestions for the Canal Department of India; and the book now under notice is the fruit of this mission. The first volume comprises the personal narrative of travels and researches, and the statistical account of the canals in Alta Italia; the second, a disquisition on the system of irrigation, the distribution of the water, and the legislation with reference to the rights and interests con-

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nected therewith. In a separate portfolio are given a series of excellent maps and plans.

For the study of canal irrigation, experience would be sought for on three heads: *first*, the construction of the canals; *second*, the efficient maintenance of the works; *third*, the distribution of the water, with a due regard to the interests both of individuals and of the state. Now, without insinuating any disparagement of the Italians, and without any national arrogance, we may accept at the outset the conclusion broadly stated by our author, that in the construction of canals, the English in India have nothing important to learn from them. In fact, when the relative magnitude of Northern India and Northern Italy are considered, it could hardly be supposed that, as regards the construction and maintenance of canals, our Engineers should be inferior to their Lombard or Piedmontese brethren. Our irrigable territory is infinitely larger, our physical obstacles heavier, and our works on a far grander scale than theirs. Let the reader picture to his mind the valley of the Po, which is the irrigated district of Italy. The river runs due east and west, parallel with the lower Alpine Range, and about fifty miles from its base. The valley is crossed at many places by rivers which flow from the mountain lakes to join the Po, and from which most of the canals are derived;—such as the Adda, and the Adige, and the Ticino. The last-named river divides the western portion or Piedmont, belonging to the Sardinian Government, from the eastern portion or Lombardy, so well known to be groaning under the Austrian yoke. Now it will be obvious that this tract, rich and celebrated as it is, and comprising such cities as Turin, Milan, Venice, Pavia, Lodi, Mantua, and Verona, yet being only 150 miles long, (east and west) and something less than fifty miles broad, (*i. e.* from the hills to the river) cannot, in physical and material importance, be compared to the canal regions of Northern India, which, in point of area and population, exceed the whole British Isles, to say nothing of the irrigated districts of the Southern Presidencies. Consequently, the Italian works, though excellent in their way, appear positively insignificant, when compared with the Anglo-Indian. It would not be easy to make an accurate comparison between the canal statistics of two countries situated in different quarters of the globe, especially as the expenditure cannot be compared fairly, the cost of labour in one country being about four times as much as in the other; but a few salient contrasts may be selected to illustrate our meaning. For instance, the new Ganges canal is expected to irrigate one-half million of acres; the western Jumna

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canals, actually do irrigate that amount. Yet the entire irrigated area of Lombardy and Piedmont is about the same, namely, one-half million of acres. Thus one monster Indian canal will irrigate as much as all the canals of Northern Italy put together. Further, there is no canal in Italy exceeding eighty miles in the aggregate length of its main channels, yet the Eastern Jumna canal is 500 miles long, the Baree Doab canal will be 400 at least, and the Ganges canal 850. Again, the greatest cubic discharge to any one canal in Italy is 2,000 feet per second; the greatest in India will be upwards of 7,000. Lastly, many of their works are antique (rather a disadvantage in a scientific point of view), whereas ours are modern. For although every revolution which has swept over unhappy Italy has been distinguished for good or for evil in connection with irrigation, yet it was in the splendid period of Italian Republics, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, that canals multiplied over the face of the country. Hence it is, that many existing works were planned and executed in the rude and early era of hydraulic engineering, whereas our works are all the products of the last fifty years. Therefore, without any intention to depreciate, we may say that, in regard to works of irrigation, India carries away the palm from Italy. We trust that the author may have succeeded in explaining these facts to his Italian friends, and we wish he could impress them on the Indian Reform Society.

But when we turn to the distribution of water, and to Canal Legislation, then the tables are turned on ourselves. Amidst the most harassing obstacles from vested interests, conflicting theories, and political vicissitudes, the Italians have, for centuries past, unremittingly proceeded with the minutest Canal Legislation. Code after code, and rule after rule, has been promulgated, revised, enlarged, improved. Abuses, both grave and multiform, which had sprung up before this legislative course had been started on, have been assiduously striven with, but not always overcome. But on the whole, it may be said that in a territory densely thronged with a litigious population, and where both land and water are most valuable and most eagerly sought for, there is no interest (except perhaps that of the state) left without provision, no private right disregarded. Engineering colleges of the most efficient description have been founded; an able and respectable class of Civil Engineers (called "periti") exists, composed of men not only scientifically skilled, but acquainted with all social and legal questions concerning canals; the tribunals are thoroughly versed in canal affairs, and there is a bar especially devoted to the law of irrigation. We

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have indeed the college at Rurki, an excellent institution, but no more comparable with its precursors at Turin and Milan than the Naviglio Grande of Milan with the Ganges canal. When, indeed, we reflect upon the state to which the Italian legislation has been elaborated, and upon the historic personages by whom it has been matured, such sovereigns as Charles V., Francis I., Maria Theresa, the Emperor Napoleon, and Charles Albert, and by such bodies as the Municipal Assemblies of the Italian Republics, the Senate of Venice, and the Aulic Council of Vienna—and when, on the other hand, we reflect that our entire Canal Legislation is embodied in *one* Act of the Government of India, and *one* resolution by the Lieut.-Governor of the North Western Provinces, then certainly we are constrained to hide our diminished heads for the present.

It has been already stated that a large portion of the work under review has been devoted to that description of irrigation, in which the author justly considers that good Canal Legislation forms a main element. He has accordingly furnished a history of legal reform, and a resumé of the law as it now stands, both in Lombardy and Piedmont; and without specifying minutely what future legislation in India should be, he urges the expediency of borrowing many of the leading principles in the Italian law. Of this law not only is a general abstract given, but in order that the reader may judge for himself, the most important clauses and sections have been translated *in extenso*. A catalogue *raisonnée* of authorities is appended, and it is worthy of observation that the author has brought copies of the most valuable works with him out to India, to enrich the library of the Rurki College. On the great practical utility of these proceedings, any comment of ours is superfluous; but we cannot refrain from noticing the power of research evinced by the author in mastering such a subject, within so limited a time, and in acquiring such a varied mass of information from such scattered sources, and this, too, when the language employed was foreign, and the technical terminology both abstruse and elaborate. It is to be hoped, that these labours will not be lost on the legislation of India, and in order that the subject may receive some preliminary ventilation, we propose briefly to consider what are the points hitherto left without legal definition or provision, what points are likely to rise hereafter, and what lessons are to be derived from Italian experience. It is not improbable that the codification of laws may occupy much attention in this country for some years to come; and in promulgating a really effective canal code, it will be a task

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worthy of the Indian Government to emulate the regulations of the Milanese, and the civil code of Charles Albert.

But in passing to this subject, it must be observed that legislation, to be efficient and protective of the interests both of the state and of individuals, ought to be prompt and timely, if not immediate. Laws relative to canals, if enacted in time, are simple in their provisions, and easy in the enforcement, but they become complicated in the one and difficult in the other, if delay, and with it a variety of adverse interests and prescriptive abuses, are permitted to intervene. If one lesson more than another is forced upon the attention by the record of Italian experience, it is this;—The Italians commencing their canals, during the bright epoch of Republican independence, took no thought of the future adjustment of rights and interests. Then ensued, at least a century and a half of calamitous disputes, abuses, irregularities, and misappropriations. When the evil became too monstrous and widespread to be endured quietly, or remedied effectually, then there ensued another century and a half of strenuous, though abortive efforts at legislation. At length, after three centuries of travail, they have succeeded, within the last 200 years, in introducing a system of laws, which, though excellent in theory, and worthy of all imitation, still leave intact many sturdy old abuses, and are not unfrequently disobeyed in practice. But in justice to the Italians, it must be remembered that their canals have been surrounded with constitutional, social, and political complicities. They seem to be the one permanent institution of Northern Italy, perpetually re-appearing after all the storms and transitions of history. They have been the subjects of armed contention between rival principalities; and of formal treaties between potent empires. The proprietorship of land, water, and revenue, has been mixed up with questions of feudal law, and debated between the the Farmer and the Baron, and again between the Baron and the Parliament. Many canals have followed the changeful fortunes of fiefdoms and suzerainties. The noble families, bearing names so famous in literature, in art, in war, in statesmanship, have all been connected with the canals. The church even recognised irrigation among its secular concerns. Bishops constructed canals, and some of the most influential proprietors and staunchest perpetuators of abuses were monastic bodies. In the vicinity of the cities, other difficulties were aggravated by the position and influence of the municipal corporations. In this way abuses grew up, which the several Governments sometimes encouraged from policy, and sometimes

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tolerated from inability to resist. Attempts at improvement were often met by tumult and insurrection. Patriotic reformers having perilled their lives and fortunes, were condemned to banishment, poverty, and even starvation. When the powerful vested interests above recounted,—when single often a match for the state, and when united always superior to it,—had been permitted to acquire immunities and privileges, they not only held their own, but they also threw the shield of their sympathy and concurrence over all minor abuses, by whomsoever maintained. The evil, if assailed at the commencement, might have been suppressed, but when strengthened by prescription, it became as indestructible as the hydra. The result was, that the state, losing all control over the supply of water, was deprived of its dues; that rich nobles, corporations, and ecclesiastics battened at the expense of the community; that selfish usurpations, discreditable contests, and wanton private injuries, were rife and frequent. After ages of toil and trouble, much of this has been remedied. The state, however, has never regained its lost ground; and perpetual grants of water, and all kind of immunities, are still most common. Many canals, which have trebled and quadrupled the population of their districts, and converted plains from marshes into gardens, yet barely repay to the state the cost of their maintenance; and Capt. Smith informs us, that it is a well understood thing in many parts of Italy, that canals, however much they may benefit agriculture, never answer as Government speculations.

Now happily we are free from most of those difficulties which beset the Italians. We have few or no embarrassing antecedents, the state of society offers no obstacle, and at present there is a *tabula rasa* to work upon. Nevertheless, Capt. Smith, one of our first canal officers, declares that abuses may and will arise, unless provided against beforehand. We trust that the warning will not be thrown away. Perhaps abuses may already have arisen, or are arising. The existing method and measures of the supply and distribution of the water are confessedly imperfect. If a system by which some receive more, and others less than they ought, be continued too long, may not its alteration eventually become difficult? If certain parties have, for a considerable period, enjoyed a particular supply, and on the expectation of that supply have entered into speculations and made arrangements, and then it is discovered that hitherto an error has prevailed, and that the supply must be reduced in justice to the state, or to the individuals, or that extra payment must be made—would there not be some hesitation in pressing these demands, especi-

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ally if complaints poured in? Again, if immunities are temporarily granted for political or personal reasons, which reasons after a time pass away, have not these grants a tendency to become perpetual or indefinitely prolonged? At all events, their resumption is more difficult than their concession. In Italy half the canal revenues are frittered away by these grants, and the Government is powerless even for their curtailment. Now, in India, the power of the Government to dictate its own terms at all times is undoubted; nevertheless, the general tenderness of the law towards those who incur its penalties, and become amenable to its demands, is certain. The state is usually reluctant to enforce its own claims against its ryots, with anything that can bear the semblance of severity. Individuals should not be allowed to entertain unjust expectations even on colorable grounds, lest afterwards the authorities should be induced to realize them. It is not impossible that many injurious concessions, which an Italian Government makes on sheer compulsion, a powerful Indian Government might make from a merciful policy.

To take a single instance, when the Rajbuna system (irrigation from branch channels) was substituted for the Colabuh system (irrigation from the main channel), on the Eastern Jumna canal, an improvement of unquestionable importance, grave dissatisfaction was both felt and expressed by those who had profited by the abolished system. On that occasion, no doubt, the clamour was resisted; but suppose that hereafter it should be necessary to introduce still more searching reforms, and if grave dissatisfaction should arise among a greater number of agriculturists, who can say what effect it might produce, and what retarding force it might exert? Following out this train of thought, we might enquire whether already the interests of the state have not been partially compromised in the matter of water-rent. When the rates in the North West Provinces were fixed some forty years ago, it is believed that they were purposely kept low, so that they might afford exceedingly cheap irrigation to the agriculturists, without ensuring a remunerative investment for the public capital, inasmuch as the Government was supposed to look for its reward to the improvement of the territory. Certain it is, that no private company could afford to take such low rates, unless it was composed of landholders who could furnish unpaid labour; nor could the people procure for themselves such cheap irrigation in any other manner. It is often boasted that this supply is two, three, and even four times as cheap as well irrigation; but is this a matter for unalloyed congratulation? In the case of the

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Jumna canals, many years elapsed before the income defrayed the current expenditure, and more before a nett return was yielded to the state. Suppose that Government (as it well may be) should, independent of philanthropic considerations, be desirous of rendering the new works, such as the Ganges and Punjab canals, really profitable speculations, yielding speedy returns. In this case, it might seem expedient that the water rent-rates in the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna should be higher than those which have hitherto prevailed west of the Jumna. Yet will not the past rates of the Jumna canals affect the future rates of the Ganges canal? Will there not be some difficulty felt in enforcing for the one canal rates materially higher than those of the others? And then, if an uniform system of low rates be established in the North West Provinces, will not that re-act on the Punjab rates? And here, we say nothing of the difficulty which might be felt in enhancing the old rates of the Jumna canals. It is of course true, that every lakh of canal revenue, which Government surrenders, is so much prosperity conferred on a particular province. But on the other hand, it is perhaps so much prosperity abstracted from the provinces which might have been also blessed with canals, had the lost revenue been gathered into the coffers of the state. If from the income of every canal it constructs, the Government can effect an immediate clearance of current expenses, and obtain such a percentage on the venture, as shall speedily liquidate the principal, it will go on constructing canals until every Doab shall be like that of the Ganges and Jumna, and every delta like that of the Kistna and the Godavery. Therefore, we submit, that water rates should be fixed on commercial principles, according to the full market value of the article; that the right, power, and intention of the Government, to lease the water on these terms, and on no others, and to modify these terms from time to time, according as fluctuations of value dictate, or contracts with individuals permit, be thoroughly impressed on the minds of the people, and that an approximation to this rule be gradually effected in those localities, where it has not hitherto been observed.

We now proceed to touch on some of those points, which, if the future development of canal irrigation is to be minutely regulated, will demand consideration. For the settlement of details, legislation (in the technical sense of the term) will not be required at first. The Government of the North Western Provinces might be directed to prepare a set of rules or bye-laws, to regulate all matters, of whatsoever description, connected with canals and water-courses, whether constructed

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at the public or private expense. Such rules, though primarily applicable to these provinces, yet if framed on full information, and if complete and accurate in principle, might subsequently be applied to all other parts of India.

The first articles in such a series would declare the position of the Government as absolute proprietors of all public canals, in that capacity to be bound only by its own acts and agreements. In Italy such a definition would have cost much trouble, but in this country the rights of Government stand alone and distinct, and there is nothing to interfere with its direct and immediate action. The ownership of the Government over the running water of streams and rivers would also be asserted. This point, though it may have occasioned discussion in Italy, can hardly be doubted here. The right should nevertheless be asserted, because it can be made the basis of further authority, which may be beneficially claimed by Government; for private individuals and associations, when they make canals and water-cuts (generally with great advantage to themselves and their neighbours) do, in point of fact, assume that power over running water, which properly belongs to the state, as trustee for society at large. And the state, when permitting the exercise of this power, may rightfully claim a controlling and supervising authority. It will indeed usually be the policy of the Government (as will be seen hereafter) to encourage such individuals, and to arm such associations with legal powers and organization, but no less will it sometimes be the duty of Government to restrain and control, out of due regard to the welfare of the vicinity, as well as that of the projectors themselves.

The next section would embrace the constitution of private Companies for the construction of canals and water-cuts. Associations of villages and of individuals for these purposes already exist in many parts of the country. Their works have been planned with tolerable skill, are maintained and administered with much efficiency, and are productive of great benefit to agriculture. They are to be found in most of the valleys which skirt the Himalayan Range. They flourish in various parts of the Punjab; for example, the well-known Moultan canals were chiefly excavated and maintained by them. They were of much importance when it was first resolved, on the Eastern Jumna canal, to branch off Rajbuhas, that is, main water-cuts to conduct the water from the canal to particular localities. All the first Rajbuhas were cut by them and at their expense, under the directions of the canal officers. Subsequently, indeed, it has been found preferable, that the Rajbuhas should

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be constructed by the canal department, and placed on the same footing as the main channels. And it has been more recently determined, that on the Ganges canal, no outlets for irrigation from the main channel are to be permitted; but that the supply of water shall be distributed from a chain of Rajbuhas running parallel with either bank of the canal, which Rajbuhas are to be constructed by Government as accessory works to the canal. Consequently, it is not probable that the services of private societies will be again called into requisition for the construction of the chief Rajbuhas at least. Still the development of irrigation will necessitate the construction of countless minor Rajbuhas. A Government Rajbuha conducts the water to a certain locality; from it will then be derived, by private means, some larger water-cuts for the use of the particular set of villages in common, and certain smaller cuts for the use of some particular village alone. Here then is the germ of one kind of society, composed of certain villages, and another composed of the proprietors of a particular village. These societies are now very numerous, and will become still more so. Let any readers, who may be curious on this subject, consult Capt. Smith's map of the Doab of the Ticino and the Adda, covered literally and positively with a close net-work of channels, and in sober reality, surpassing far the caricatured representations of the future railway map of England; and let them reflect upon what will be the number and importance of private associations, when the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna, or of the Ravi and Beas, is reduced to a similar state of intersection. It will be seen, then, that there both are, and will be, societies of various degrees, for the construction of new and original canals, and of secondary channels from the Government canals and Rajbuhas. In speaking of the organization of these societies, we shall not advert to societies for the maintenance and administration of affairs connected with irrigation. It is true that when a society has been formed for the construction of works, the same may afterwards systematize the irrigation; but the two objects are distinct, and the different kinds of society will be treated of separately. The construction societies (if we may use the term) then, great or small, should register their projects, with all particulars, at the offices of the canal authorities of their district. In the particulars would be included the nature and extent of the work, the parties undertaking it, the mode of subscription, and the future apportionment of the water. The authorities might then object or receive objections to the project within a reasonable time.

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If the plan should be sanctioned, either in whole or with modifications, the society would proceed to elect one or more committees for the erection of the works, the levying of subscriptions, the furnishing of unpaid labour, and the like. In all these matters, the representatives or committee men would have powers to enforce the fulfilment of all agreements, and it would be their duty to report any default to the authorities. If any party, charged with the performance of any urgent part of the work, should delay in its execution, the managers should instantly take the matter into their own hands, and subsequently recover the expense from the proper person, by some stringent mode of realization. Independent of compulsion, penalties would be attached to default, and also liability for damages as compensation for any injurious delay or impediment which may have occurred. It is of consequence that the members of such associations should be promptly and strictly kept to their duty. Under a native Government, the majority would, without ceremony, apply force to any defaulter. Under the British Government they must either submit to the evil or resort to the law. If the managers should want either zeal or legal power, the result might be that some village would fail to furnish its quota of labourers, would execute its portion of the line badly or slowly, or some neglect near the head works, though not affecting the defaulter himself, might be most injurious to the other members; or some individual, charged with the clearance of some essential channel, would leave it uncleared. On the other hand, the authorities would receive any complaints that might be made against the managers, and enforce their responsibility both towards the public and towards the constituency. Some questions might possibly arise regarding the admission of parties to these societies, no person (whatever the moral obligation might be) could well be compelled to join, but sometimes persons, who would have a fair right to join, such as sharers in the village, or the upper class of cultivators (hereditary), if excluded, might demand admission.

Connected with the construction of works, another important point is, the "right of passage," that is, the right of conducting a canal or other channel through private property, under certain conditions, and of taking up land for that purpose, on payment of compensation, or the completion of some other arrangement with the owner. Among the Italians, it exists in full force, is rigidly observed and accurately defined. Embodied in the earliest laws, it is regarded as the Magna Charta of Italian irrigation, and the most time-honored of agricultural customs. In India, though partially recognized in practice, it has not

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found its way into our statute book, and has no place in the one act and the one resolution. Nevertheless, the principle is understood by the peasantry. In irrigation from wells, the owner may conduct his little water channel through the intervening fields of his neighbour. And we believe it would be found, that in most of the village settlement records, a clause to this effect has been inserted in the Administration Paper. Sometimes disputes arise, and perhaps they are usually settled by a reference to the village record; but in the present state of the law, we doubt whether a Court of Justice would affirm the right, unless it had been provided for at a settlement, or unless proof of the custom in that particular village should be tendered. Now it will be understood that the right, as claimed by the state, is different from the same right when claimed by a private individual or company. The state takes the land it wants on behalf of the public, the private party asks to take his neighbour's land for his own benefit. In well irrigation, the ground occupied by the passage is so little, that none feel any inconvenience; but in canal irrigation, the encroachment is often serious. Nevertheless, the declaration of the right is absolutely essential to the development of irrigation. Different modes of compensation might be established for Government and for private individuals. Government would buy the land outright, under the same valuation as for all other land taken up on the public service. But in the case of private parties the Italian law declares the right of passage to be subject to what are technically termed "servitudes," that is, in plain language, the payment of cesses and ground rent, and to the performance of stipulated conditions. A similar rule might be adopted in this country. The private party should not be allowed to bring his neighbour's land to a forced sale, nor to take it in perpetuity. He can merely take it temporarily, for as long as the channel may be maintained, nor can he dispose of it for any other purpose. And if the channel should be at any time discontinued, the ground reverts into the possession of the proprietor. During its occupation, the irrigator must pay all dues that accrue on the land, whether the land revenue, village expenses, or any other cess, and besides these a money rent to the landlord. This rent should be fixed at a liberal rate; indeed, it might be well that an extra margin (as in Italy) should be allowed, as a fourth or an eighth, in lieu of the inconvenience which the landlord suffers in the surrender of his property. In some parts, both of India and Italy, the landlord is allowed to take a certain quantity of water from the channel, but this

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mode is not a good one, and should not be introduced nor adopted, unless especially stipulated for by private agreement. It is perhaps hardly necessary to add, that on land taken up in virtue of the right of passage by Government, the revenue would be remitted, but not on land taken up by private parties. But when the state or a private party exercises the right of passage, several important obligations are contracted, besides that of compensation. Not only must that line be selected which shall be least injurious to the landlord, and the least possible amount of ground be taken, but the irrigator must guard against all injury to the adjoining lands from leakage, stagnation, or other cause. He must keep all roads and foot-paths open, he must provide means of drainage for the rain water, lest the banks of his channel become a dyke for the formation of marshes; in short, he must take care to make himself as slight a nuisance as possible to the neighbours, on whom he has forced his society. The Sardinian Civil Code categorically imposes all these or similar obligations, and the example might well be followed here. It will have been already seen that full opportunity would be given to those through whose land passage might be demanded, of laying before the canal authorities any objections they might entertain against the projected line.

In relation to the last-named heading, may be noticed the determination of what are called "Protective distances." In Italy this matter seems to have been a prolific source of unsatisfactory litigation, but the Piedmontese law exhibits as much precision as the subject admits of. The single clause contained in the Indian law seems very meagre, and moreover contains an inaccuracy, which Capt. Smith has pointed out, with a view to its remedy. The objects of protective distances appear to be two-fold; first, that lands which are so near a channel as to derive moisture, from filtration and percolation, in an equal degree as if they received water, should be compelled to pay water rent, (for which the Indian Resolution does provide;) and, second, that channels and water-cuts should not be overcrowded, nor destroy each other's supply, nor be too near the boundaries of estates; and that new springs should not be opened too near to pre-existing ones (for which no provision is made.) Then the question arises as to what the distance should be. But into this we need not enter, as it is a purely professional point, and, moreover, its decision must hang on local variations and peculiarities. Uniformity has not been attained in Italy, and will not be attainable here. There must, no doubt, be maximum and minimum distances.

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The questions hitherto touched on have related to the construction of works; we will now advert to questions connected with the supply of water from the said works.

Under this heading, (next after the assertion of the right and intention of the Government with reference to the supply from its own canals, in the manner we have previously described,) one of the cardinal points is the establishment of a "*module*" of water. In this are involved, firstly, an unit of measurement; and secondly, a machinery by which water may be exactly dispensed according to this standard. Now this object, one of the first in theoretical necessity, seems to be one of the last in actual attainment. In Italy it was for centuries the great apple of discord, to this day the utmost diversity prevails: and at Milan, where a tolerably good module has been established, it was one of the latest reforms effected. The standard is in one place regulated by area of channel, in another by movement of water-wheel, in another by "oncia" or inch. Then these "inches" vary; there would be one "inch" at Lodi, and a different one at Verona, or at Cremona, or at Brescia, or at Caluso, or at Novara. In India there is yet neither module nor machinery worthy of the name. The determination of both is a problem which remains for professional skill to solve. When they have been fixed, they should be at once incorporated in the canal rules, and prescribed for general adoption. This uniform standard obtained, some of the existing modes will be improved and secured, and others, such as the area standard (by which the value of the water is measured by the area irrigated under various crops) will be discontinued, except for certain kinds of land, such as rice. Indeed, the area system, though hitherto much in vogue, is pronounced by the best canal authorities to be radically vicious, and fit for nothing, except disuse. The standard module, when once promulgated, would be rendered compulsory on all Government channels, and would be the standard for the assessment of all water-rents derivable therefrom. How far it should be prescribed for private canals, and for contracts between individuals, might be doubtful. It would, perhaps, be sufficient to declare, as regards special transactions, that there would be no interference in explicit engagements, but that disputes would, in the absence of written contract, or in the event of the terms being doubtful, be decided with reference to the Government standard. The Piedmontese Government pursues a similar course; though prescribing a module, it allows full scope to private agreements, more in fact than requisite. In respect to private canal companies, it is worthy of considera-

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tion whether the module should be enforced. As the irrigation, by revolutionizing the cultivation, may affect the constitution of the community, and the tenure of the estate, will probably cause an internal redistribution of the revenue, and perhaps, reallotment of the land, it is of the last importance that the water should be dispensed with all practicable exactitude. If we are really certain that our module is better than the association can invent for themselves, why not insist on their adopting it? At all events, the canal authority, in his capacity of visitor general of private canals, should have a discretionary power of introducing the module compulsorily wherever he found it necessary.

In respect to the granting of applications for water—it would be declared generally, as at present, that all cultivators whose lands lie within reach of the canal, are entitled to receive water on application. But if the supply is insufficient to meet all applications, will the rejection rest entirely with the canal officer, or will a certain day be fixed, after which all applications would be liable to rejection, or would certain rules for preference be laid down? Those whose lands have been taken up for the canal, certainly have a preferential claim. Beyond this, priority of application would be the best ground of preference. Proximity to the channel would not constitute such ground, especially after the introduction of Rajbuhas. Some provisions are required for the contingencies arising from failure of supply. In Piedmont, they are most complete. In the event of such failure, preference would be given to those who might have been declared specially entitled thereto. Then the most recent irrigators would be the first to be deprived of the water, and such is the rule at present. Those who might be thus deprived would obtain a rateable remission of water-rent, but not compensation for agricultural expenditure, incurred on the faith of receiving the water which has been withheld, and this equitable distinction is strictly laid down and observed in Piedmont; unless, indeed, the failure has arisen from the neglect or misconduct of any party, against whom an action for damages might be brought. In the above cases of failure, a *pro ratâ* distribution of the water (as much as this might be) among the irrigators, would hardly be just, and perhaps not practicable; but it might be the only course open in the case of a village channel, where all the sharers had joined, each man subscribing according to his share, on the condition that he was to receive water in the same proportion.

In respect of contracts, it may be presumed that the Government will not dispose of the water in absolute sale, nor make

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any perpetual grants. That leases for a moderate term of years should be granted is highly expedient. In that case the lessee would have the power of subletting. The registry of all private contracts at the canal offices, should be rendered obligatory. A system of well-framed contracts will prevent the many disappointments which arise in regard to prescription, which is imagined by one party and denied by the other. A party has for years enjoyed facilities of irrigation upon certain terms, without any specific agreement, and he deems himself entitled to a perpetuation of these advantages—if any changes should be attempted, he is aggrieved. Among the Italians, in consequence of the past confusion of tenures, great respect is everywhere paid to prescription. Successful resistance has been repeatedly made to attempted violations of it on the part of tyrannical canal proprietors, who, out of mere caprice, would strive to inflict sudden ruin on a whole district. In some parts twelve years and upwards constitute the term of possession which exempts an irrigator from all disturbance in his arrangements. No such rule need be prescribed here, because, as regards certainty of tenure, we start free of all encumbrances; moreover the preparation of the surface of the soil for irrigation is probably less expensive here than in Italy, and, consequently, the cultivator is less exposed to damage from a change of system. It will be sufficient that timely notice be given of any intended change.

In Italy there is a rule, termed *a diritto d'insistenza*, by which a party, who may possess canal water which he cannot use himself, may be compelled to lease it out to others. Capt. Smith gives some amusing stories of rich nobles, who, in a spirit of mere selfishness and mischief, refused to lease their surplus canal waters to drought-stricken farmers: one worthy positively turned the waters into the river Po! In these cases, the recusant is forced to give water to the applicants on the payment of equitable rent. Such conduct would, no doubt, be rare in any country, but it might not be amiss that power should be taken to enforce the obligation in the case of private canals. The Government has certainly a right to demand this, in return for the many privileges it secures to all irrigation.

There is a system styled "horary rotation," common both in Italy and India, by which cultivators take water in turns for a certain number of hours each. Disputes, if they should arise, would be of a trivial character, and the decision of them would generally be guided by the fundamental rule, that the irrigator is entitled to neither more nor less than all the water he can get from the canal during his time. Capt. Smith mentions

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gation must frequently arise. Then to what authority will reference be made? To the civil Court? As at present constituted, these courts are not competent to deal satisfactorily with such questions. Much special knowledge would be needed, which they cannot be expected to possess. Many classes of cases connected with canals, in their nature judicial, would be best adjudicated by the canal officers. And if such be the fact, why should they not be vested with certain powers for this purpose? They already possess important fiscal and magisterial authority, and it might perhaps be expedient to give them some judicial authority besides. At all events, it would seem that the Government is bound to do one of three things:—either to render the civil courts themselves competent to decide canal irrigation questions; or to supply a class of men to render professional aid to the courts; or to vest the canal officers with judicial powers. As things are, the canal officers are, doubtless, often constrained by their position to settle matters of right, and to perform acts which are in reality judicial. We have already explained the advantages which the Italian tribunals possess. They can always obtain the aid of professional men (*periti*) as assessors, but no such juries could be impannelled in this country.

In sketching a set of rules which might be applicable to the canal districts of Northern India, we have not pretended to state with legal precision, the various matters which such rules would embrace. We have merely thrown together the raw materials for legislation. But before concluding, it may be as well to recapitulate the substance of the preceding pages, and to group together the main proposals which they contain. It has been suggested then:—

RELATING TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF WORKS.

1. That a code of canal rules be drawn up, which should comprise detailed provision on the following points.

2. That in the unrestricted management of all public canals, the Government should be bound by nothing except its own acts and agreements.

3. That the exclusive right of the state to the running water of all rivers and streams be asserted, which right may be transferred to private companies or individuals, on the condition that they submit to state control.

4. That authoritative aid be given to private companies and associations for the construction of canals, in effecting a complete organization; and that sanction and validity be given to the acts which they may perform in their collective capacity.

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5. That the representatives and office-bearers be legally empowered to give effect to the objects of the society, to enforce the performance of agreements implied or expressed, and to report all cases of default.

6. That complaints regarding admission to, or exclusion from, such societies, be heard by the canal authorities.

7. That the "right of passage" be affirmed on behalf both of the state and of private associations, and of individuals.

8. That the land revenue be remitted from land taken up for public canals, but not on land taken up for private canals.

9. That the mode of compensation be established, in the case of the state, by absolute purchase, and in the case of private parties, by payment of fiscal demands and other expenses incident on the land, and of a liberal ground-rent.

10. That the several obligations consequent on the exercise of the "right of passage," relating to the selection of the line, the provision for drainage and roadway, the prevention of leakages, and other objects, be strictly defined.

11. That fair opportunity be given to landlords to file objections against the passage.

12. That if any private canal, channel, or water-cuts, should be abandoned, the ground should revert to the original proprietor.

13. That minimum and maximum protective distances be fixed.

14. That they be accurately defined when including the lands adjacent to the public canals.

15. That they be made the means of preventing mutual injury between the employers of water and the projectors of works.

16. That they be rendered applicable to the opening of springs.

RELATING TO THE SUPPLY OF WATER.

17. That a general standard and unit of measurement be prescribed.

18. That the use of the standard be enforced on all public canals, and on private channels, at the discretion of the canal authorities.

19. That in private contracts, the terms agreed upon between the parties be enforced, but that doubtful transactions be interpreted by the standard measure.

20. That the general right of cultivators, whose lands are

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adjacent to public canals, to obtain water on application, be declared.

21. That if any preferential claims of certain parties over others be allowed, the rule of such preference be published.

22. That mere proximity of land to the canal be not deemed a valid ground of preference.

23. That a preference be conceded to those whose lands may have been taken up for the canal.

24. That, however, generally, priority of application should regulate priority of title.

25. That the above rules be followed in cases of failure of supply, that is, the most recent employer should be the first to be deprived of water.

26. That if under the above necessity water be withheld from any employer, he be entitled to a rateable remission of water-rent.

27. That, however, no such employer be entitled to compensation for capital invested in preparing the land for irrigation, unless the failure has been caused by neglect or misconduct, in which case he can obtain damages by action at law.

28. That the full right and intention of the Government be declared to fix the water-rents in the manner it may think best, and to modify the method of dispensing the water, and of fixing its value from time to time, according as the progress of science, and the circumstances of the period may render expedient, excepting so far forth as such matters may have been specially fixed by contract.

29. That in public canals no absolute sale or perpetual grant of the water be permitted.

30. That the contracting of agreements regarding the water for moderate periods, and the registration before the canal authorities of all private contracts of this nature, be encouraged.

31. That the lessee of water (unless there should have been special agreement to the contrary) be empowered to sublet.

32. That no period of prescription, as constituting any right to receive water on certain terms, be legally admitted.

33. That an equitable period for notice of changes, to be given by the canal proprietor to the employer, be prescribed.

34. That the canal authorities be empowered to compel, if necessary, the proprietors of private canals, to lease out their surplus waters.

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35. That as regards "horary rotation," precise rules be framed to prevent disputes beween the several employers, and also between them and the proprietors.

RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE IRRIGATION SYSTEM.

36. That the canal authorities be authorized to portion out the irrigated districts into administrative divisions, both superior and subordinate, and of various sizes, as may be deemed most expedient.

37. That the general sanatory obligations of every irrigator, in addition to special regulations, be defined.

38. That his compulsory obligations, as regards his share in the repair and maintenance of the works, be also declared.

39. That the general body of irrigators in each division should constitute a conservancy society, for the maintenance of the works, the prevention of fraud and theft, the observance of police and sanatory regulations, and the enforcement of penalties.

40. That the functions of such society may be delegated to regularly appointed office-bearers, whose powers to give effect to the objects of the society, and whose responsibility to the canal authorities for the performance of their duties, should be rigidly defined.

41. That the bye-laws of such societies be framed under the direction of the canal authorities, and registered in their offices.

42. That the full rights and intention of the Government to prohibit particular kinds of cultivation or irrigation, in particular localities, and to impose any other sanatory restrictions, be declared.

43. That the scale of penalties for breach of rule be enhanced, and that punitive provisions against misdemeanors be rendered more stringent than at present.

44. That the fraudulent taking of more water than has been bargained for, be made punishable criminally, and that the abstraction of water from any canal or watercourse be treated as an aggravated theft.

45. That the canal authorities be vested with certain judicial powers, to enable them to adjudicate the various matters indicated in the above rules.

Before taking leave of a book to which we are indebted for much of the information, whereon the foregoing suggestions have been based, we must say a few words on its literary qualities. The arrangement of the subject, and the order of

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its compartments, are lucid and complete, so as greatly to aid the memory and facilitate reference. The historical data are full and interesting. The style is clear, facile, fluent,—several passages, such as the summary of the physical peculiarities of Lombardy, or of the advantages of the lake system, evince a power of vivid description and condensed statement. There are interspersed many passages of general interest, which we have refrained from noticing, as not pertaining to the purely Indian objects of this article. Such passages are, the description of the revenue survey of Lombardy; of the relations between landlord and tenant; of the meadow irrigation; of the Tuscan Maremma; of the rice cultivation; of the application of canal water to the sewerage of cities. On the whole, the work offers a mass of information, not to be found, we believe, in any other books in the English language, and this too on a subject belonging to a class which receives less attention than it ought, for its intrinsic importance. Which of the many histories that have descanted on the politics of Northern Italy, have described that system of irrigation, without which this most interesting kingdom would be but a poor and insignificant tract? Which of the many travellers that visit the far-famed Lagos of Maggiore, Como or Garda, reflect that their poetical magnificence is more than equalled by their material utility? Lastly, we think, that the perusal of these volumes will tend to raise the reader's estimation of the character and capabilities of the Italian people. They teem with recitals of fortitude, energy, and enterprise. Oftentimes to promote canals, individuals have perilled their whole substance; communes have emptied their coffers; magistracies have superintended the works; the agricultural population have turned out *en masse* to labour night and day; and the whole community have set themselves, with exemplary perseverance, to repair the losses caused by the ravages of plundering armies, and the devastation of invading elements. The Italians themselves point to their canals as one source at least of satisfaction not alloyed by the recollection of failure and humiliation, and not mingled with associations of national misfortune. It would be well for them if those annals on which they so much pride themselves, should inspire them with some rational self-reliance, and some aptitude for self-Government, and thus fulfil what has been eloquently said to be a main object of history, namely, that of "exciting hope in the breast of all patriots."

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ART. V.—*The Great Cities of the Ancient World, in their Glory and Desolation. By Theodore Alois Buckley, B. A., of Christ-Church. London*, 1852.

THIS is the age of daring enterprises and investigations, and adventurous men are pushing their discoveries in every direction, far beyond the boundaries laid down by their predecessors. The time is not long past, when the burning sands of Africa, and the Polar ice of the north were unexplored regions, which only conveyed to the mind a vague idea of fables and legends. But of late years, the activity of tourists has most alarmingly increased, and the pile of books in our libraries is the best proof of the fact. Nearly all climates and races under the sun have now their historians, and almost every barrier has been thrown down, that till lately obstructed their research. This, therefore, is the time for a stationary traveller to go over the great globe, and to "see the manners and the cities of many men," without moving from his cool veranda, or his warm fire-side.

Amongst so many books of travels as have lately appeared, it is difficult to select one, or any small number, as the subject of comment. Mr. Buckley's subject, however, appears to be peculiarly interesting. We own a special partiality for it. It must be an interesting, though melancholy, occupation,

"To mark of mighty things the narrow grave."

Mr. Buckley, indeed, records not his own travels. But the sketches given are compiled from travellers' books, and other works of authority, and that is enough for our purpose. The task was well chosen, and it has been well executed; and we will take up Mr. Buckley's little work for our "guide, philosopher, and friend."

Our author tells us in his introduction, that his only object in compiling the present volume has been "to trace man where 'man has worked, and thought best, to read his history in the 'greatest standing memorial of its progress, and to make stones 'tell the sad story of those who laid them." And, this being his only purpose, he has not noticed "all the cities of antiquity, 'but those merely which were the best representatives of 'human progress." In this he has done wisely. "An elaborate and circumstantial history of the ancient world" would have had no interest for the general reader. To the antiquarian and the scholar, a knowledge of every nook and corner of the earth may be of importance, and may afford pleasure. But a

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few prominent objects on the great field of the world, are all that ordinary readers care to know about and remember. The ancient world, to the present generation, is a land of mysteries, and men love to list to the history of its glory and desolation, almost with the wondering anxiety of childhood. But it is only the history of grandeur and splendour that have passed away—over which the torrent of time has rolled, and which has almost petrified and become frozen, that mankind long to be acquainted with; and the traces of this grandeur and magnificence are only to be met with among the ruins of great towns and cities.

Thebes, Nineveh, Babylon! to the present generation, what are they? Names! Ah no, they are more than names. They are the great standing memorials with which are wound up all our associations of the days of old. Every fragment of their time-worn fabrics is a chronicle of the gorgeous magnificence and immeasurable might of the generation that has past away. The broken columns of Babylon remind us of "the great city that was a golden cup in the hand of the Lord, that made all the earth drunken;" her waters recall to us visions of the exiles that sat beside them and wept; and ruined fanes and desecrated altars, of which shapeless vestiges present such a melancholy picture, bring back to the memory the prophet's terrible denunciation, "Put yourselves in array against Ba-' bylon round about; all ye that bend the bow, shoot at her; ' spare no arrows, for she hath sinned against the Lord." Like her, Nineveh also is invested with a sacred interest, and her magnificent sculptures, and crumbling shapeless monuments, recal to our minds the wailings and lamentations of the prophets, while, through her veil of sorrow, they reveal the unequalled splendour of the days of old. And Thebes, with her hundred gates, the oldest amongst the cities of the earth, with her real and her fabled magnificence, now alike in decay, almost makes us hesitate to believe that the knowledge and mightiness of man hath increased with the lapse of ages.

The antiquity of Thebes is lost in such mythical indistinctness, that it were vain to endeavour to trace it. It was the ancient capital of Egypt, when Egypt was in its glory. But the commencement of Egyptian greatness is not to be unravelled at this hour of the day, and the founder of the city of a hundred gates, though he may have deserved better at the hands of posterity, must be content to remain unknown. Much of its sublime greatness, however, Thebes owed to Sesostris, the earliest of the heroes figuring in history. Both fiction and history agree in representing him as a great warrior,

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and he is stated to have extended his conquering expeditions far and wide. He conquered many countries, and brought with him innumerable captives; and the supposition is not improbable, that these captives were employed in toiling, by brick and mortar, to exalt and magnify that power which had reduced them to bondage. The colossal ruins, which yet call up visions of a gigantic city, owed their origin, it seems, to the triumphs of a conqueror over the misfortune of vanquished millions.

The ruins of Thebes are of gigantic proportions, and they extend over an area of 140 furlongs in circumference. There is no sound of life at present to be heard amidst the crumbling desolation. Even the beasts of prey walk "the city of the dead," with noiseless footsteps, as if afraid to waken the echo of the tombs; and the wandering Turkoman of the deserts approaches not within their fearful precincts, where multitudes of evil spirits are believed to reside. The voice of the sounding statue of Memnon has long been mute, and silence reigns undisturbed, amid the skeletons of giant temples, that four thousand years before, perchance, rung to the melody of bells consecrated to idolatry. Idolatry provoked Divine judgment, till the city of a hundred gates was reduced to a heap of ruins.

The distant prospect of the ruins of Thebes is said to be comparatively poor. It imparts no adequate idea of their real sublimity. Some centuries ago, the view was not quite so ineffective. But years, many years, have come and gone over the ruins, and the prospect has as surely undergone a change, as the fragments have undergone mutilation, or been buried beneath whirlwinds of sand. The Colossal statue of granite, supposed by some to have been the musical figure of Memnon, by others to have been a representation of Sesostris, is not even mentioned by our author, so much has it lost the prominence that it long enjoyed, as the first object that attracted the notice of the traveller. It requires no notice now. It has had enough already, and is at present no longer prominent enough for more. He gives us a glowing description of the temple of Luxor, and from the irregularity of the building, infers that the whole work was probably not raised at once. The hypothesis is a natural one, and is correct, not only of the temple of Luxor, but of many other ancient edifices. He gives us a still more circumstantial description of the splendid remains of Karnack, which contain several buildings of the largest size, and a hypostole hall, 338 feet long, by 170 broad, having a double row of pillars,

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magnificent even in decay. As remarked already, the edifices appear to have been erected in successive ages, and some parts of even the most magnificent structures bear traces of having been formed out of the materials of buildings of still earlier date. It is also plainly to be observed, that though the civil and religious buildings have many features in common, the sculptures on the latter are always sufficiently explanatory, being in every case religious and symbolical.

The decline of Thebes may be traced so far back as the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopians. The Persian conquest, in 526 B. C., under Cambyses, almost completed its destruction. Pliny says, that one of the obelisks so struck the ruthless barbarian with admiration, that he ordered the fire to be quenched, when about to reach it. But, if he did so, his order was not executed, till after much devastation had been effected. The wooden huts of the age spread the flames about and around them, with amazing rapidity, and the largest monuments of human industry, made of granite and other stones, were effectually, if not completely, ruined. What remained after this desecration, was reduced under the Romans, who seem to have freely used the ruins as a stone quarry. At present, the whole site is one large field, strewed with ruins whitening on the desert sands. Colossal blocks of granite, skeletons of giant temples, broken gateways and columns, the wrecks of extraordinary porticoes, are all that remain of the city of a hundred gates, which sent forth its "twice ten thousand" armed chariots against the foe; and they are neither overgrown with moss, nor the weeds of the desert, nor rank grass. Many whole monuments have been buried in the sands, which have blown over and covered them; but what remains unburied, stands "in all the nakedness of desolation," unblackened by weather, and unmantled by the ivy.

Memphis and Heliopolis, the Noph, and the On or Aven of the Scriptures, were also cities of note in ancient Egypt; though not of equal importance with Thebes, the No or No-Ammon of the Bible, the capital of the Empire. Memphis appears to have been chiefly famous for its commercial character; of a certain portion of Egypt it was also considered the capital—that portion we mean, in or near which the Israelites were settled; and of idolatrous stations it was one of the first, being the place where the bull Apis was honored with peculiar veneration. At the present moment, even its site is not certainly known, a few red granite blocks being nearly all that survives of its former wealth and splendour; and these are half hid by a thicket of palm. An immense mass of materials

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seems to have been carried off by its various conquerors, and statues also, except those of prodigious size, and yet what remain are worthy of a spectator's admiration. Some of the statues were painted with a varnish that, to this day, after the lapse of perhaps four thousand years, has the appearance of freshness, and, despite of mutilations, the figures of idols display a resemblance to nature, and an accuracy of form and justness of proportions, seldom met with, except in Greece, in the relics of antiquity.

The traces of the site of Heliopolis are still less distinct than those of Memphis. Its name signifies it to have been the city of the Sun; and it was the centre of the worship of the bull Mnevis. For the learning of its priests also, it was very famous, and likewise for the antiquity of its records; but a solitary obelisk, some ruins of sphinxes, a few fragments of mutilated idols, and a light sprinkling of other ruins, are all that remain of the city of the sun. The decline of Heliopolis was owing to the same causes which wrought the downfall of Thebes and Memphis, and the most prominent amongst them was idolatry. The Egyptians, at a very early age, were a civilized and knowing people. Their country was the cradle of the arts and sciences. But they had as early deviated from the worship of God. Their pyramids and columns, and temples and palaces, record the worship of brute creatures and images; and the All-seeing Maker of the universe, ever jealous of His hallowed rights, would not endure the contumely. His tabernacle, the earth, was not to be polluted for ever by the worship of dumb idols, which no more resembled Him, than the ape and the baboon resemble His noblest handiwork, man; and in His mightiness, He stretched forth His hand, and, lo! rock-built palaces, and mighty temples, and towering pyramids, and gigantic monuments, became the graves of those who had reared them, and were surrounded with desolation, the witnesses of man's impiety, and of the vengeance that overtook it.

These thoughts are yet more forcibly impressed, by pondering over the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh, both of which are frequently spoken of in Holy Writ. The first mention of Babylon, in history, is in Genesis, x. 10; and Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord," is there mentioned as its founder. But of the particulars of its antiquity we are comparatively ignorant, for no further notice of it is taken in Scripture, until the time of its connection with the history of the Jews. The character of Nimrod leads us to believe, that originally, it was at best but a community of unprincipled out-casts—an

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asylum for the profligate followers of the mighty hunter. Till the days of Nimrod, the marauding progeny of the desert appear to have had no fixed hive. As vagrants, they pursued their work of rapine and plunder, and rested where they could from their labors, till the bold Nimrod thought of collecting together the scattered herd.

When the Bible again speaks of Babylon, it speaks of its wickedness and approaching ruin. During the interval, it had become a great city—the capital of a great empire—the seat of learning and civilization. But all these are passed over by the sacred historian as of no importance to history, for the history of its greatness and civilization was a history of misdeeds and irreverence. Babylon had striven against the Lord. He records that, and that only, for that records the whole detail of its history—that is the only truth about it, necessary for men to know and remember.

Of Babel, the greatest as well as the most antique edifice was the tower. Various reasons have been assigned for its erection. As a refuge against the contingency of another flood, the Babylonians built the pile which they thought would over-top the loftiest rise of water. The vanity of leaving to posterity a monument of their labors and greatness, might also have been an additional incentive. And to worship in high places, if not the real cause, from which resulted the erection of the edifice, was at least its ostensible apology. The worship of the heavenly bodies was then the mythology most generally known, and to approach nearest to those bodies, while rendering them homage, was the natural aspiration of their worshippers; and the country being a flat one, they built the tower. The true God, however, from whom they had apostatized, mocked at the frail efforts of his enemies. The tower was destroyed, and the idolatrous union of nations broken; and to make the confusion complete, he occasioned diversity of languages amongst them, which rendered dispersion impossible to be prevented.

The city, however, was again restored to more than its former splendour, by Belus and Semiramis; and the former was worshipped by the inhabitants as a god. The temple of Belus was erected on the site of the tower, and it was the most interesting work in Babylon for a very long period. Herodotus bears testimony to its magnificence, of which much was still to be seen at his time. The external form of the temple had much of the appearance of a pyramid, like many of the religious edifices in this country, as for instance, the great pagoda at Tanjore; and it had large accommodations within, including a bed-room

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for the god, within which, on a costly sofa, a handsome virgin nightly awaited him! Much of the furniture was of solid gold, of great weight and value. There was a golden altar, a golden temple, a golden throne, and a golden image of the god.

Besides Belus and Semiramis, Nebuchadnezzar also contributed to the magnificence of Babylon. From him originated the palace and hanging gardens, which were counted among the wonders of the ancient world. Ancient authors seem to differ as to the number of royal palaces; but Herodotus mentions only one, and as he himself saw the ruins as they existed in his days, his account appears to be most deserving of credit. The ruin named *Kasr*, perhaps, marks the site, though it has been doubted if it is not the wreck of some later building. The gardens, says Quintus Curtius, presented at a distance the appearance of a forest growing on its native mountains, and Babylon being a flat country, having no mountainous eminences, the effect of the prospect from a distance must have been very grand. They occupied an extensive area, and were composed of several large terraces, one above another, and the uppermost on a level with the top of the city walls. To water the gardens, there was an aqueduct on the largest terrace, which was replenished from the river by a pump. These were decidedly the most magnificent and marvellous works that Nebuchadnezzar constructed in the way of decorating the city, and we are told that they owed their origin to the same cause, which led to the erection of the Taj Mehal in India. In mourning for his wife Amytis, who, during her living days, had ever retained a fond yearning for the forests and mountains of Media, among which she had been born, a loving husband raised this splendid and wonderful apology for scenery which nature had denied to Babylon. There are others who assert, that it was to please a living, and not in commemoration of a dead wife, that these were erected.

Besides the tower and the palace, with its hanging gardens, the other objects of admiration in Babylon were the walls of the city, pierced at intervals with gates of solid brass, the bridge, the lake, quays, banks, and canals. Of these, the embankments which preserved the city from the inundations of the Euphrates, excited the greatest admiration and wonder of ancient authors. The building of these is attributed principally to Semiramis, but Nebuchadnezzar probably completed their embellishment. We should here remark, that

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the edifices of ancient Babylon do not appear to have been as remarkable for the elegance of their design as for the vastness of their dimensions, and the solidity of their fabric was superior to the beauty of their execution. From the position of the ruins, it has also been conjectured, that the buildings were distributed in groups and patches; and these clusters were distant from each other, and but very intricately connected.

If the greatness, beauty, and majesty of Babylon attained their utmost elevation during the time of Nebuchadnezzar, we have also reason to believe that vice, dissipation, and extravagance, had by that period taken deep root in the hearts of the people; for there fell a voice from heaven, and it was told to the king Nebuchadnezzar, that his kingdom was departed from him, for he had forgotten that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and was unduly elated by his majesty and power. The wrath of God was felt by Nebuchadnezzar, and for a time the people acknowledged God's might. But idolatry had gained sure hold on their hearts, and was not to be thrown out. His successors were vicious and profligate princes, and when his grandson, Belshazzar, defiled the sacred vessels of the temple of Jehovah, who was still worshipped in Babylon by the Jews, the cup of wrath was filled to the brim, Belshazzar's days were numbered, and

> "The Mede was at his gate,
> The Persian on his throne."

Then was Babylon, the great and the mighty, "the praise of the whole earth," "the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency," overthrown. Her subsequent revolts and struggles against the Persian power only facilitated her ruin, and her palaces, walls, and towers, were stripped, year after year, age after age, till not enough of them remained to screen the beasts of the desert. There is not even a tree growing on the ruins, except one isolated withered trunk, the branches at the top of which are still verdant, and the leaves of which make a rustling and melancholy sound, as if mourning over the surrounding desolation. The natives believe it to have flourished in ancient Babylon, and that it had been preserved by Providence for Ali to tie up his horse to it, as he did after the battle of Hillah! And of the ruins, the Birs Nimrod are all that remain to mark the spot where Babylon stood.

From the capital of the Chaldean Empire, to Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, is an easy stage. There is much affinity also

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between the history of the two cities, and tradition assigns the original foundation of both to Nimrod.* Ninus, however, appears to have been the king to whom Nineveh chiefly owed its primitive power and magnificence, though the recent researches of Layard have sufficiently proved that, for its progress and development, it has been indebted to the zeal of different sovereigns, at different periods of time. The dimensions of the city appear to have been extraordinary. In the Scriptures it is mentioned to be an exceeding great city, of three days' journey, and it occupied a square of about 480 furlongs. The wealth and greatness of the capital were also proportionate. The ruins, as they now stand, are shapeless, and almost inexplicable. Of vast palaces and colossal halls no traces remain, besides heaps of rubbish and stone, within the crevices of which the cormorant and the bittern have made their home. Walls and arches have disappeared from the sites where they stood, and the most attentive examination can scarcely detect there the mark of masonry. And yet enough remains of the vestiges of the past, to attest to the civilization and splendour of the age. The curious and mysterious sculptures on the broken fragments, rough and primitive though they be as specimens of art, prove no mean degree of civilization in the days of old. The zeal of Layard has also disinterred and dragged forth to light, anomalous and symbolical figures of winged bull and lions, and hawk-headed human figures, and sphinxes, which, whatever may be the meaning they were intended to typify, are expressive enough of the oriental splendour of ancient Nineveh; and their vast dimensions convey an almost astounding idea of the size and stateliness of the temples and palaces which they were intended to adorn. The details of ordinary life also are represented in many of the fragments; and traces of delicate workmanship, and minute and elaborate decoration, are often to be observed in the sculptures. The gait, dress and bearing of the Ninevites, their habits and costumes, even their vanity and indolence, may be traced in the tell-tale stones; and every fragment that speaks of desolation and ruin, is also a record of splendour and magnificence passed away.

In her days of greatness, Nineveh rivalled Babylon in splendour and renown. She too had her pleasure grounds and gardens, her palaces and temples; and oriental despotism was as luxurious within her walls as within the emphatically "great city" of the Scriptures. Nor does the parallel stop here.

* According to the Bible, Asshur went forth out of the land of Shinar, and builded Nineveh.

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Nineveh rivalled Babylon in idolatry, impiety and wickedness, provoked like judgment, felt like vengeance. Long-suffering and slow to wrath, Jehovah showed mercy on the city in the sending of Jonah, and the Ninevites repented, and God eyed them again with satisfaction. But, as in Babylon, idolatry was too deep-rooted to be entirely weeded out, and vice followed in its wake, and the demon of destruction pursued after her as constant as ever. Nineveh was destroyed by Cyaxares, king of Persia and Media, and Nabopolassar, king of Babylon.

Babylon and Nineveh were both overturned by the Persian power. To show how short lived is man's vanity and greatness, we shall now repair to the ruins of Persepolis, the Chebal Minar, or palace of Forty Pillars, which, though never a seat of the Persian Empire, was one of the greatest cities of the country, and was the burial place of many of its sovereigns. To whom Persepolis owed its foundation, we know not. Cyrus, the regenerator of oriental power and civilization, may have added to the unfinished basis, but he does not appear to have done much for it, and we have reason to believe that its existence dates prior to his reign. Thus much, however, is certain, that the primitive city owed its chief splendour and magnificence to later kings, to Darius the son of Hystaspis, and to the feeble Xerxes, whose contributions to perfecting the Minar, left unfinished by his father, deserve to be remembered in palliation of his weakness as a sovereign, and of his puerility efforts to subdue the freedom of Greece.

The approach to the ruins of the Chebal Minar is very grand, the prominent beauty being in the superb flight of steps leading up to the palace. The ascent is extremely gradual, the steps not exceeding four inches in height. The whole front is covered with sculpture and beautiful decorations. A crowd of interesting objects all at once comes before the eye, and the execution of them appears to have been very beautiful. Standing figures, habited in long robes, some armed with bows and arrows, some with spears and shields, are to be seen; and there are two spirited representations of fights between bulls and lions—combats which, at that age, perhaps, afforded delight to the Persian people. Nor are the pillars themselves objects of less interest. A few only yet stand entire; the rest are in various stages of dilapidation. The shattered bases of some remain, others lie buried under masses of ruins. The height of the columns that stand is sixty feet, and the shafts are finely fluted. The rest of the ruins appertaining to the palace is comprised of undistinguishable hillocks.

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But beside the wondrous ruins of the palace, there are tombs at Persepolis which are almost as interesting as the palace itself. The greatest of men leave but a mound of earth to remind posterity of their greatness and power. When their glories are gone, those monuments remain. But they, too, decay in time, and man's vanity is forgotten in the end. The pyramids of Egypt, indeed, have not yet passed away. As testimonies of man's perseverance, they survive. But they answer no longer the object for which they were raised. Who knows whom they entomb?

But the very notion of their being the monumental remains of past heroes and statesmen, gives to these edifices a more than usual interest in the eye of the traveller; and the tombs of Persepolis have never failed to draw within their precincts all who have visited the ruins of the Minar. The original avenues to them, according to Mr. Morier, must have been through subterranean passages, hid in intricate labyrinths, which none but the privileged could have successfully threaded. Their ruins, however, are more freely accessible to the curious traveller. For the most part they are richly decorated with sculpture; one of them, apparently the oldest, appears to have never been finished. The tomb of Cyrus is at a great distance from Persepolis. But no traveller who has visited the one, has neglected to visit the other. It is very simple in its form, and very solid in its structure, and had not man mutilated and injured it with an impious hand, it had, most probably, preserved its original strength and appearance to the present day;—of such solid materials it was made.

From Persepolis, Mr. Buckley leads us to Damascus, to this day a populous and flourishing city. It is frequently mentioned in the Scriptures, and was well-known in the days of Abraham. The origin of it, however, it is not possible to trace. Its days of greatest glory were those of Benhadad II., king of Syria, who gathered all his host together, and went up and besieged Samaria, and warred against it. The Bible informs us, that in this campaign, Benhadad was accompanied by thirty-two kings, and when, in addition to this circumstance, we mention that Damascus was then the capital of Syria, its might and glory will be easily understood. But after all, Benhadad was an idolater; the Syrians called Jehovah the God of the hills, but denied that He was God of the valleys, or capable of defending his chosen people on the plains; and the Lord of the hills and valleys resented the impiety, and the king of Damascus and his men were compelled to flee for their lives.

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We now turn over a new page in the history of Damascus. It very shortly after ceases altogether to figure as an independent kingdom, and becomes, by turns, tributary to the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman powers. At the time of Darius, it was the royal treasury of the Persian Empire, and then it fell into the hands of Alexander, after the battle of Issus, and after his death, formed a part of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, till it finally passed to the Romans. Under the Syro-Macedonian dynasties, and the Romans, it was the capital of Cœle-Syria. As a Roman Province, it is constantly referred to in the New Testament, and is the scene of Paul's humiliation and conversion, and of the first spreading forth of Christianity among the Gentile world. It was a considerable city also under the Saracen Caliphs, and was the residence of the Ommiades; and it still flourishes as a living city—being the capital of a *Pashalic*, and the second in importance in all Syria.

Damascus stands in the midst of an immense plain, celebrated for its picturesque effect and beauty, which is much heightened by the circumstance of its being nearly surrounded (it is so surrounded on three sides,) by naked and dreary hills. The city rises, as if out of the heart of a forest of tall palm and cypress trees, and its domes and minarets stand in beautiful contrast to the beauties of nature. It is seven miles in circumference, and is intersected by four or five small rivers. There are many noble mosques and fine edifices in it, and there are fountains in every part of the city, and almost in every house, supplied by running streams, which traverse the town in every direction. The population has been estimated by some at 4,00,000 souls, though, probably, it is less by half. Provisions are so fine and so cheap, that Carne says, that it is "no place to perform penance in;" and the orchards and gardens bloom with the finest fruits and flowers.

The streets of the desert-girt metropolis are thronged with representatives from all parts of the world. The condition of the Christians is not quite so easy as might be wished, though much of prejudice and bigotry has softened down of late. Under the Egyptians, they had toleration and protection. But the Turks are more stubborn in their bigotry and hate, and deride the Christian name. The applauding welcome, however, that Lady Hester Stanhope received, when passing through the streets and bazars of the city, proves that their abhorrence of infidels is not insuperable. The inhabitants have also very filthy habits, like oriental nations generally, and the interior portions of the town, by their

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uncleanliness, form a sad contrast to the outward beauty of it. The excess of filth in some countries originates from want of water. But, as we have said before, in Damascus, almost every house has a fountain, and yet it is one of the filthiest cities in all Asia. The Jews' quarter particularly, is peculiarly offensive to the organs of smell and sight, though in number the Jews are only about 1,000 men. There is also a hospital for lepers, where patients from fifty miles round are compelled by the authorities to reside, not to receive medical treatment, but to rot. And this increases the uncleanliness of the place. Christian civilization even now could do much for this ancient city, and we verily believe that God has spared it from the usual curse of idolatry,—destruction and desolation,—that the site from whence Christianity was first preached to the Gentile world, might, in time, be one of His holiest temples.

We were not near the poet of *Lalla Rookh*, when he sent his Peri winging over the vale of Balbec, to see such a pretty sight, as a child at play,

> " Among the rosy wild-flowers singing,
> As rosy and as wild as they,
> Chasing, with eager hands and eyes,
> The beautiful blue damsel flies,
> That fluttered round the jasmine stems,
> Like winged-flowers or flying gems :"—

otherwise we would have taken the celestial wanderer for our guide over " sainted Lebanon," instead of the very accurate, but withal, somewhat prosy Mr. Buckley. The poet has given us such a rich picture of " all the enchanted regions there," calling up even " gay lizards" to glitter on the walls of ruined shrines, and showing us

> " Fair gardens, shining streams, with ranks
> Of golden melons on their banks, &c., &c."

That we find it difficult to relish the plain narrative of the Bachelor of Arts; and yet sooth to say, some obstinate inward monitor, that will take no denial, insists on our trusting to a guide who writes in solid prose, in preference to one who, mounted on " his hot steed," capers too recklessly for truth.

The city of Baalbeck is now completely in ruins. The name signifies, in the Syrian tongue, the city of Baal, the sun; and the site appears to have been one of the earliest dedicated to the Sabean mythology. The history of the ruins, however, is very unsatisfactory. We have scarcely any information about them. The magnificent remains that yet survive the ravages of time, attest the greatness and

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luxury of the ancient city. But we are left completely in the dark about the date of their erection, and the men who raised them. Traces are to be seen of many structures of great antiquity having been restored and altered at subsequent epochs of their greatness; but when this was done, and what nation did it, we can only guess,—and guess, too, in the dark, having no data to go by. In the way of restoration something may have been done by the Romans, but certainly not much.

Of the ruins, the objects most familiar to the eye of the traveller are immense quantities of hewn stone, and fragments of pillars scattered about in all directions. But these are by no means the most prominent memorials on the spot; for the remains of the temples still preserve a majestic and proud appearance. Corinthian pillars of pompous size formed the colonnades of the temples, and their architectural beauty was so pre-eminent, that, even at the present day, in their mutilated condition, the eye is never satisfied with gazing at them. The designs also appear to have been on the boldest plan, striking the mind with an air of greatness seldom felt while looking at like specimens of modern art. Perhaps the vigor and vastness of the original conception has, in some cases, suffered from the workmanship of a later age. The labors of different ages is palpably blended in many of the remains extant. But the effect of the whole is bold and sublime.

The vicissitudes which reduced such splendid memorials of the past, cannot now be historically traced. We have as little light to guide us in the enquiry about the decline of Baalbeck, as in investigating its rise and importance. Its history is a mass of confusion, vague, and indefinite, and not to be unravelled. The promulgation of Islamism, however, evidently completed the work of desolation, the ignorant bigotry of the followers of Mohammed ever delighting in pillage, destruction, and massacre. And so completely has desolation wasted the soil, that even the fruitfulness of nature has now deserted the spot, and neither "golden melons," nor roses, nor pomegranates, though conjured up by the poet's fancy, are there abundant.

Baalbeck is a magnificent sight, when viewed beneath the setting sun. So is Palmyra at sunrise, according to the enthusiastic Lord Lindsay. If the architecture of Baalbeck is superior to that of the ancient Tadmor, the grandeur of the general effect of the ruins of the latter city has, especially by earlier travellers, been often preferred. Some recent visitors, however, have considered its position rather unfavorable to the

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effect of its beauty. It is situated at the foot of lofty mountains, and their natural sublimity and elevation place the works of art in a disadvantageous contrast. If the city had been on the summit of the hills, it would have had a more imposing appearance; but, as it is, it suffers instead of gaining by its position. Yet, in spite of such drawback, the ruins of Palmyra still astonish the traveller. The palm trees are not so abundant now on the site, as they must have been when it got its Grecian name. But they are still to be found in the gardens which environ the ruins, and are gladdening beacons to the weary traveller, assuring him of fresh water and green shade; and the city of palms owes much of its interest to the trees which shade and enliven it.

Solomon founded Palmyra, otherwise called Tadmor, Thadmor, or Tamar. He raised it to be one of the main stations of the commerce he so successfully prosecuted, and it was frequented in his time by caravans from all the leading cities of the East. Its position facilitated its grandeur. The caravans from Persia and India, and other remote countries to the East, found it the most convenient resort to unload their wares; and merchants from the West also found it to be the best market to dispose of their commodities. And thus it soon became the chief mart of the commerce carried on by land. But traffic changes its routes, and in time, Tadmor ceased to be resorted to by caravans. Even so early as the reign of Trajan, Palmyra was become a waste. It was rebuilt by Adrian, being renowned for its fine climate; but the chief source of its greatness had passed away. Under Caracalla it obtained the privilege of a Roman colony. It again became independent under Odenatus, when the Roman power declined; and his widow, Zenobia, made it the capital of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire, which she conquered and took. Of this extraordinary woman, Aurelian, the greatest general of his age, has said, that she was "prudent in council, firm in her character, wise in her conduct towards the army, liberal when occasion called for it, stern when severity was required:" and that "the whole people of the East and of Egypt so dreaded her displeasure, that neither Arabs, Saracens, nor Armenians, dared to move," so as to offend her.* But the Amazon queen was in her turn vanquished by the Roman general, and led in triumph to Rome, and Palmyra, rebuilt by a Roman, was destroyed by Roman hands. Subsequent Emperors contributed a little to its restoration

* In more recent times, Lady Hester Stanhope was crowned queen of Palmyra by the Bedouins.

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again. But, in 744, A. D., it fell into the hands of the Moslems, under Caliph Merwan, and was savagely dealt with. What work of destruction remained undone, was finally completed by the army of Timur, A. D. 1400.

The ruins of Palmyra stand in the midst of a desert of sand, sheltered by mountains to the west and north, but towards the other two cardinal points, the prospect is only bounded by the horizon. Seen from a great distance, the view tells with striking effect. Corinthian columns of white marble present the appearance of a forest from afar; and numerous square tombs look like so many temples of quaint but interesting form. These, however, are the remains of comparatively later times. The tombs might possibly be the relics of older days than the Roman era,—they may be the monuments of the ancient Palmyrenes. But they are not vestiges of the days of Solomon, and than they there are no older remains extant. Of the works of modern times, the remains are many, and they are chiefly characterized by astonishing vastness of materials. Stones of enormous size appear to have been used in most of the buildings, and there are ceilings yet to be seen, made of one single slab. And the fragments of architecture are so numerous, that were the theory advanced that all the people lived in palaces; it would not be easy to gainsay the dogma. There is also a fountain remaining, said to be one of five that graced the ancient city. It is a sulphureous spring, and believed by the people of the country to have extraordinary medicinal virtues.

As Palmyra was the chief mart of the land trade in the days of Solomon, so Tyre was the chief mart for the commerce then carried on by sea. It was a great city in those times. We read that David, the father of Solomon, went to Hiram, king of Tyre, to ask for help in rearing the temple of the Lord; and the burden of Ezekiel's lamentation shows that the ancient Tyrians had reached a very advanced stage of civilization. But civilization was pushed to an extreme extent in Tyre. Her riches and her fairs; her merchandise, her mariners, and her pilots; her silver, iron, tin and lead; her ivory and her gold; the honey, the oil, and the balm; spices and precious stones, and rich apparels of purple and of blue, had created new sources of gratification for the eager mind of man, and enervated civilization into luxury. And the city that had said, "I am of perfect beauty," before the thrones of whose elders the nations of the whole earth displayed their treasures, fell by its Capuan indulgences. One corruption begat another. The true and only God was desert-

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ed for senseless idols—the cunning workmanship of human hands; and then the cup of wrath was filled, and conqueror after conqueror arose, the appointed ministers of vengeance, to punish the impiety.

The first to chastise the presumptuous glory of Tyre, was Nebuchadnezzar, who, unable to get at the wealth of the Tyrians, razed, in his anger, the whole town to the ground, and slew all the inhabitants who failed to effect their flight. The city thus destroyed, never recovered its glory; and the site is named "Old Tyre," in contradistinction to the "New Tyre," which the enterprising spirit and perseverance of the Tyrians raised instead. The new city had a long era of peace to form its greatness and renown. Till the age of Alexander the Great, there does not appear to have been any potent enemy to molest its rising dignity, and when the mad Macedonian appeared before its walls, it was again the greatest of Syro-Phœnician cities. After a tedious siege of seven months, however, it was compelled to yield to the perseverance of the Greeks, and it was then that the ruins of Old Tyre, as much as had survived till then, were cast into the sea, that the prophecy might be fulfilled, "they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the water, and thou shalt be no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again," and, verily, the exact site of the old city cannot now be determined.

The next invader of New Tyre was Antigonus; but he effected nothing, and the Tyrians enjoyed peace till the age of the Crusades. But the glory of Tyre was gone; for the rivalry of Alexandria had eclipsed its commercial importance. A harder doom, however, awaited it yet. The word of God had passed that it should be a place for fishers to dry their nets on. During the Crusades, it was several times beleaguered, and, in 1291, it was compelled to yield to the Muhammedans, who utterly demolished its splendid fortifications. The most remarkable ruins now are the two ports of the city. The moles which formed them have been much washed off by the sea, and the towers which flanked them have almost entirely tumbled down. And its present inhabitants are only a few poor fishermen, the witnesses of the fulfilment of the prophecy. Broken walls, pillars and vaults, are also to be met with heaped together, but not a house is to be seen contradicting the dread decree, "thou shalt be built no more."

From Tyre Mr. Buckley conducts us to the ruins of Petra,

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the capital of Arabia Petrea. When Jacob, by the interposition of heaven, supplanted his brother Esau in his birth-right, the latter, who had principally offended his Maker by his marriage with the Canaanites, went into the country from the face of his brother, and took shelter in the district of Mount Seir; and there his descendants, the Edomites, extirpating the ancient inhabitants, made their caverned dwellings their home. We have every reason to believe that, at a very early age, the spirited Edomites cut the solid rocks into architectural figures, and erected the palaces, of which we have yet such sublime remains; and the city of the rock very soon became a monument of their pride and glory. The hardy and independent descendants of Esau, restless, wild and energetic, were to be discouraged by no amount of labour; and the excavations in the rocks testify to this day, to the wondrous toils they bore, and also to an amazing progress in civilization. But the fiat had gone forth, that the elder should serve the younger. No amount of glory or power could recall it. "O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill, though thou should make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence." The fraternal feud among the descendants of the brothers would not cease, and eventually Amaziah, the descendant of Jacob, gained by conquest the possession of Petra.

In the reign of the Emperor Trajan, Arabia Petrea became a province of the Roman Empire; and under the Romans the original structures of the Edomites received some restoration, and even embellishment. But these are easily distinguishable from the rest. The modifications and alterations of different ages are correctly indicated by the different character of the sculpture, and even where the elucidation of the several orders mixed up is difficult, it cannot be said to be impossible.

What contributes most to the magical effect of the ruins of Petra, is the rich and various color of the rocks. They are of all kinds, and blended so as to form every shade and hue that we admire in the plumage of birds or in flowers. Besides this, the architectural designs that embellish the fronts of the buildings, are peculiarly sumptuous and attractive. Taste and skill appear to have been tasked to their utmost capabilities in working out these decorations. The interior of the buildings is for the most part quite plain and destitute of ornaments, but they are not necessarily wanting in beauty and effect; and the palace, the temple, and the tomb, have all the same character. They partake alike also in the extent of their desolation. "Edom shall be a desolation," has been verified, and the moun-

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tains of Esau, and his heritage, have now become the home of the dragons of the wilderness.

From Petra to the caves of Ellora is a rather long leap; but we do not quarrel with Mr. Buckley's arrangement, which, from the rocky city of Arabia, leads us at once to the rock-hewn temples of India. If the latter are not as ancient as the caverns of Esau and his descendants, their antiquity is still very remote; and as architectural remains, though very deficient in regularity, and very poor in proportions, they are not altogether despicable proofs of the perseverance and art of former generations. The grotesque figures of the Hindu deities sufficiently explain why these gigantic excavations were made. As in Egypt and Assyria, a false belief exacted these hard tributes from the labor of man; and the ruins of Ellora and Salsette, read aright, teach the same edifying lessons of morality as those of Thebes, Babylon and Nineveh. In the cause of a false religion were raised the mighty edifices which surprise us so much by the grandeur of their dimensions; and their present state of silence and desolation sufficiently explains the destiny, present and to come, of the religion they were designed to honor. The symbols of Budhism survive, but to show that Indian Budhism is no more; and Brahminism too, we would fain believe, is fast flying out of the land, repelled by the wholesome influence of a purer creed.

The history of the cave-temples in India is altogether unknown, every portion of ancient Indian history being lost in obscurity and darkness; but the remains which exist, clearly attest the ancient splendour and influence of the religion of Budh. The excavations for the most part have a very imposing character. The darkness of the interior, the gloomy appearance of the gigantic rocks and rocky figures, the massiveness of the pillars, even the superincumbent appearance of the solid rock, give the whole assemblage of structures an air of greatness and awe. This description is true, as well of Elephanta and Salsette, as of Ellora. Ellora, however, has by far the most numerous excavations, and the construction of its subterrannean edifices displays to the greatest advantage the skill of Indian artists. They are, however, now all alike deserted and abandoned—all alike hushed in desolation;—all alike crumbling into ruins; nor are there any prospects for them of better days to come, unless, as suggested by Bishop Heber, the largest of the Budhist temples should be converted into a place of Christian worship.

Mr. Buckley did not find anything to detain him in India after his visit to Ellora. But among the ancient cities of the

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world, Benares deserves a place, and shall have it in our pages. It is the holiest of all the cities in Hindustan, and is reputed to have been founded by its patron deity, Mahadeva. It is likewise accounted to be the nearest road to heaven. Of its ancient history we have no records. Mythology traces its origin from the remotest ages; and it is regarded as the birth-place of the gods, and the abode of super-human sages; and its narrow streets and curious lofty buildings give it a mysterious and unusual aspect, much in confirmation of its pretensions to antiquity. The city is in the shape of a half moon, with its inner curve on the river side; and its suburbs are of considerable extent. The houses are generally four, five, or six stories high, and they are large buildings, but the rooms are unventilated, and insufferably close. The temples and mosques are worthier specimens of architecture, and present a splendid panorama to the view. The spires and domes of the temple rise above the terraces of the highest houses, and the minarets of the mosques are higher still. Especially the great mosque built by Aurungzebe, shoots its minarets far into the sky; and, though not the largest, it is assuredly the most prominent object in the city. It is said to have been erected on the site of a magnificent Hindu temple, destroyed by the intolerant Emperor for the purpose of humiliating the Brahmans. On the river side, the *ghats*, descending from the top of the high bank to the bed of the river, are also noble structures. They are many of them of solid masonry, and all generally pleasing to the eye. On account of them, especially, the view of the city from the opposite bank is a good one, but that from the minarets of the great mosque is, perhaps, still more magnificent.

Of the idolatry prevalent in Benares, we need not here say much. It has been remarked, and we believe correctly, that the images of the gods worshipped are more numerous than the living human inhabitants of the city, and yet Benares is a very populous city. These images are mostly of Mahadeva, who is not unfrequently represented by that most abominable of all representations, the *Argha*, or the conjunction of the Lingam and the Yoni; and these are to be seen, not only in the temples, but in private houses and gardens, and at the corners and by the sides of streets and thoroughfares. After this, it is unnecessary to add that the city has little real holiness about it. On the contrary, it is one of the most wicked places in India, swarming with courtezans and sinners of every description, and we fear that the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah is impending over it, and will overtake it, unless timely averted by the triumph of truth.

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Mr. Buckley's omission to notice Benares among the ancient cities of the world, after all, is fully justifiable, for the memorials of human progress are very scanty in this ancient city. Few buildings of very ancient date are to be seen at present, though, in a large portion of the materials of which the more modern buildings are composed, it is not impossible to trace marks of great antiquity. Many of the commonest buildings for instance, are composed of stones richly carved, and of varying ornamental characters. Here it is evident that fragments of more splendid edifices have been applied to other purposes since their destruction. Towards the north-east of the city, traces of some ruins are also to be seen, the ground for miles being strewed with fragments of bricks and stones, and several mounds of various kinds and sizes; and from these relics of Buddhism have been frequently dug out. But of the history of these ruins we know absolutely nothing. The name of *Kashi* occurs frequently in the Hindu Shastras, but those legendary annals merely afford light sufficient to make the darkness visible. From the *Purans* we learn that *Kashi* existed before those *Purans* were written; but we learn nothing more. If we could get an authentic history of Benares, it would much elucidate, we think, the gradual progress of Hinduism.

From India we go to China, and to the most northern part of it, there to visit Pekin, the capital of the Chinese Empire. Though an ancient city, Pekin survives in all its glory; and is the metropolis of a third of the human race, if the estimates be correct, by which the population of the globe is set down to be 900,000,000 souls and that of China 300,000,000. Nankin was originally the chief city of China, but, in very early times, the troublesome Tartars, or rather the Huns, rendered the removal of the court to the frontiers of the kingdom necessary, and from that time Pekin, from a village state, rose into significance. The present city is described to be divided into three parts, enclosed one within another, and surrounded by their respective walls. Of these, the first and innermost enclosure is by far the most important and grand, and contains the palaces of the king, and the courts of the royal family. All the palaces are superb. Where the style of art appears rather unnatural, and this we fancy is a frequent case, the Chinese having a very fantastical and grotesque method of their own in every thing, the elaborateness of the workmanship almost invariably makes up for the whimsical character of the design. Within this enclosure there is also a magnificent flower garden, called the "Earth's Repose," where the queen delights to take her stroll.

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The second enclosure is the residence of the officers of the court and of the greater merchants; and the third is occupied by Chinese shop-keepers and tradesmen, and all the lower orders of society; and the change of localities is forbidden. The first enclosure is named "The Forbidden City," and, as a place of residence, it is forbidden to all but the royal family. The second and third are not so rigidly guarded, but the Mandarins take good care that they are not huddled up with the mob. The population of the capital is so great, that even the widest streets are always scenes of bustle and confusion. It is estimated by the latest reckoning at 300,000 souls, and these, with their horses, mules, chairs and waggons, enliven the city day by day, as if some unusual show had drawn in the whole country around. One would expect that streets in which there was so much perpetual animation would be kept clean; but cleanliness is not an oriental virtue, and they are full of dirt and dust.

Pekin is both an ancient and a modern city, and it has both ancient and modern edifices in it. Of its antiquities, however, Mr. Buckley does not say much, nor have we any information to enable us to make up for his short-coming. The fact is, in the course of time, they have all undergone modern improvement, and the only piece of architecture that yet retains an old appearance, is the Great Wall, accounted among the wonders of the earth. The private houses are all mean and poor looking, and very few of them are two-storied. They are neither models of architecture, nor good specimens of it; and there is no vestige to show that greater progress towards individual comfort had been made there in the good old times.

From Pekin, as if for the purpose of setting at defiance all conjecture as to the principle of his arrangement, Mr. Buckley conducts us to Jerusalem. Even before the reign of David, Jerusalem was an important city. It was David, however, who increased its consequence by selecting it as the capital of Judah and the seat of his glory; and he commenced preparations for building the house of God in it, which was left to Solomon actually to build. The successors of Solomon were not all pious princes. Rehoboam even evinced a tendency to idolatry, and the consequence was that Shishak, king of Egypt, conquered the city and despoiled the temple. The fate of Jerusalem was no better under succeeding princes. Some of them, indeed, endeavoured to repair the havoc it had suffered, but the people had grown sinful, indolent, and profligate—they had forgotten their God; and Nebuchadnezzar completed, with fire and sword, what the king of Egypt had begun—the destruction

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of the city. Still disposed to mercy, the Lord turned an eye of compassion on fallen Jerusalem. A new temple, and a new city, were erected, and, though these did not reach all the splendour of times past, dreams of future glory elated once more the minds of the Jews. But Ptolemy took Jerusalem by surprise, and dispelled these anticipations for a time; and under the Egyptian rule the design of amalgamating the Jewish religion with the belief of the Pagans had well nigh ruined the city, a fate which was only prevented by the devotion of Judas and his followers. The temple was re-taken by the Jews, and repaired and purified, (a statue of Jupiter having been set up in it for a while,) and the worship of God was restored.

In 63 B. C., Pompey again surprised the city of the Jews, and on that occasion its walls were demolished. Crassus, B. C. 51, followed at the heels of Pompey, and pillaged even the sanctuary, which the other had spared. In 43 B. C., however, Antipater rebuilt the broken walls, and during the reign of his son Herod, the city was much strengthened and enlarged. The old temple was pulled down, and a magnificent new one erected on the site, and other splended improvements were made, such as fully justified the remark of Pliny, that, at this period, Jerusalem was by far the most splended city, not of Judea only, but of the whole east. But this prosperous morning was destined to end in gloom. The city was captured by Titus A. D. 70. The immediate cause of the capture was the rebellion of the Jews against the Roman power. The oppression of the Roman governors, added to the overt insults of the emperors to their religion,* drove the Hebrew people to desperation. They betook themselves to arms, and were worsted. The cruelty of the Romans then expelled them from their homes, and, when they attempted, with native stubbornness, to regain possession of them, the last remnants of the race were expelled from the city, and it was made death for them to approach it.

Two hundred years after these events, Helena, the mother of Constantine, visited the ruins of Jerusalem, and on the supposed site of the nativity at Bethlehem, built some churches; and, after her, Constantine also built a magnificent church on the site of the Holy Sepulchre. In A. D. 527, Justinian also built a magnificent chapel upon Mount Moriah, in honor of the Virgin. But in the mean time, the Roman name and Roman greatness had passed away. The Goths and the Vandals

* The Emperor Caligula went so far as to order his statue to be set up in the temple of God.

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had triumphed over the glory of Rome—rude barbarism had over-ridden corrupted civilization. The Roman possession of Jerusalem therefore had ended, and the Persians, and after them the Arabians, had become masters of the Holy City. The cruelties they inflicted on the pious pilgrims from the West, led, at a subsequent period, to the Crusades, of which it would exceed our purpose here to speak. For all the blood that was shed, for all the money that was wasted in those obstinate and much prolonged conflicts, Jerusalem, up to this day, is in the hands of unbelievers.

Of the ruins of ancient Jerusalem not even a trace survives. The appearance of the city from a distance is exceedingly desolate. For several miles around the mountains are bare, steep and rocky, presenting an uniformly deserted appearance; and the city stands as if cut off from the world in solitude. Within the city there is hardly a stone now which could be pointed out as having belonged to those structures, which are alluded to by the inspired historians. Even the foundations are broken up, and every fragment has been swept away. The ruins which now accost the traveller, are all of comparatively modern date. Here a Roman tower is to be seen erected on massive Jewish architecture; there a Turkish mosque raised on Hebrew foundations; but even the Jewish portion of such remains evidently belonged not to the ancient city. The fragments of Roman architecture are many. Some handsome remains of Saracenic splendour are also to be met with. But Judah has been cast down completely, for there is not even a vestige of her ancient glory.

Mr. Buckley next devotes four pages to Smyrna. We fear we can hardly afford it more than one paragraph. We have no authentic history of its antiquity, nor any hold to help our groping in the dark. Tantalus, the son of Jove, is said to have been its founder; but as Tantalus, after all, is but a fabulous character, this adds not much to our knowledge of it. The Lydians laid it waste and desolate so early as the time of Alexander the Great; but it was subsequently rebuilt, and, under the Romans, appears to have been regarded as one of the finest cities of the East. In A. D. 177 it was again destroyed by an earthquake, and though it was rebuilt by Marcus Aurelius, on a splendid scale, it never regained its ancient importance and prosperity. For this city the convulsions of nature wrought more mischief than the ravages of man. Except the stadium, the theatre, and the temple of Jupiter Acræus, no traces of its ancient structures survive, nor are even their sites to be easily determined; and yet, in its days of glory, it

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was pronounced to be "the lovely, the crown of Ionia, the ornament of Asia;" and its lofty Acropolis was crowded with specimens of art, which have certainly not yet been equalled in modern times. Its temples and tombs, villas and baths, also, were edifices of great taste and grandeur; but they have all given place now to Mohammedan mosques and minarets.

And now to Ephesus, the city of the Amazons, more celebrated still for its temple of that Amazonian goddess, Diana, whose worship was here celebrated, up to a very late period, with peculiar pomp and magnificence. The temple of Diana was burnt down on the night that Alexander was born. Alexander afterwards offered to rebuild the edifice, on the condition of being permitted to inscribe his name on the front; but this the inhabitants indignantly refused, and at their own expense erected a structure, which occupied 220 years in building, and the magnificence of which fully equalled, if it did not surpass, that of the temple which had been burnt down.

Besides the temple of Diana, Apelles and Parrhasius, also, have, by their birth, contributed to the celebrity of Ephesus. Ephesus will also be long remembered as one of the nurseries of Christianity, though the fulness it had there attained in the days of the Apostles has long passed away. The temple of Diana was burnt down by the Goths. The shout, "Great is Lord Jesus," then succeeded the well known ancient roar, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." But the altar of Jesus was again, in its turn, overthrown—the Cross gave place to the Crescent—and now the Crescent also has passed away. The Pagan splendour of the city, its Christian mightiness, its brief Mohammedan glory, have all departed. It is now a heap of desolation, and wilderness. Mounds of stones and untenanted mud cottages are all that are now to be seen on the site of the great city, and a few straggling peasants are its only inhabitants.

Sardis was the capital of Crœsus, king of Lydia, whose very name has become a word for riches and magnificence. It was this Crœsus who asked Solon if he did not consider him fully happy; and the memorable reply of the sage has been deservedly remembered to the present times—"Await the end of life," said the philosopher, "before you judge of its good fortune;" and the most marvellous and melancholy illustration of the saying is to be read in the present condition of that impregnable city, the prosperity of which had roused the haughtiness of its king. Crœsus felt the truth of Solon's remark before he died. His life was not fortunate. Cyrus the Mede attacked and defeated him; and he became a prisoner and a servant, who

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had considered himself, a little while before, the greatest and happiest of sovereigns. Sardis, after this, became a Persian city; and the gradual introduction of Persian manners soon, step by step, introduced the various stages of Oriental degradation. It was recovered again to Greek interest by the Ionians under Aristogoras; but it had declined from its rank and importance, and after its subsequent destruction by fire, its history becomes altogether void of interest. When Alexander knocked at the gates of Sardis, it yielded to him without a blow; and again, when the Romans triumphed over Antiochus, it as easily became subject to the Roman power.

The ancient spirit of the Lydians had gone, and the beauty of their palatial city had likewise departed. We have seen that it was once reduced by fire; subsequently an earthquake completed its ruin. At the time of the Emperor Tiberius, however, it was rebuilt, and many of the interesting relics of the ancient city were sought after and restored. It is on this account, that to this day some little vestiges of the gorgeous palace of Crœsus are still to be seen. These consist only of a few rent walls, poor fragments of a haughty structure. Two columns, and a few mutilated fragments, only represent the beautiful and glorious temple of Cybele, once the pride of the splendid city; and green and flowery swards are on the sites of ancient theatres and crowded habitations.

Athens, the wondrous city of Athene, shall next receive our attention; but it has been so often written of and described in volumes of history and criticism, that a long and detailed sketch of it here is not called for. The history of Athens, as Mr. Buckley well observes, is the history of all Greece—nay, of the whole world, he adds, during a certain period. And how can we possibly epitomize that history in an article of a few pages? Far less can we dwell on the difficulties and obscurities of her early poetical history.

Athens was founded by Theseus—at least it was in his reign that Attica was properly consolidated, and its capital became a city of note and fame. It had a monarchical form of Government till the time of Codrus, who, sacrificing his life for the good of his country, in a war with the Dorians, the kingly power ceased, and the throne remained vacant. Under the aristocratic oligarchy that succeeded, the city made considerable improvement. At first the severe laws of Draco, indeed, did little good, but Solon soon gave the state better regulations, such as were well calculated to ameliorate the condition of a rising people. After the death of Solon,

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Pisistratus, taking advantage of the stupidity of the mob, seized the absolute power. But though the Athenians submitted to his tyranny, his sons were not permitted to perpetuate it, and Athens was once more on the road to glory. The battle of Marathon is well known; then followed those of Salamis and Platæa, and they gave a new impulse to the energies of Greece.

When she turned the tide of the Persian war, Athens had reached the acme of her glory. After that, she began to abuse her mighty powers. The strength that had saved Greece, began to be turned to acts of oppression and tyranny. Other states had learnt from her the value of spirit and independence, and they combined against her, as against a common enemy. She maintained her power as long as she could. But at last her downfall came; and the crafty Philip of Macedon, now that the lioness was in her toils, succeeded to pull down the other states of Greece also along with her.

Athens stands on a rocky plain, enclosed by mountains on three sides, and bounded on the fourth by the sea. Even in its days of glory it possessed few fine streets, and the dwellings of private citizens were built of very simple and inexpensive materials, and had no architectural magnificence to boast of. All the splendour of the city was in its public edifices, in the Acropolis or citadel, the temples, the museum, and the public squares. The Acropolis was, as it were, the centre of the public buildings. It must have been in a very noble style of architecture, for it has been a favourite school of imitation to the architects and sculptors of modern times. The temples, also, were in a grand and splendid style, their columns of noble proportions, and the friezes decorated with varied devices relating to heroes and gods. Unlike the temples dedicated to similar idolatry in Oriental countries, these bore, even on their gross material development, a refined and poetical character, an impress of the minds to whom they owed their origin. The Athenians were certainly the most poetical people in Greece, and their artists the most poetical in the world. All these masters were in the employ of the public; and hence the peculiar beauty of the public buildings and decorations. The works of art were considered to be common property, and this, at the same time that it served to beautify public edifices by the entire application of a multitude of hands, also contributed to render those hands, exerting themselves for a nation, more perfect in their toil, by allying glory with gold. The money which paid their labors was collected by contribution, and vast funds thus realized were at the disposal of the state. Owing to these causes mainly was Athens so full of public buildings, especially shrines and temples.

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Although Achaia was one of the smallest states in Greece, yet Corinth, its capital, may be named immediately after Athens, as having been a very wealthy and powerful city in its day. As a fortress, it was, perhaps, the strongest in all Greece; and its geographical position on an isthmus, with two harbours on two sides, gave it much commercial consequence. It commanded alike the Ægean and Ionian seas, and in those days navigators dreaded to weather the western promontory of Malea. The traffic from Asia to Italy, and from Italy to Asia, was therefore necessarily conveyed across land, through Corinth, from sea to sea; and this to the city was a source of great gain. Even in the days of Homer it was, under its ancient name of Ephyre, considered opulent; and its public works appear to have always been on a scale of grandeur and beauty.

The origin of Corinth is involved in mythic obscurity, but even in mythical days it was famous, and many great names, such as those of Sisyphus and Bellerophon, are mentioned as those of its sovereigns. But we do not wish to get entangled in its history, mythical or modern, and will therefore steer clear of both. At the time of the Peloponnesian war, Corinth was at the height of its glory. It was the most important enemy of Athens. But it soon after began to decline. The power of Athens being humbled, the Grecian states fell on each other, and effectually disabled themselves. Its final degradation, however, was not completed, till it fell into the hands of the Romans, when the male inhabitants were put to the sword, the women and children sold as captives, and the city ruined and desolated with a barbarity seldom surpassed.

Corinth revived again, but only as a seat of the Roman Government. Its Grecian character had passed away. What the Romans did for it was again undone by the Turks, and at present it is all in ruins. The remains of antiquity are of course very slender, and their precise date is only a subject of conjecture. On the remains of the ancient temple of Venus now stands a mosque, and there were other like Turkish restorations, which have gone into ruins.

We next proceed to Elis, the holy land of the Greeks. Armies were compelled to lay down their arms when passing through this favored region, and here the whole nation assembled to celebrate the Olympic games, the grandest festival of antiquity. Of course the temple of Jupiter Olympius was the chief edifice of the city, and it held the colossal statue of Jupiter—the master-piece of Phidias—the greatest work of ancient art. There were also temples of Juno Lucina, and monuments and statues of all the gods named in mythology; and all these were grouped together in the sacred grove called Altis, the sanctuary at once of religion and the arts.

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The holiness of Elis made it the common centre of the Greeks, and this led to its prosperity and wealth. But of that glory and renown few vestiges now remain, and the destructive progress of a luxuriant vegetation has sooner effected that ruin which time might otherwise have delayed.

Mycenæ also was a city of great note in ancient Greece. In the pages of Homer it is distinguished for the excellence of its buildings, and it was the seat of the ill-starred house of Atreus; but it has long been in ruins. Even in the days of Thucydides its palaces were but fragments of stone, and we have no authentic annals of its antiquity, for it ceased to be a living city before history was born. Its ruins now consist of an irregular inclosure, called the "Gate of Lions," of rough masonry, but very strong. The walls of the citadel also may be traced in their circuit, many parts of them still standing entire. Not only has time failed, but the destructive hand of man also has been unable yet to break them down. They are said to have been built by the Cyclopes: their durability certainly is wonderful. Of other ancient buildings, only the traces of a few foundations remain; the rest are lost beneath turf and mountain plants. The specimens left are some of them very ornamental, and of dainty design. "The king of men" appears to have kept as splendid a court as any Oriental sovereign, and though his life was not spared him, after he returned a conqueror from Troy, Mycenæ had already reached a high pitch of magnificence. In the pages of the poet, however, Agamemnon will be best remembered, for Cyclopean though the ruins of Mycenæ may be, they are dying away, and bear testimony no more to the greatness and splendour of kings.

From the cities of Greece, we will proceed to those of Italy; and the first that demands attention is Veii, the ancient rival of Rome. War, nothing but war, forms the history of this proud competitor of the eternal city, and even so early as the fabled reign of Romulus in Rome, the capital of the Etruscans had attained considerable power and glory. It was also famous as the school from whence the future empress of the world learnt the arts of civilization. Veii bears a conspicuous part in Roman history. Of many a stirring legend of Roman intrepidity and heroism, it was the chief occasion. For four hundred years it competed with Rome for the laurels of war, and it caused much uneasiness to the rising mistress of the earth. Rome dreaded Veii, for her enmity was not to be despised.

But the fortune of Rome triumphed in the end. Veii fell in the year of Rome, 356, after a long siege; and the long-hoarded vengeance of the Romans was unsparingly poured forth. The wretched inhabitants were slaughtered without

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mercy, or fled across the open country in helpless despair, and the conquered city was razed to the ground.

In the reign of Augustus, the site of Veii was again colonized by the Romans; but the glory of the Etruscan capital had passed away, and the colony did not thrive; and in the days of Adrian it had nearly died away. A faint existence was lengthened and drawn out to a very late period of the Roman Empire; but it was Veii no more—nor her shadow—nor the shadow of a shade.

Of ancient Veii few vestiges remain. The progress of destruction has been rapid and effectual, and ere long the last fragments of her ruins will have perished. The walls, temples, and palaces have all entirely disappeared already, and, in their place, we have bare down, occasionally fringed with wood, with not a single habitation on its surface. The name of Veii lives, but not herself. As for modern Veii, it never occupied a third part of the site of the ancient city, and never attained any consequence that could long survive.

Rome triumphed. Of the city of the seven hills, at the same time that it is difficult to say little, it is unnecessary to say much, for the subject has been exhausted by a host of eminent compilers. Its first foundation by the followers of Romulus, who built a few rude huts on the Palatine hill, though involved in mythical story, has been deeply sifted and clearly laid down, and the history of its subsequent greatness is known to every school-boy in all its details.

The first to aggrandize the rude city of Romulus was Tarquin. He raised many stately buildings to beautify the capital; but these were all destroyed by the Gauls; nor were they of a high style of architecture. It is true that the followers of Brennus were amazed at the grandeur of the forum, where the senators sat in solemn conclave, awaiting their entrance; but they were barbarians, and had no knowledge of architecture, and were surprised at the style of buildings which so infinitely surpassed their own rough wandering homes. It was not till after the subjugation of Greece that Roman architecture assumed a tasteful character. Of early Rome the works were rude and inelegant, and hardly objects of admiration to any beside those who gloried in everything that had a Roman name. The study of the magnificent models of Greece gradually reformed the Roman taste, and the imitation of those polished specimens soon covered the seven hills with splendid private dwellings and public edifices.

Roman greatness was at its highest pitch in the reign of Augustus, and the city had then reached its greatest splendour. "Augustus found the capital of brick, and left it of marble," is

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a trite saying, and verily, he did contribute much to the beautifying of the city. Others before his time had paved for him the way, and others followed up his good example after him. Even Nero did some good in his own way. He destroyed the city by fire—at all events, his conduct on the occasion gave rise to an opinion that he was the incendiary. The burning of the dirty and ill-ventilated city was not without its use. It rendered practicable its restoration on more scientific principles, and it was so restored. Trajan built the matchless forum which, at a later period, struck Constantine, a prince who had visited all the great cities of Greece and Asia, with astonishment and surprise; and Adrian completed the decorations of the eternal city, which, in later ages, after it had experienced siege, conquest and desolation, still retained beauty and grandeur worthy of the mistress of the world.

The forum, which lay between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, was eight hundred feet wide, and adorned on all sides with porticos, shops, and other edifices of imposing grandeur. The capitol was a mighty fortress temple, which stood on the highest of the seven hills. It was the largest and the grandest of the buildings in the city, and it was also the most ancient. The temple of Jupiter occupied the centre, and those of Minerva and Juno stood on two sides of it. At the head of the Palatine hills stood the palaces of the Cæsars. The domes and piers still remain in sufficient glory to attest their by-gone grandeur; but altogether the whole is a melancholy wreck of what the city was. The ancient walls remain, at the present moment, to show the extent of the city in its palmiest days, when Aurelian effected its last extension. It embraces an extraordinary extent, and the ruins attest an almost morbid taste in the Roman people for rearing vast edifices. Of these erections many were religious and triumphant buildings—temples and arches—now alike in decay. Was not the downfall merited? If the Latin satirists are correct in the estimate they formed of the national morals, Rome deserved the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. Pompeii and Herculaneum had actually met similar punishment, and, amid the remains of the buried cities, have been found ornaments, pictures, and even household utensils, so licentious and obscene, that the doors of the rooms in which they are now deposited at Naples, are not opened, except to scientific men. But what were Pompeii and Herculaneum, but transcripts of eternal Rome? True, Rome still lives; the dome of St. Peter rears its proud head on high, and the Vatican is a substitute for the palaces of the Cæsars;

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but it is no more the Rome of the Romans—the mistress of the world.

Here we may bid adieu to Mr. Buckley's *Ancient Cities of the World*. He asks us next to repair with him to Scandinavia; but we have no mind to go thither just at present. We fully admit that it is the abode of a people who have occasioned great, sudden, and numerous revolutions in Europe; but this is not the object of our present enquiry. We have also purposely skipped over another chapter, about the middle of the book, on "the ruins of American civilization;" for this reason, that the traces left do not show that civilization to have been very great. The temples in America, as everywhere else, appear to have been the best edifices of the place, and these were, or rather are, for they survive to the present day, much too humble to be noticed along with the wrecks of the great cities of the older continent. True, some of them are enormous in size. The great temple of Mexico almost reminds one of what the Tower of Belus might have been; but the largeness of the size of the building is not an evidence of civilization. The arches and ceilings are of the rudest description, and, if these pyramids have appeared grand in the eyes of some travellers, they owe the favorable impression rather to the beauty of nature around them, than to any intrinsic splendour of their own. As for other edifices, they are ruder still, being narrow apartments, and wrought with grotesque designs, and of a much lower standard of architecture than the worst specimens in the Eastern Hemisphere. The only beauty of ancient American buildings is that they seem unimpaired by time. Buildings of their age, in the Old World, have long since passed into shapeless ruins, but they survive untouched by time, and uninjured by the weather. The fact is, the American atmosphere has some particular virtues for preserving old edifices.

We rise from the perusal of Mr. Buckley's work, not without receiving a lesson worthy to be remembered long. To most of the cities which we have seen in his company, idolatry has been the sure forerunner of destruction. They had attained a stage of civilization much higher than we generally give the ancient nations of the earth credit for. Not only the different styles of architecture, but the materials they were composed of and adorned with, are, in many cases, indicative of much knowledge and refinement. But this could not preserve them—this could not screen them from the wrath of the Most High. The wars of men may appear as the ostensible causes of their ruin, but the

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agency of a Higher Power, though not directly visible, is clearly to be traced on the vicissitudes of their destiny. In some cases, the convulsions of nature produced the ruin—in not a few the worm and the moth have reduced the greatest monuments of human industry and art. But they were all the means by which the inscrutable ways of God were fulfilled,—and in every case when corruption had reached a pitch too high for heaven to suffer it to continue and look on. Examine the fragments of ancient buildings. What do they record? They are all the memorials of man's folly and forgetfulness. The spirited efforts of the chisel often represent, indeed, a high state of civilization, but they are not the less silent chronicles of licentious superstition. The sports, arms, habits of nations, are carved on the monumental stone, but most prominent of all are represented the diabolical objects of Pagan worship. The curse of God has followed the magnificent records of the impiety of man—that they might thus be at once the witnesses of His power and of the vanity of their purblind maker. Unblest and unhelpen by Divine assistance, even Titanian efforts failed to secure that footing of durability, which Heaven has not designed, save for the advancement of truth.

And now those sites of glory and licentiousness have become so abandoned and forsaken, that the superstitious believe them to be haunted by evil spirits. A grim solemnity invests the ruins, and even the daring and the bold deem them dangerous of approach. And they have become dens of the beasts of the deserts. The lion has made his lair in many, and the bones of sheep and other animals, which travellers frequently alight upon in the midst of their researches, show that ravenous animals are their principal inhabitants. "The owls shall dwell there, and the satyrs shall dance," has come to pass. Now no man dwelleth in them; even at noon-day the wild dog howls amid them to insult their silence. This has been the fate alike of temples, tombs, and palaces; temples where thousands once worshipped, and which, for several generations, were regarded among the wonders of the world; palaces, where the proudest of the proud lived and swayed; tombs, where the great ones of the earth were interred by their descendants, that dust might return in peace to dust:—all alike are now the scenes of man's humiliation, objects for the thoughtful to ponder over. Even the traces of their history cannot be followed out; it is often impossible so much as to guess at the chain of vicissitudes that have made them what they are.

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ART. VI.—1. *Directions for Revenue Officers in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, regarding the Settlement and Collection of the Land Revenue, and the other duties connected therewith. Promulgated under the authority of the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor. Agra, November* 1, 1849. *Second Edition, Calcutta*, 1850.

2. *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary, October* 3, 1853.

3. *A Sermon preached in St. Paul's Church, Agra, on occasion of the death of the Honorable James Thomason, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, by the Rev. T. V. French, M. A., Late Fellow of University College, Oxford, and Church Missionary in Agra. October 2nd.* A. D. MDCCCLIII. *Published at the request of the Church Wardens of St. Paul's, and of other friends. Agra.*

A GREAT MAN has passed from among us—a man ennobled, not by any one act of transcendant genius, or feat of moral daring, but by the far rarer merit of a long series of distinguished actions, all successfully bearing upon the happiness and well-being of millions of our species. Such an one was JAMES THOMASON, the late Lieut.-Governor of the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.

It is not our intention to give an elaborate biographical notice of the deceased statesman, or to attempt to assign his place in the history of India. The scene of his life is yet close and recent; it admits not of the mellowed tints imparted by distance; and without these, the lineaments of biography are too rugged and harsh to be attractive, too brightly colored to secure the verdict of impartiality. Still, as reviewers of all that concerns the welfare of India, we cannot decline the task of briefly tracing the progress of Mr. Thomason's career, and presenting a hasty sketch of the administration by which he has achieved a name second to none in the array of India's Civil Governors.

James Thomason was born at Shelford, in the vicinity of Cambridge, on the 3rd of May, 1804; but he was yet in early childhood, when his father, the Rev. T. Thomason, relinquished his parochial charge of that delightful spot, and devoted himself to ministerial labour in India.

Towards the close of 1808, the Rev. Mr. Thomason arrived in India with his family, but not before he had experienced, at the Sandheads, the fearful perils of shipwreck. The *Travers* went to pieces on a reef within sight of land, and Mr.

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Thomason, with his wife and children, half-naked, drenched, and affrighted, escaped with difficulty and danger, in the ship's boats, to the *Earl of Spencer*, which providentially was near at hand.*

The remainder of James Thomason's childhood was passed with his parents in Calcutta. In 1814, at the age of ten, he was sent to England. There he was fortunate in being welcomed, with all the warmth of a parent, by the great and good Mr. Simeon, who had been the constant friend, and frequent guest, of his father and mother at Shelford. The eager affection with which he received his youthful charge, makes us love all the more the venerable Simeon, though one smiles at his almost maternal care and inexperienced anxiety. He assures his father, that "flannels will be ready to put on at a moment;" and communicates to his mother the alarm he felt at finding him one day fishing. The sober conclusion to which he comes, that *even after this* he did not repent his charge, is characteristic and amusing:—

> Be assured that if I were indeed his father, I could not feel much more for him than I do. He was imprudently fishing by the river side, without hat or coat or waist-coat. Hearing only that he was fishing with little James Farish, I went full of anxiety to find him; and finding him in such a situation, it was almost a dagger to my heart. But no evil occurred. I began to feel how great a matter I had undertaken; but I do not repent, and trust I shall never give you cause to repent.—*Life*, p. 398.

It is curious to observe, that the *enquiring nature* of his mind, which continued to be one of the distinctive characteristics of Mr. Thomason's later days, was that which at this early period first impressed Simeon. "In liveliness and sweetness of disposition," he writes in his first letter, "and in tenderness of spirit, he far exceeds my most sanguine expectations. What —— said of his inquisitiveness (his *spirit of enquiry* I mean,) was delightfully verified all along the road.....Many of his questions were such as a man, a traveller of sound sense and judgment, would have asked, and led to explanations which it was the delight of my heart to give."† And again, to his mother, (though here the first clause finds no correspondent feature in after life,)—"he is, as you say, a little idle; but very sensible and acute in his questions."‡

Simeon shortly after put him to a private school at Aspenden, twenty-two miles from Cambridge, where he appears to have remained about four years. At the age of fourteen, he was

* See the accouut of this event —*Life of Thomason*, p. 142, *and Life of Simeon*, p. 260.

† *Life of Simeon*, p. 394. ‡ *Idem*, p. 397.

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transferred for two or three years to the care of Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hodson, at Stansted. In both seminaries, he signalized himself by gaining prizes.

In 1821, when sixteen or seventeen years of age, he went to Haleybury College. Here we have another characteristic view of the simplicity of Simeon's solicitude, in his anxious and solemn remonstrance at the monthly college report being on one occasion rendered as "regular and correct," instead of "*quite* regular and correct"—the difference turning out to be caused by the neglect of some college formality of no consequence whatever.* Mr. Thomason, in after life, used to relate this incident with a smile.

At Hayleybury, he distinguished himself by most exemplary assiduity, and carried off many prizes and medals.† In 1822, Simeon writes to his father:—"On the 23rd May, I intend to 'go to see him receive his last prizes; and on the 1st of 'June, I hope, your mother and I shall sail with him, 'as I did with you.....as far as the pilot goes."‡ On the 19th September he landed in India. In June, 1823, he was reported qualified for the public service, but was allowed to continue in the college to prosecute the study of Mahometan Law. In December of the same year, we find him appointed Assistant Register to the Sudder Court at Calcutta. About the same time, Simeon writes to his father: "I delight to hear such blessed tidings of my beloved 'James. Give my kindest love to him. We bear him in 'sweet remembrance, and most affectionately long for his 'welfare in every possible way."§

It was, indeed, one of the greatest privileges we can imagine, to have been, in the season of youth, for eight years under the immediate charge of the apostolical Simeon. His simplicity of character, and earnestness of purpose, fitted him eminently to be an influential guide, as well as an attractive pattern, for a young man, while his cheerful temperament, and buoyant spirits, exhibited religion in the most inviting aspect. Whether owing to this influence or not, it is certain that James Thomason was, throughout his life, guided by the same depth of religious sentiment, and the same catholicity of principle, as animated Simeon.

* *Life of Simeon*, p. 556.

† Among the subjects for which prizes were awarded, the following occur,—some of them repeatedly:—*Mathematics; Political Economy; Law; Classical Literature; History.*

‡ *Life of Simeon*, p. 562.

§ *Idem*, p. 589.

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Mr. Thomason remained attached to the Sudder Court, as Assistant Register, till 1826, when we find him appointed to officiate as Judge of the Jungle Mehals. In the same year he submitted to an examination in the College of Fort William as to proficiency in Mahometan Law, which he had been prosecuting more or less since he was reported qualified for service. The examiners pronounced the highest eulogium on the "intense application and extraordinary talent" brought by him to bear upon the subject;* and the Government conferred upon him an honorary grant of 3,000 rupees. In the following year, 13th February 1827, he was obliged, by severe indisposition, to seek a restoration of health in a voyage to England, where he joined his father, then also on a temporary visit at home.

Within two years he returned to India, and in 1829 was re-attached to the Sudder Court, as Deputy Register and Preparer of Reports. Shortly after we find him officiating as Judge and Magistrate of the suburbs of Calcutta, and Superintendent of the Allipore Jail. In 1830, he was appointed to act as Deputy Secretary to Government in the Territorial department; and in the beginning of 1831, permanently posted to the same office in the Judicial and Revenue departments. While thus in a position most favorable for gaining an insight into the general working of our Government, it may be gathered that his attention was also attracted to the subject of education, for we find him in the same year appointed a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction. He had also devoted himself laboriously to the mastery of the Hindu, as well as the Mahometan sources of law; and interleaved copies of *Menu* and of the *Hedaya*, with carefully recorded notes of difficult or curious points, attest the intelligence and the

* The following is an extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 28th July, 1826:—
"From the studious habits and tried abilities of Mr. Thomason, we were led to expect the display of extraordinary attainments. We assigned, therefore, to that gentleman, the performance of exercises proportionally arduous; and it affords us sincere gratification to state that our estimate, high as it was, of his acquirements, fell short of the reality. When we say that the translations were made with the utmost fidelity, accuracy and despatch, we bear but inadequate testimony to his merits. In the course of three or four hours, Mr. Thomason not only performed what was required of him, but he found leisure also to make judicious annotations on abstruse passages, thereby furnishing satisfactory proof, that to the capacity of consulting original legal authorities, he has added a considerable knowledge of the law itself. Mr. Thomason read a passage of the *Hedaya* in the presence of the law officers of the Sudder Dawanny Adalut, to whom he explained the meaning in the Persian language, and who expressed themselves in the highest degree gratified by the learning and acumen which he displayed."

The report is signed by Macnaghten, Riddell, and Ousely; and in consequence of it, although the giving of honorary premia had been discontinued by order of the Court of Directors, yet, as it was shown that he had been at the study before the prohibition was made, he received the grant of Rs. 3,000.

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assiduity with which he pursued the study.* It is not often that we find a combined attention thus successfully turned at once to Arabic and to Sanscrit literature.

But it is not in the Secretarial bureau alone, or in the private study, that administrative capacity is to be gained. It is not enough that the red tape be ever and anon untied; bundles of correspondenee read and digested; and the busy pen daily employed in carefully expressed and nimbly recorded despatches. It is true that the views of enlightened officers, ably employed in active duty, may thus be thoroughly mastered, and valuable notes and memoranda may be multiplied till the Secretariat shelves groan beneath them. But no study will supply the place of *personal experience*; and so long as an officer has not himself mixed with the people, and come into immediate contact with them, as their District Officer, his opinions cannot, properly speaking, be called *his own*, since they are grounded, not upon personal observation, but upon the reports of others.

It was fortunate therefore for himself,—more fortunate for the country at large,—that Mr. Thomason did not long continue in Calcutta. On the 18th of September, 1832, he was appointed Magistrate and Collector of Azimgurh, a large and populous district† in the Benares division, bordering upon Oudh.

The Vice-President in Council, Sir Charles Metcalfe, had been so impressed with "the marked ability and efficiency" of his official conduct, (for during the absence of Mr. Macnaghten he appears to have had sole charge of the Secretariat,) that with the concurrence of Mr. Ross, he publicly communicated to him, on his departure, "the cordial approbation and thanks of the Government."‡

A small portion of his charge, comprised in one pergunnah, was permanently assessed on the principles of the Bengal settlement: the remainder stood upon the same unsettled basis as the rest of the North Western Provinces. The Revenue Survey was about to be introduced into the district; preliminary to that, the boundaries of every village had to be defined, and disputes adjusted; then was to follow the Revenue Settlement, and Record of Rights, framed under Regulations

* These copies are now in the library of the College at Agra, to which he bequeathed the greater portion of his books.

† Azimgurh contains 2,516 square miles, and has a population of 16,53,251 souls, so that the number of persons falls at the enormous rate of 657 to the square mile.

‡ Letter from Mr J. R. Colvin, Deputy Secretary, dated 5th February, 1833.

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VII. of 1822 and IX. of 1833, on the principles laid down by the great and lamented Robert Merttins Bird. Here was a noble sphere for the acquisition of knowledge and experience; for devising expedients to facilitate the rapid and correct disposal of public business; and for examining how the series of acts, which issue from the Council Board or the Governor, and of which the upper features are often alone observable from the Secretariat chair, affect the people in the sober realities of every-day life, when, through a variety of intervening media, they at last reach down into actual contact with them. Here, too, were golden opportunities for exercising command, both upon native and European mind, and for testing the influence possessed over others, in swaying their opinions and actions.

Upon all these objects, the busy mind of Mr. Thomason was ceaselessly engaged. Instructions were drawn up, with diligent thoughtfulness, for the guidance of his covenanted assistants in the conduct of the independent charges assigned to each; and as the settlement drew on, carefully framed rules for the adjustment of disputes and other matters, were laid down for his Tehseeldars and European staff. Upon these, he sought to elicit the suggestions and remarks of his head assistants; such criticisms, both in writing and in personal conference, he was forward to invite, and to take into ready consideration. But an opinion or rule once carefully arrived at, had always been the result of such mature and sound deliberation, that, however much contested, it was rarely abandoned. The general interests of his charge engaged also his constant attention. We find him, for instance, objecting, in his private capacity, to the Legislative Council, against a proposed enactment for investing the Magistrate with power to determine the compensation due, under certain circumstances, by land-holders to indigo planters, and protesting that it would be a stigma upon our judicial system;* again, we meet with an indignant note upon an unjust civil decree passed by a native functionary: and with an elaborate memorandum on the rights of under-tenants, for the support of which he furnishes directions to his assistants. These all display the practised hand of the Secretary, guided by the now practical mind, and closely observing eye, of the Magistrate and Collector.†

His administration of Azimgurh, contained, in fact, the mini-

* Letter dated 5th December, 1835.

† It is curious to observe, that now, as in after days, his main attention was devoted to the duties of *Collector*, and that he disburdened himself, as much as he possibly could, of all magisterial business.

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ature features of his later Government of the North Western Provinces. He was singularly fortunate in his assistants, and he was not slow in recognizing their merits, and according to them his confidence. It was indeed a rare combination of circumstances which brought Robert Montgomery and Henry Carre Tucker under the magisterial authority of James Thomason. The period he spent in this charge was between four and five years; but in that time, he not only made and reported a settlement, which gave satisfaction both to the Government and the people,* but gained more in knowledge of the country, and in the art of governing, than is commonly attained during a life-time. To his residence at Azimgurh, he always reverted with delight; and as he visited it in his annual tours, the memory of domestic happiness, and official usefulness, could be traced in the glistening eye, and the mingled sympathies, which lighted up his countenance, or cast a shadow across it.

The demands of the State at last broke up the domestic hearth (never again to be permanently re-built) and the friendly social circle, of Azimgurh. The District Officer was now ripe for higher employment; and in March, 1837, he was, in the most flattering manner, selected by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Lieut.-Governor, to officiate as Secretary to the Government of the North Western Provinces, in the Judicial and Revenue departments.† Within a year, however, he was compelled, by severe domestic affliction, to proceed to Europe, from whence he returned in the beginning of 1840. He was shortly after appointed permanently to the post which he had last vacated.

* This Settlement Report was printed in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* in 1837, but we have not had access to it. From a late periodical (*Saunders' Mazagine*) we gather, however, that the Sudder Board of Revenue, in reporting the result to the Government, stated "their sense of obligation to Mr. Thomason, who had heartily entered into their views, perfectly comprehended their plans, and carried them into execution with great skill and judgment." The assessment, like that of all the earlier settlements, was higher than the standard later adopted; but the record of rights was very carefully attended to, as well as the interests in subordinate tenures; and the fairness of his proceedings has been justified by the great prosperity of the district, and the increase of cultivation.

† In the letter offering him this appointment, Sir Charles placed three posts at his disposal—a contemplated office of Commissioner or Superintendent of Settlements; an officiating Commissionership in the regular line; the officiating Secretaryship (letter dated 15th February, 1837.)

In the previous year, (14th May, 1836,) Sir Charles had addressed a letter complimenting him highly on his administration of Azimgurh, offering him the contemplated Judgeship of that station, and even desiring to make him at once the Judge, the Magistrate, and the Collector of the zillah. Mr. Thomason, however, preferred to continue simply as Collector, that he might finish his settlement, and at the same time expressed his opinion to be now against the combination (which he would seem at some former period to have favored,) of the office of Judge with that of District Officer.

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In this Secretariat office, he served in all about two years and a half, and added further to his experience by an intimate official connection with Sir Charles Metcalfe, Mr. Robertson, and Lord Auckland, who for sometime administered the Government of Agra. The busy duties of Secretary did not prevent his turning attention to subjects of general interest. He enquired carefully into the nature and effect of the transit dues in the Saugor territories, and advocated their abolition (a measure which, mainly through his endeavours, was eventually enforced by the Governor-General in 1847); while his ability on educational subjects was recognized by his appointment as Visitor to superintend the Agra and the Delhi Colleges.

Towards the close of 1841, he was nominated an Extra Member of the Sudder Board of Revenue, and succeeded to the permanent post, in succession to Mr. R. M. Bird. In this responsible position, his versatile mind found no lack of subjects of commanding interest; and as he journeyed about the land, examining with his own eye the records of the settlement, which was now on the eve of completion, the present writer well remembers the intuitive glance that singled out the weaker portions of the work, and the sagacity and kindness with which remedies were suggested.

While Mr. Thomason held this post at Allahabad, Lord Ellenborough formed his acquaintance, and recognized his merits. He appointed him a member of the famous Finance Committee; and soon after, (about the close of 1842.) selected him for an office of equal emolument to the one he held, but of greater renown, that of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. In this capacity, he accompanied Lord Ellenborough to the North West, and finally returned with him to Calcutta. The following year, that nobleman, with full experience of his eminent abilities, nominated him Lieut.-Governor of the North Western Provinces; and on the 12th December, 1843, the Honorable James Thomason assumed the Government.

As Lieut.-Governor, the chief seat of Mr. Thomason's residence was Agra; but excepting the first year of his appointment, and 1848-49 (when military operations rendered carriage scarce and valuable,) he spent every winter, living under canvass, and marching through some portion of his territories. He also passed at Simlah the summer seasons of four years, during which, between the circuit and the hills, Agra did not see much of her chief.*

* Those summers were 1847, 1849, 1850, and 1851. It was his intention to have spent the hot season of 1854 at Nynee Tal, the mountain retreat of Rohilkund and Kemaoon.

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But it was ill health on one occasion, and the convenience of proximity to the Governor-General on the other, that led him to Simlah; for he rather preferred to remain at Agra, where, besides other advantages, his library and records presented greater facility of reference.

The eight annual progresses accomplished during his administration were so laid out, that most of the districts were, after regular periods, visited no less than three times. The arrangements of the coming march were usually concluded two or three months before its commencement; and so exact were the details, and adhered to with such punctuality, that the time of his arrival at any stage could be depended on by every officer with almost perfect certainty. The progress of the camp might be delayed by inclement weather for one or two days, but the loss would easily be made up by forced marches, and punctuality again restored.

One great secret of Mr. Thomason's successful administration was the improvement of the opportunities afforded by these annual tours. As he rode along, attended by his staff and some of the officers of the district, by the Commissioner of the division, (if sufficiently young and agile for horse exercise) and possibly by some adventurous junior member of the Board of Revenue, you would see a cavalcade approach. It is the Magistrate and Assistant of the new district on which you are entering, followed by the Tehseeldar and a few other officials. After greetings exchanged, for the two parties have not met since the last triennial progress, the officers of the last district take their leave, and the Lieut.-Governor continues his progress. A few miles ahead, the white battlements of a bridge are perceived through the mango-groves; and as the party approaches, they find themselves threading the narrow road-way of a high embankment, pierced here and there with bridges for the drainage of the lovely low-lands, which on either side stretch far away into the distance. Midway is the silvery track of the main stream winding along the centre of the plain, and spanned by many noble arches, which render its passage, formerly a difficult and sometimes dangerous work, now of easy accomplishment at all seasons. The minor works are here and there minutely inspected, and the position and safety of the embankment discussed with the Commissioner and the Engineer of the division, both of whom, as arranged on the previous tour, have given the Magistrate counsel and aid. Arrived at the central bridge, the party descend to the stream; and here, at the motion of the Magistrate, the head mason of the establishment, to whose faithful-

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ness and ingenuity the finish and solidity of the structure are mainly due, steps forward. The merits of the building, the causes of early failure, the remedies applied, the chances of future stability or dilapidation, are thoroughly examined. Each of the agents in the work, not forgetting the artizan, receives his meed of praise, and is encouraged to future exertion by the approving word and smile of the chief.

The cavalcade passes on to the suburbs of a populous town; the winding streets of its closely built wards have already been surveyed and mapped by the Road Engineer, for the Grand Trunk line passes through it, and the Lieut.-Governor thinks that the safety of life and limb, in the swift and constant traffic, requires a wider space and a less crooked course than the bazar presents. The anxious shop-keepers look on with dismay, but the interests of the few must bend to those of the many, and this sharp angle, and that narrow passage, are doomed to crumble before the necessities of the State.

A little onwards is a vacant space; and here a native gentleman, who has lately joined the party, comes forward. On this spot he proposes to build a caravanserai, but he requires some immunities from the Government, which the Magistrate hesitates to recommend. The quick eye of the Lieut.-Governor recognizes the appropriateness of the spot and the advantages of the plan. The privileges are conceded, and the next progress witnesses a spacious and substantial building for the shelter and comfort of the crowding passengers.

The Tehseelee school, filled with eager and intelligent faces, is now visited. The kind and benignant smile removes the awe with which the ruler is regarded; and the teacher is cheered, and the boys stimulated, in their respective tasks, by seasonable advice and hearty encouragement.

Here a newly-erected Tehseeldaree engages attention; there is the police-houses on the Grand Trunk road, which, with the regularity of mile-stones (but only half as frequent,) ever and anon strike the eye of the carriage inmate, while they give security and assurance to the foot traveller. Farther on, lies a refractory village, lately the scene of uproar and confusion: the record of its rights and liabilities has now been adjusted, and the prosperity shining over its cultivated fields gives assurance to the Lieut.-Governor that satisfaction has been afforded.

The way now winds around ravines, and passes up and down over the high and difficult banks of a deep-lying stream. Here is met the Superintendent of the district roads, a quondam Serjeant, who points out the track he has surveyed under the

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Magistrate's orders. The Lieut.-Governor suspects a course of intercepted drainage, and suggests another line, along which the water-shed appears to run. On the next tour the same locality is hardly to be recognized in the wide and gradual descent to the well-bridged river.

The encampment happens to be pitched within a few miles of the Ganges canal. In the cool of the evening, the party issue forth, on elephants and on horse-back, and make for a bridge where a fall and a series of locks are under preparation. The heaps of kunker rock, intended to break the descent of the waters, the position and construction of the locks, the character of the masonry, all pass under the narrow inspection of the Lieut.-Governor, who observes perhaps that the neighbouring houses crowd too closely on the allotted margin, and directs the enclosure of a larger space.

The station, a heavily populated cantonment, is reached, of which the drainage has long been a reproach, and the bane of the fine European soldiery there cantoned. The canal now passes in the vicinity: can its agency, or the neighbouring Revenue Survey, be brought to bear upon a remedy? The Station Officers, the Executive Engineer, the Road Engineer, the Canal and the Civil Officers, all meet to discuss the question: a plan is digested, and put in train by the Lieut.-Governor himself.*

The new buildings and improvements in the native city are inspected. The dispensary is visited, and its records examined; the Apprentices are questioned; the Surgeon is encouraged to enlarge his charitable designs, and the Sub-Assistant is stimulated to prosecute with redoubled diligence and kindness his beneficent profession.

Such is but a specimen of the advantages of local inspection, and personal supervision, in imparting influence, shape, and precision to the commands of Government, and inspiring the whole subordinate agency with life, intelligence, and energy. The out-of-door labour, however, formed but a trifling fraction of the operations. All reports of the district, throughout the past year or two, involving doubtful points, or principles of unusual importance, were reserved for the occasion, and now brought forward to be disposed of, discussed, or reconsidered. Difficult cases, in which the District Officer was embarrassed by perplexities, or weighty matters, in which the Commissioner hesitated to act before knowing the views of his

* A measure, something of this description, was, we believe, set on foot at Cawnpore, but was still uncompleted at the time of Mr. Thomason's decease.

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chief, were now submitted for the advice or the decision of the Lieut.-Governor. Further, such points as enquiry or conversation suggested to Mr. Thomason himself as requiring special aid, supervision, or explanation, were brought forward, and the documents bearing on them promptly produced. All these were carefully studied, and the questions discussed, where necessary, with the District Officer and his subordinates, the Commissioner, the Judge, or, as the case might be, with the Executive Engineer or the Civil Surgeon. The results of each important deliberation were generally embodied in a minute, or despatch, by which, while the constituted channels of business were respected, authority was specially conveyed, and provision, where necessary, forthwith made, for the prompt execution of the determined line of conduct.

An incidental advantage, but one of peculiar value, was the acquaintance imparted by such intimate converse, with the qualifications and abilities of every officer subordinate to the Government. Mr. Thomason possessed a rare power of discriminating character, and no opportunity was so favorable for exercising it, as to find a man in the midst of his daily work. With unexpected rapidity, the Lieut.-Governor would perceive the weak point of a case or line of procedure; and the officer, if not thoroughly master of his work, would find himself foiled by one whom he counted upon as a stranger to his business, but who turned out to be more thoroughly acquainted with its details than himself. The earnest worker, and the aspiring subordinate, were recognized and encouraged. The *former* would be incited to prosecute, with redoubled energy, some occupation of his own devising, or for which his chief perceived in him a peculiar aptitude and taste: here the reins would be loosened, and a generous spur given to the willing laborer. To the *latter*, some special sphere of industry or research would be suggested—perhaps, the enquiry into an interesting custom or tenure brought to notice in the circuit: he would be invited probably to embody his investigation when completed, and to state his views and conclusions in a written form; and the impulse thus given to talent and application, would prove perhaps the starting point of a useful, if not distinguished, career.

At home or in the camp, in the hills or at Agra, the same continuous course of unwearying labour was pursued by Mr. Thomason. The daily influx of reports was usually disposed of promptly upon their receipt. Such despatches as needed

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consideration, were reserved for the early hours of the succeeding day, or other leisure time. The rapidity with which these were mastered—no important part of the correspondence, however long or intricate, escaping his keen eye—and the promptitude with which appropriate orders, often involving detailed and extended arrangements, were issued, could not fail to impress every functionary in the vicinity with a profound conviction of his great administrative talent. The most diverse subjects, from a riot to a district survey, from a revenue settlement to the details of a bridge, a jail, or a road, were handled with equal facility. The embryo idea of a useful scheme, perhaps almost unconsciously expressed, would immediately be caught up, and if capable of practical development, fashioned into mature existence. Independently, too, of suggestions from without, there was a creative power within, spontaneously originating new measures and designs, with a fertility of invention that betokened a mind ever restless and active for the good of the Government. Endowed with such powerful and versatile talents, Mr. Thomason yet sought assiduously for the opinion and advice of others wherever available. A great portion of his day was spent in official interviews with officers, civil and military, connected in any way with the advancement of his administration. Social visits and parties of ceremony were equally turned, as occasion offered, to the same great object; and he used to remark, that the busy employment of such opportunities was one of the most important parts of his duty. Though he invited discussion, sought for the views of others, and desired that his own should be subjected to the severest criticism, and although he weighed most dispassionately the arguments adduced from whatever quarter, yet it was seldom, indeed, that he found occasion to alter a conviction or a conclusion once deliberately formed. Whenever he did so, he was forward to make the due acknowledgement; for no man ever grudged less to avow himself indebted to others; and the labors of his subordinates were all the more unsparingly entered upon, because, whatever value they bore, the Lieut.-Governor was the first to perceive and to reward; such generous appreciation, accorded by one who ever exhibited a lively interest in the success and the welfare of his subordinates, elicited from them a grateful response; and he received, in consequence, that ready and devoted service—the fruit of a loving and admiring spirit—which is incomparably more valuable than the forced obedience of fear and constraint.

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It is no wonder, that with such powers of discernment, with so great an aptitude for business, with such a command over the services and affections of his subordinate officers, and such complete devotion to his Government, the administration flourished under his hands. No wonder that the indolent were stimulated to exertion, the able and energetic prompted to additional effort, and the careless driven by shame, if not by apprehension, to industry and reform. Praise frequently carried with it a higher reward than promotion, (albeit the two bore ever a close connection;) while animadversion and reprimand were often accompanied by a moral stigma, that stung more pungently than actual degradation.

We propose now to examine with more detail some of the chief proceedings, by which Mr. Thomason rendered his administration so illustrious.

The REVENUE DEPARTMENT is that to which his attention was earliest turned, and from which it was never averted. About the time he assumed the Government, the Circular Orders of the Sudder Board of Revenue (for the broad principles, liberal views, and lucid instructions of which, we are mainly indebted to the lamented R. M. Bird,) fell out of print, and their want began to be felt. Instead of issuing a new edition, it occurred to Mr. Thomason to compile a fresh set of directions, which, supplying what was deficient in the Board's rules, should exhibit the whole duty of a Revenue Officer, and the principles on which our system is founded.* The publication, consisting originally of three parts, commenced in 1844, and

* In the preface to this work, after referring to the Regulations and Acts of Government in its legislative capacity, and the orders issued in its executive capacity, the rules and constructions of the Sudder Court, of the Revenue Board, the Accountant, and the Civil Auditor, the Lieut.-Governor proceeds :—

"The object of the present work is to collect together, from these different sources, all that bears on the Revenue Administration of the North West Provinces, to arrange it methodically, and to place it authoritatively before the officers employed in the department, with such additional remarks and directions, as may suffice to explain the mutual relation and dependence of the several parts of the system."

So, after enumerating the four printed Circulars of the Sudder Board of Revenue, he adds :—

"These orders were clear and succinct, and were found to be of the greatest benefit in facilitating the transaction of public business. They were, however, in their nature, incomplete, for they did not treat systematically the subjects to which they had reference, but were only a digest, under convenient heads, of orders which had from time to time been issued to meet exigencies as they arose. In process of time, also, some of the rules were abrogated or modified. When, therefore, a new edition of these Circular Orders was required, it was evident that extensive additions and modifications would be necessary to adapt them to the existing state of things, and it was ultimately determined to re-construct the whole in the present form, embodying in the work such of the orders as remained in force, or throwing them into the appendices."—*Directions to Revenue Officers, Preface*, p. 4.

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the whole was completed in 1848. Of each part at first were printed "a few trial copies, struck off for *private* circulation, in order" (as it was his constant object,) "to elicit opinions on the important subjects" discussed.* The *Directions to Settlement Officers*, and the *Directions to Collectors*, were eventually published, as conveying, in an authoritative manner, the views and instructions of the Government. They were subsequently re-published together,† with an elaborate introduction (to which Mr. Thomason appended his own name,) descriptive of the "Land Revenue Administration prevalent in the North Western Provinces of Hindustan." It is there held, that though symptoms of proprietary right may, under Native Governments, exist, yet they are seldom recognized, and are really superseded by the right of the State, which, taking all that it can, and leaving no certain profit, deprives the private title of any recognizable, or at any rate of any marketable, value. Our system, by limiting the demand of the Government, has virtually *created* a property in the soil. Various phases of right are found to exist, or have grown up under us. The Government itself; the whole body of the cultivators; a portion of that body; the head man of the village; or a middleman; may any one of them possess the exclusive right of managing the township, or some portion of that right. Hence the necessity of not simply fixing the Government demand, but of ascertaining by whom, in what capacity, and with what rights and responsibilities, the revenue so limited is to be paid. This cannot be effected by ordinarily constituted courts, for the endless shades of right are not susceptible of any but the most general legislative provision; and each case must be separately enquired into and adjusted by a commission specially endowed with an authority at once judicial and discretionary. Such is the court of the settlement officer. In the treatise which follows this disquisition, the rules to be observed in the formation of settlements are carefully laid down. They differ chiefly from those of the Board in a more elaborate and philosophical definition of the rights of those connected with the soil, and detailed directions for their ascertainment and record.

The second treatise, or the *Directions to Collectors*, embraces all the variety of duty which devolves on that most important, but ill-named, class of functionaries. It opens with

* "Preliminary Notice" to one of the Trial Copies.

† Under the title, *Directions to Revenue Officers*, &c., in 1850. See title prefixed to this Article. Several editions of an Urdu translation of both parts separately, and of the whole treatise together, have also issued from the press.

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general instructions for the employment and considerate treatment of subordinates ;* it proceeds to lay down valuable rules for the punctual realization of the revenue, for limiting interference by Government, and thus forcing the people as much as possible to self-management ; and in case of unavoidable interference, for exercising it so as least to harass, and most to benefit, those concerned.

Of the remaining portion of this invaluable treatise, we shall refer only to the third section, which enforces the system for registration of landed property. A former paper in this *Review*† has ex-

* A witness before the House of Commons has gratuitously asserted, that Mr. Thomason was not particular in treating the natives of this country with consideration. The case adduced in support of the assertion is that of a Tehseeldar, whose sentence of dismissal for the offence of raffling his property is alleged to have been supported by the Government, while a Magistrate and Collector, who had committed a similar crime, was only reprimanded. At the most the case of the Tehseeldar would not prove inconsiderate treatment, but they who ought to know best, have never heard even of the existence of the case. The facts are as follows : It happened that several Tehseeldars were removed from their posts on strong presumption of delinquency, under sanction of the Commissioner, but were reinstated by the Board of Revenue. The Commissioner remonstrated to Government. Mr. Thomason did not interfere with the orders of the Sudder Board, but cautioned them against the inexpediency of forcing back upon a district men in whose character its officers had no confidence, and who had been declared corrupt by two tribunals. The Sudder Board did not much relish the advice. The evidence noticed above was given by a gentleman who was a member of the Board at the period referred to.

The following extracts show with what care Mr. Thomason inculcated kindness towards the native officials :—

" Every effort should also be used to render the performance of their duties as little as possible burdensome to them. The officer, who keeps them long in attendance at his house, or who requires that they perform their ordinary duties in court in a painful standing position, cannot derive from them that degree of assistance which would otherwise be rendered. He should so dispose his own time, and make his official arrangements, as may conduce to their comfort, and make their work light. The practice of frequently imposing fines for trivial offences cannot be too strongly deprecated. It affords an excuse for dishonesty, and for that cause often fails to have any effect. Errors of judgment should never be so punished, and corrupt or dishonest actions deserve a very different punishment, and cannot be thus either appropriately or beneficially noticed. In cases of neglect or disobedience of orders, the imposition of a fine may be salutary, but it should be moderate in amount —the offence should be undoubted, and generally the first transgression of the kind can more appropriateiy be noticed by recorded reproof and warning."

And again—

" Great care should be taken to maintain the respectability of the Tehseeldars. They should be selected with discrimination, and after enquiry into the goodness of their character, as well as their official capacity. They should always be received and treated with consideration, and confidentially consulted, as far as conveniently practicable, on all subjects connected with the districts entrusted to their charge. Reproof or censure, when necessary, should be given privately rather than publicly ; and, so long as they are allowed to retain office, they should be treated with the confidence and respect which is due to their high station. The occasions are very rare, in which the imposition of a fine upon a Tehseeldar is advisable or even justifiable."—*Directions to Collectors*, pp 187—189.

His own practice, in a pre-eminent manner, enforced these principles. His courteousness and consideration equalled, if it did not surpass, that of any other officer, in any rank, we ever met with ; and, excepting this solitary attack, we have never heard the imputation against him either of incivility or of harshness.

† See Article IV. in No. XXIV. of the *Calcutta Review*, on the Settlement of the North Western Provinces.

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plained, in considerable detail, the minute record both of proprietary and tenant right, which it was one great object of the revenue settlement to form. The first design of the section is to show in what manner this record can be amended and perpetuated, so as to be constantly correspondent with the daily mutation of possession and of right. The anatomy of the Collector's record-room, and the practical directions for every step, from the papers of the Village Accountant, to the archives of the Collector's office, betray the eye and the hand itself familiar with every operation described. But the most important instructions are those which exhibit how the too frequent defect of record at settlement can now be remedied. For those who possess any acquaintance with the subject, the following paragraphs will show the style and spirit, with which able officers were invited to enter upon an arduous undertaking :—

245. It would be vain to suppose that all which is necessary has already been done. The original record, formed at the time of settlement, was often erroneous and imperfect, and it could not be otherwise. At the time of settlement the system was new and imperfectly organized; the persons selected for its performance were not always the best qualified; and the work was necessarily performed with far more rapidity than was compatible with accuracy. The mass of the people were ignorant, and unable to comprehend the object or nature of the proceedings, or the bearing on their position of the settlement, and they were moreover suspicious of any measures connected with the assessment of their lands. Under these circumstances, it is surprising that so much was done, and well done at the time of settlement. There is far more reason to take courage from the great progress already made, than to despair at the magnitude of what still remains to be done.

246. Let us suppose an intelligent officer appointed to the charge of a district, where he is likely to remain for some years. He is acquainted with the system of registration, and convinced of the importance and practicability of maintaining it. On coming, however, to refer to his settlement records in cases that casually occur, he finds them imperfect or erroneous. He concludes that registers resting on such a basis must be defective, and he determines to apply himself in earnest to the correction of the errors. It is the design of the present treatise to aid him in such an undertaking, and to show that it is not difficult at any time to make a fresh commencement, and to attain that degree of accuracy, which it was designed to ensure at the time of settlement.

247. He will find the necessary powers conferred upon him by a resolution of the Government, dated September 12, 1848, which is given in the Appendix, No. XXV. In this resolution are defined the limits within which the powers are to be exercised, and the precautions to be observed in the conduct of the investigations. In order to obtain the full support of his superiors in the Revenue Department, it will be necessary for him to show that he is aware of the nature and extent of the work that is before him, and of the method in which it should be performed.

248. His first efforts should be directed to the instruction of his Sudder Omlah, and of both the pergunnah and village officers, in the system of record and registration prescribed by the Government. Great facilities

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have been lately afforded for the instruction of all classes of people in the peculiarities of the system, by publishing treatises on the subject in the vernacular languages, and by the series of elementary school-books in Urdu and Hindi which are designed to lead the pupils to this very subject, viz. the comprehension of the putwarris' papers. The revenue system, when rightly understood and properly worked, affords the greatest stimulus to the general education of the people. Indeed it cannot be expected that the registration of rights will ever become perfect, till the people are sufficiently educated to understand it, and to watch over its execution. There is reason, however, to apprehend, that with all the means of information that are now available, a considerable time will elapse before it can be taken for granted that even the higher and better paid class of officers, such as Serishtadars, Tehseeldars and Canoongoes, are sufficiently familiar with the system, to enable them to judge whether the record of a mouzah has been accurately formed, or to cause its correction where it may be faulty.

249. When the Collector is satisfied that the agents, whom he is to employ, possess the requisite degree of knowledge, he will endeavor to ascertain through their means how far the existing records are defective. Lists should be prepared of those mouzahs, in which it is most necessary to amend, or wholly to recast the record. Some will probably be found, in which re-measurement of the lands, and the formation of an entirely new misl is urgently required.

250. Several opportunities will occur, when re-measurement and re-casting of the whole records is necessary, and can be enforced, such as the division of an estate, or its being held kham for a balance. These opportunities should be seized, and the remedy applied. There are other cases where disputes of the people, or partial injury to the estate, will render the people willing to re-measure the estate, and re-cast the papers at their own cost. These are likely to be the cases in which such a process is the most necessary. Every effort should be used to carry it on, so as to be least expensive to the people, and so as to expose them to the least annoyance. Pains should also be taken to explain to the people the benefit they will derive from the measure, and the uses to which it may be put. The field work should be prosecuted as much as possible in the cold weather, when the Collector can give it his personal superintendence. If he cannot himself be near to control and supervise, a properly qualified subordinate officer should have the duty entrusted to him.

251. It is most probable that he will thus, in the course of a short time, by address and management, be able to correct all the records which most need correction, without any expense whatever to the state. Each such new record will afford, as it were, a fresh start to the entries in the malgoozaree and pergunnah register regarding the mouzahs, and to the whole of the putwarris' papers. The operation will in fact consist in the formation of a new set of putwarris' papers, based on the judicially ascertained state of property in the village at the time, and not deduced from the record of a former year, as is ordinarily the case. The opportunity will not have been lost of instructing the putwarris in the discharge of their duties, and of pointing out to the people how much their welfare depends on themselves understanding the putwarris' accounts, and being careful to ensure their accuracy. If the people do not seem willing at first to re-measure their estates and correct their records at their own expense, it may be necessary to apply to superior authority for permission to aid the work on the part of Government, by charging, in the contingent bill, a part or the whole of the expense in some mouzahs, where the people are the poorest, or the most averse to the proceeding. It has

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been found in some districts, that the putwarris may be instructed with little difficulty to measure the land, prepare field maps, and perform all the work of experienced ameens.

The resolution of Government, referred to in the 247th para., as issued on the 12th September, 1848, confers upon all Collectors and Deputy Collectors, in these provinces, the power of "completing the record of rights in land, which should 'have been made at the time of settlement, and to correct 'the existing record, whenever it is found at variance with 'fact." This involves the exercise, under Regulations VII. of 1822, and IX. of 1833, of a large discretion; and where exercised with the care and caution inculcated by the Lieut.-Governor, there is no reason to believe that results other than the most beneficial have followed. Yet the indiscriminate appointment to the duty of all Collectors and Deputy Collectors, irrespective of their fitness and capacity for it, has led, it may be feared, to the too summary, and sometimes careless exercise of powers, which involve deeply important questions of property and possession.

During the last year of his administration, Mr. Thomason put every effort in force to introduce into his jurisdiction the system so admirably devised and matured in the Punjab, by which village putwarris are enabled, with rude implements, and yet with a degree of scientific accuracy, to survey their boundaries, and protract their fields upon scale. He at once perceived the vast advantages of the scheme in providing a simple and uncostly machinery, by which the records might not only be cured of the defects of the original survey and settlement, but made effectually to keep pace with the busy changes of time. He regarded it also as an important step in native education, and endeavoured to connect it with the system of village schools under Mr. H. S. Reid's care. We have here a fine instance, at the close of his career, of readiness to recognize means contrived by others, and of superiority to prejudice in casting aside the older system, which had grown up under his hands, and heartily and thankfully adopting the new.

There is but one other point in his Revenue Administration, to which we shall specifically refer: it is the position of *Talookdars*, that is, of persons claiming one or more villages, or a large tract of villages, in virtue of a superior right by conquest, by submission of the people, or by imperial grant. The claim is frequently contested by the village residents under the title of Zemindars, Biswahdars, or Mocuddums. The utmost variety of opinion has divided the revenue authorities as to which of these parties is best entitled to be acknowledged proprietor. It was

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at last ruled, with the concurrence of the Sudder Court, that it is possible for two species of proprietary right, differing essentially in kind, to co-exist in the same village,—that of Talookdar as *superior*, that of Biswahdar or Mocúddum as *inferior*. The law leaves it in the discretion of the executive power to decide with which, among any number of proprietors, the settlement (involving the management of the estate) shall be made. Those who leant to the Talukdar, recognized *him* as either sole Zemindar, or as the manager, with the Biswahdars holding dependently of him:—those again who leant to the Biswahdars, either installed them in exclusive proprietary right, or acknowledging the title of the superior, set him aside with a money allowance, and concluded all the fiscal arrangements direct with the inferior proprietors. Mr. Thomasoń belonged to the latter number; and as his earnest spirit never suffered him to indulge in half measures, but led him to follow out his principles to their extreme limit of appliance, it was held by some (who sided with neither of the extreme parties,) that in anxiety to do justice to the claims of the Biswahdars, he was backward to acknowledge the just rights, or fulfil the reasonable expectations, of the Talukdars. This bias may be perceived in his decision, embodied in an elaborate minute recorded early in his government, by which the standard of remuneration to excluded Talukdars was reduced, after the death of incumbents, from 22½ per cent. to 10 per cent. upon the Government Juma.* Similar principles guided him in the settlement of resumed rent-free lands, in which the claims of the resident community, wherever supported by any vestige of proprietary possession, were preferred, to the exclusion of the Maafidars. But in this instance, we have little sympathy with the excluded party, for the former Government in conferring the maafi tenure of lands already occupied, could evidently dispose of its own right alone to the imperial share of the produce, and not of any further interests which remained, or ought to have remained, unaffected by the grant.

Time would fail, if we were to refer in any detail to the excellencies of Mr. Thomason's Revenue Administration—to some of the most striking despatches, for instance, in which he

* The minute is dated the 17th January, 1844. The question was long before the Court of Directors, whose decision Mr. Thomason awaited, though with full persuasion of the justice of the act, yet with some doubt as to the result. The Court eventually disallowed the reduction during the currency of the settlement, wherever it was not borne out by express stipulation, but decreed that it should thereafter take effect.

It is remarkable that this order arrived only a few weeks after Mr. Thomason's demise.

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provided for an equable and moderate assessment; for an efficient distribution of establishments; for the convenient adjustment of intermingled boundaries and jurisdiction; for the due enforcement of the customs revenue (which under him reached an unwonted prosperity); for the preparation of district maps, English and vernacular, showing every village boundary; for perfecting the system of proprietary records, and rendering them accessible to the public; for the survey and disposal of waste lands; for the settlement of disputed rights; for encouraging industry and the investment of capital by the conferment of a good title where none existed; for the improvement and elevation, in fine, of each branch of that complicated machinery, through which the Indian Collector works upon the people. It will readily be imagined from what has been said, that his administration was vigorous and singularly successful; that while it descended to the minutest detail, it equally grasped the most comprehensive results; and that not only its current concerns were conducted on a liberal and sagacious policy, but that the provident eye of the Lieut.-Governor, seeing in advance of the present, laid down a mass of enlightened principles—principles which, if duly observed, cannot fail to guide the future enquirer, and to extend the blessings of his administration far beyond the influence of his own immediate acts.*

The Department of PUBLIC WORKS is the next we shall refer to, as peculiarly prominent under Mr. Thomason's Government. Endowed with a taste for mathematics, and with an engineering eye, he assumed a more decided authoritative part in all public works undertaken or proposed, than an unprofessional person would in general be warranted to take. Towards the remodelling of the Department of Public Works, which, instead of the dilatory and feeble machinery of a Board, should give him the prompt counsel and energetic supervision

* For some years he had been engaged upon a "Revenue Code," embracing the principles and procedure enunciated in the *Directions*, and followed in our present system of revenue administration. He had advanced a considerable way upon this work, when he was obliged by other occupations to abandon it. It is replete with sound principles, and the dictates of much experience and judgment.

Mr. Thomason's fame, as a Revenue Administrator, was recognized and done homage to, without the bounds of his own Government. He was consulted by the Administrators of other territories, whose condition widely differed from the North Western Provinces; and from whatever quarter, whether from Arracan, from Madras, or from the Punjab, enquiries came, they received the same prompt attention and ingenious solution. Some detailed and careful reasoning, founded upon a reference of this description from Salem, a district in Madras, shows that if he had been spared he would have gone to that Presidency, ready and able to cope with the difficult revenue questions which perplex the Government.

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of an able engineer in immediate connexion at once with himself and with all the works in progress, he wistfully looked as a great onward step, both for the improvement of the country and for relieving the Government of a professional responsibility hardly attaching to its position.* He was not spared to see that change; for even yet it only looms in the distance, though we trust its realization draws speedily near. Deprived of a professional and responsible counseller, Mr. Thomason did not shrink from assuming the exercise of immediate and independent action wherever necessary. His admirable skill was manifest in the almost intuitive perception of the practicability and usefulness, or otherwise, of any project laid before him. After a deliberate survey of the plans and proposals, he promptly admitted or rejected the scheme. If acknowledged to be useful, and yet perhaps immature and uncertain in its details, directions would be given for further enquiry and developement; the papers, if sufficiently important, would be published, and discussion invited;† or the whole project would be thrown into the hands of some one of undoubted capacity, either to work into shape or to carry into effect. To every officer connected with the civil administration of the North West Provinces, numerous instances will occur of important works brought to a successful issue by such happy management. He particularly watched over the proceedings of the Road and Ferry Fund Committees, and liberally fostered every useful scheme they devised. His own fertile and ceaselessly-working mind not unfrequently itself originated conceptions, which were either at once carried out, or commended to the attention

* In a despatch to the Government of India, dated the 7th June, 1847, urging the appointment of a Chief Engineer, with reference to Lord Hardinge's sanction of an unlimited expenditure for the Ganges Canal, Mr. Thomason thus describes his position as Lieut.-Governor:—

"The necessary effect of the present state of things, is that in the superintendence of many public works, the Lieut.-Governor is thrown entirely on his own resources. Works involving much engineering skill are at present under construction in Rohilkhund, in Agra, in Nimar, as well as all over the country, under the Magistrates and Local Committees; and in forming an opinion upon these, the Lieut.-Governor is forced to depend upon his own knowledge, or the casual assistance which personal friends ungrudgingly afford. But he has no fixed responsible adviser, to whom he could at all times authoritatively refer, and on whose judgment he could implicitly rely."

We conceive that the strong, but just, statement of the case contained in this address, was effectual in bringing the subject to the favorable notice it is now receiving from a liberal administration.

† By way of illustration we may refer to a *Report on the High Road between Mhow and Saugor*, lately issued from the Agra Press, with correspondence regarding a raised, but not metalled, track proposed by Capt. Lake. The Lieut-Governor's remarks, embodied in the concluding letter from the Agra Government, dated the 25th August, 1853, will furnish a specimen of the usual and every-day orders elicited by proposals of this description. The support of the proposed line by tolls, and the necessity of obtaining the co-operation of native states, are prominently noticed.

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and enquiries of the local officers. Thus during the past year, he projected two roads, one joining Pilibheet with Agra, by a line running through Bareilly and Budaon, the other uniting the Saugor territories with the Doab, viâ Kallinjer in the Banda district; so as to open up to fertile but ill accessible tracts, a new and large drain for their commodities.* To the Bombay and Agra road, though cramped by limited resources, he devoted a minute attention; and one of his latest acts was to secure the approval of the Supreme Government to a scheme, by which, at increased expense, it will be rendered greatly more effective. His proposals also regarding the Mirzapore Deccan road, were carefully matured, and if carried out, would place it (though at a great expenditure,) almost upon the footing of the grand trunk line. He took much interest in the opening of a good approach over the Tewalick range to Dera and Mussoorie, and both by public aid and private suggestion, sought to forward the undertaking. These are mentioned but as specimens: to enumerate all the important works which he originated or materially aided, would swell this article beyond all reasonable bounds.

The Grand Trunk Road, however, demands some special remarks. Its excellent condition is mainly owing to the arrangements for constant supervision enforced by the late Lieut.-Governor. Under his sanction, small bungalows have been erected at short distances for the shelter of the overseers; and without these, frequent visits and effectual control over the native workmen, during the severity of the hot and rainy seasons, would have been impossible. His liberal policy provided a wide margin to the line, both for its own works, and the protection of the land-holders from encroachment. Serious difficulty occurs in procuring *kunkur* or metal, from lands owned by private individuals; and here the operations of the Engineers were facilitated by his wise and consistent counsels. In widening the road and bridges, in straightening and enlarging its passage through crowded towns and bazars, as well as in various minor arrangements for the accommodation of the trains of waggons and carriages which move upon it, he had of late instituted many marked improvements.

* The second instance here quoted, presents a characteristic example of the mode in which Mr Thomason treasured up, for years, the embryo of a likely scheme, till the time had arrived for its execution. The idea of the Jubbulpore road through Banda was started by Lieut. Briggs of the Engineer Corps, and communicated to Mr. Thomason in a private note, written in 1848. The public finances, or other considerations, prevented the immediate adoption of the project; but the letter was carefully treasured, and now that obstacles to its completion were removed, was printed and circulated to all the authorities concerned, with a letter inviting suggestions for the promotion of the design.

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But the chief advance consists in the admirable protective measures, which enable the thousands of travellers to pass in security along this road, under the guardianship of a regular patrol, stationed at every two miles at police posts.* Encamping grounds for the accommodation of troops marching on the line have also been set aside, and marked off at convenient distances; and store-houses of wood and provisions erected on the spot.† Thus not only the troops themselves march with greater comfort, but the advent of a regiment is not now (what we can recollect it within the last ten or twelve years to have been,) a signal to the tehseeldari myrmidons for extortion and oppression, enabling them to levy subsidies of grain, and to fell the cherished trees of the people, under pretence of supplying the troops with fire-wood and provisions. Mr. Robert Montgomery has much of the credit of maturing the scheme, and Lieut.-Colonel Steel, C. B., (one of the most willing of Mr. Thomason's working staff,) has ably carried it out; but both needed the guiding hand of their master.‡ Where the system is worked with any degree of attention, it is hardly possible that oppression of the kind alluded to can again occur.

To WORKS OF IRRIGATION, where engineering skill is employed, directly to enhance the productive value of the soil,

* One of his late acts was to organize from the Ferry Funds, (which he regarded as legitimately applicable to the guarding of the main roads,) a large augmentation of the chowkidari force upon the Grand Trunk line. The despatch containing this order, with detailed instructions regarding the chowkidars, was printed and circulated.

† The encamping grounds, it has been Mr. Thomason's especial care to have set apart in every line by which troops are accustomed to march, and their advantages are patent, as a simple expedient at once for convenience, and for preventing encroachment on private lands and fields. The store-houses, however, can only be put in full operation, where the demand is sufficient to encourage speculators to contract for the requisite supplies.

‡ See *Report of the Arrangements made for the Grand Trunk Road, in the Cawnpore district, by* R. MONTGOMERY, ESQ., C. S., *Agra*, 1849. Several of Colonel Steel's *Reports on the Progress of the Arrangements* have been published, and will show what has been done, as well as the great need that existed for reform.

Although the rules of the Supreme Government have all along been most stringent for the full payment of all carriage, provisions, wood, &c., required by troops, it was notorious that they were in great measure unheeded; and, indeed, so long as good arrangements on the part of the Civil Officers are not in force, one can hardly blame the half-famished sepoy, jaded by a long and weary march, for carrying off summarily the means of satisfying his hunger. We have seen the stores of wood, the scene of a regular storm, carried away without the thought of payment, to the sad dismay of the unfortunate supplier. The natural consequence was, that the loss fell eventually on the surrounding villages. Such practices are now unknown.

To make the wise rules of the Government of India universally known, both for the warning of the military and encouragement of the Civil Officials, Mr. Thomason compiled with great care all the orders and rules bearing on the subject, and published them under the title, *Selected orders, Civil and Military, regarding March of Troops, the Mode of supplying them with Carriage, Provisions, &c., published by order of the Honorable Lieut.-Governor, N. W. P. Agra*, 1849.

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the comfort of the people, and their security from the ravages of famine, Mr. Thomason devoted, as it behoved an Indian Governor, an unusual share of his attention. Among his miscellaneous projects, we may allude to the survey of the environs of Delhi, organized with the object of reviving the ancient embankments, of which traces still remain, as well as of procuring a record of archæological interest, regarding the venerable capital of India. His efforts for draining the adjacent extensive swamp of Nujjufgurh, were, in the face of great difficulties, unremitting; and though not yet entirely successful, have still received their reward in the rich crops covering the soil, which has been laid bare by the escape of a portion of the waters. The operations in Ajmere have been explained to the public, both of England and of India, in *Colonel Dixon's Sketch of Mairwara*,* a work which owes its origin to the same suggesting mind that aided and forwarded the admirable measures there recorded. In an opposite direction, among the forests of the Rohilkhund Terai, and within sight of the snowy Himalayas, the energetic proceedings of Captain Jones for draining the marshy lands of that exuberant but neglected tract, and turning its precious but hitherto wasted streams to the purposes of irrigation, were watched and directed with equal care.†

The Nugeena canal in Bijnore, and the canals of the Dera Doon, no less than their greater and more important rivals, the Eastern and Western Jumna canals, engaged his lively interest. He was ever on the watch for suggestions to improve their efficiency;‡ and it is but within a few months, that his advocacy secured the approval of the Governor-General and the Court of Directors to a scheme upon a grand scale for straightening, at an expense of above a lakh and a

* See a review of this work in *Calcutta Review*, No. XXX., Art. IX.

† See *Calcutta Review*, No. IX, Art. III.

‡ A running memorandnm, we believe, of the progress of each work in repaying its outlay, was regularly kept up among his private memoranda.

During the past year, Mr. Thomason officially called the attention of Colonel Cautley to some valuable suggestions made privately by him more than five years before. We quote from this despatch, as it is another striking instance of the care with which schemes once started were treasured up, and reserved for the proper opportunity:—

"The project of a new canal from the Song river is a promising one. But there is another project of drawing water from the Buldi river, above the Sunsadurra, which once engaged attention, but has apparently now been lost sight of. The notice of this project is contained in a private note from yourself, dated March 9th, 1848. It has been carefully kept for many years, and is now placed on record to preserve it from oblivion." Colonel Cautley is then requested to have both worked out, and estimates framed, so that the report might be printed, "and remain for execution, when money and agency are forthcoming." His attention is also called to further suggestions made in a pamphlet published also under Mr. Thomason's authority—*Notes and Memoranda on the Water Courses in the Dera Doon, by Captain Cautley*, 1845.

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half of rupees, the tortuous course of a portion of the Eastern Jumna Canal, thus greatly adding to its efficiency, and diminishing the cost of its maintenance.*

Regarding these subjects, and indeed upon all engineering questions, Mr. Thomason placed a well-deserved and unlimited confidence in Lieut.-Colonel Cautley, the Superintendent of Canals in the North West Provinces, and the director of that great work, the GANGES CANAL, which is the creation of his own genius. If interested in the comparatively puny aqueducts above alluded to, it may well be imagined that this truly imperial undertaking called forth the full tide of the late Lieut-Governor's solicitude. Deeply persuaded of its vast importance, both in adding to the resources of the kingdom, and ameliorating throughout an immense extent of country, the horror of those famines to which the North West Provinces, from their uncertain climate, must be constantly liable, he acted upon the principle that all lesser interests may well bend before this object of paramount necessity. It was not that he assisted either in devising or in perfecting any of the engineering details: the merit of originating the grand conception, and of developing its various parts, belongs to Colonel Cautley, and to him alone. But to Mr. Thomason does belong the credit, which of itself would have rendered his administration famous; of grasping the idea in all its largeness and importance, and of representing the object, and advocating the claims of the work in so powerful a manner, (at the time when a stinted expenditure would have starved into insignificance the noble design, and a mistaken policy have reduced it to a mere boat-canal,) that the Government were persuaded to remove the restrictions imposed by Lord Ellenborough, the merits of the undertaking were fully recognized, and Colonel Cautley allowed a discretionary command of means, without bound or restriction.

The Ganges canal is so closely connected with the administration now under review, and its approaching opening invests it with so much present attraction, that our readers will probably not be unwilling to possess a short abstract of its history.

On the 23rd of May, 1838, Colonel Cautley submitted to the

* As a first step towards carrying through this great work, the Superintendent was invited to mature the design and to prepare a report upon it, in a popular form, comprehensible by unprofessional readers. Permanency and publicity were given to the result of this suggestion, which will be found printed under the following title—*Notes on the Levels of the Eastern Jumna Canal, explanatory of a Project for completing the Regulation of the Slope of the Canal bed, 1st May, 1852, Agra, by Lieut. W. E. Morton, Superintendent of the Eastern Jumna Canals.*

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Government of the North West Provinces, a series of levels taken by him a year or two before, with a view to test the possibility of pouring, for purposes of irrigation, a flood of water from the Ganges below Hurdwar into the Kali Nuddi at Bolundshuhur. Though this was reported to be impracticable, yet the idea of the Ganges canal had dawned upon his mind, and he solicited authority to carry on his investigations for supplying water to the "Mozuffernugger, Sirdana, and Meerut districts."* The reply, written by Mr. Thomason, under Lord Auckland's authority, states that "His Lordship 'is not prepared to expect much success in any attempt to 'draw a canal from the right bank of the Ganges. If, however, 'the object could be attained, the public benefit would be very 'great. It appears from Captain Cautley's letter, that the 'question can easily be set at rest, and it is highly desirable 'that it should be so without delay." The Military Board were accordingly instructed to give Captain Cautley a small establishment to prosecute his enquiries.

In 1840, Mr. Thomason, again at the Secretariat post, expressed to Captain Cautley, the Hon'ble Mr. Robertson's gratification at the result of his investigations, which were printed for general information. In 1841, Mr. Robertson recorded an enlightened and elaborate minute respecting the importance of the projected canal, "the practicability of which 'had, through Captain Cautley's unwearied zeal and talent, 'been satisfactorily established," and submitted to Lord Auckland repeated addresses, pressing the undertaking upon the Government. In the preparation of these, Mr. Thomason appears to have assisted.

On the 1st September, 1841, the Court of Directors, upon a review of the whole question, and guided by the recommendation of the Indian Government, accorded their liberal sanction to the project, estimated at above a million sterling; and Captain Cautley with vigor commenced the work. But a change soon came over the spirit of the Government; for upon the 29th April, 1842, Lord Ellenborough, from the

* A little sketch accompanies and illustrates this report, and in it a pencil dotted line, marked in Colonel Cautley's writing, the "*probable direction of head*," to pass by Roorkee, exhibits the singular sagacity of that distinguished Engineer, in *seeing* as it were, where other men conjecture and calculate.

It is curious to observe, that in the reply of Government, another object for which the establishment was also granted, is regarded as a much more likely and promising scheme, viz., a proposal to draw off *Rajbuhas* (or minor water-courses) from the chief rivers in the Upper Doab. These enquiries seem to have originated in a scheme of Captain Debude for irrigating from the Hindun and Kali Nuddi, but it was Colonel John Colvin, C. B., the Superintendent of Canals preceding Colonel Cautley, who left the idea of a canal from the Ganges as a legacy to his successor.—*Preface to Col. Cautley's Report on the Central Doab Canal, 12th May*, 1840.

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military bureau, directed the suspension of existing arrangements, on account of financial and *other* considerations; and, if this were capable of misconstruction, two months later (21st June, 1842), he issued positive orders from the Civil department, that pending "a further test to the scientific 'and financial calculations on which the scheme was based, 'all further expenditure was to be discontinued." It was represented, however, by the Agra Government, that to close at once all the progressing operations, would be to involve the state in a serious loss; and the Governor-General therefore consented (17th September, 1842), that existing works might be carried on, but at the paltry expenditure of two lakhs in the year.

Things continued on this unsatisfactory footing till the beginning of 1844, Captain Cautley being obliged, from the want of subordinate agency, to conduct with his own hands the drudgery of surveying levels and such like work. It was one of Mr. Thomason's early acts as Lieut.-Governor to remonstrate strongly (10th February, 1844) against this most uneconomical and extravagant misuse of the director's time and talents:—a waste of directing energy, which no private Company, acting simply for their own benefit, would have incurred. The scanty aid conceded by Lord Ellenborough in reply, was given grudgingly, and accompanied by the following strange misconception:—"*It is*," His Lordship said, "*with the view of making a canal of* NAVIGATION, *that the project has been sanctioned, and that sums for constructing it have been granted.* IRRIGATION *is to be a* SECONDARY *object, towards which, after the first object has been effected, the surplus waters are to be applied. His Lordship desires that this may be continually held in view.*" It is well that this nobleman had neutralized these false views, by the appointment, as his lieutenant, of an officer who would not shrink from exposing their fallacy; else the Ganges canal, for the chief end of its existence, might have sunk into utter inefficiency.

Mr. Thomason perceived the critical position, and addressed himself with determination to do battle for the canal. He visited the works, and after becoming thoroughly acquainted with their state, and the folly of prosecuting them in the present sluggish fashion, he promptly addressed the Governor-General, 11th April, 1844, and boldly pleaded the issue whether His Lordship's limit could be justified upon any grounds, either of sound policy, of economy, or of humanity. Hitherto this limit had not done much injury, for in the beginning of a great work, it is long before a sufficient supply of artizans

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and laborers can be procured. Now, however, " the fame of the work had spread :" carpenters, masons, artificers, laborers, had congregated from the most distant quarters—Oudh, Bhuttee, Marwara, &c. If the restriction be maintained, these must go away, " and the conductors of the work be discredited." Viewed in a *political* aspect, " the national reputation was pledged to its success." The many thousands assembled at the Hurdwar fair had seen the State " embarked in a gigantic undertaking," to turn the Ganges into the Doab ; and if the Government were baffled in the work, the prestige of our power and credit would be shaken.* Again, the Government was bound by motives of *humanity* not to delay a work certified as an effectual means of saving a great tract of land from famine ; yet the present sluggish rate would not complete this work within thirty or forty years to come, during the whole of which period the country would be abandoned to the inroads of drought and all its unmitigated horrors.† Mere *economy* demanded loudly that the operations should be expedited, in order that the expense of costly supervision might be saved. The two lakhs now expended were no more than the annual net income received direct from the Jumna canals. " Hitherto ' the Government have advanced nothing towards the Ganges ' canal from the general resources of the State. Notwithstanding the proof daily before their eyes of the benefits arising ' from canals, they have just done sufficient to commit themselves to the undertaking, but have shrunk from embarking ' in it with that zeal and determination which will bring its ' benefits within their reach." The Governor-General, who could lavish his thousands upon the Somnath gates, and " the favorite sweetmeat" of the sepoys, was moved by this potent reasoning to grant the petty subsidy of ONE *lakh more for one year !*

* This was a view which had evidently taken much hold of his mind ; for at the close of the following year, in reply to enquiries from the Court of Directors, he writes :—

"In the face of the whole Hindu population, assembled at the great Koomb" (or duodecennial,) " fair, the British nation stood pledged to this great work, gigantic in itself, but invested with peculiar importance in the eyes of our subjects from its connection with their sacred river, and favorite place of pilgrimage."

† Shortly after this despatch, Mr. Thomason addressed the Military Board on another aspect of this question. Sound policy demanded that the works should be substantial and secure, and the superintendence most effective ; for after a canal had once come into full play, and had caused in its vicinity a vast increase of population, corresponding with the increased productiveness of the soil, the failure of water arising from any oversight or blunder of the Engineers, must involve the unsuspecting people in all the horrors of an *artificial* famine. (*Letter dated 21st May*, 1844.) This is a most serious aspect of the case, and proves the urgent necessity of the works being efficiently officered, both as respects the *number* and *qualifications* of the supervisors.

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But the masterly State paper, of which we have given a sketch, was to receive a worthier treatment from more discriminating hands. In 1845, Lord Hardinge postponed the more vigorous prosecution of the work, simply from sanatory considerations, in expectation of the report of a committee appointed to investigate the effect of canal irrigation upon the healthiness of the adjacent country. The Sutlej campaign called away Major Baker (who occupied the place of Major Cautley while in England,) both from this committee and the canal. But the glorious success of our arms had no sooner freed Lord Hardinge from the cares of the field, than he nobly compensated for all the inaction, illiberality, and error that had preceded.

In March, 1847, Lord Hardinge visited the stupendous works of the Solani aqueduct, and having thoroughly entered into all Mr. Thomason's sentiments, shortly after recorded a minute which reflects honor on his Lordship's name. He abandoned navigation, except as a subsidiary object, and enunciated the principle that irrigation was the grand design, before which every thing must bend; and he declared himself ready to authorize the twenty lakhs a year, named by Major Baker, nay to sanction "*as large a sum for future years as the director could expend with a due regard to economy.*"*

The battle was now won. Minor lets and hindrances were easily overcome.† In 1850 the enhanced estimate of above a million and a half sterling was cheerfully passed by the Hon'ble Court. And thus, under the liberal policy of the enlightened nobleman now presiding over the Government of India, and under the careful patronage of his Lieut.-Governor, who at every check or difficulty was ready to advocate before his chief the claims of the canal, or to solve perplexities by his own suggestions, the magnificent work has progressed apace till the present day, when, on the verge of completion, the guiding and protecting hand, scarcely now required more, has been suddenly removed. Mr. Thomason was to have been present at the formal opening of the canal in the ensuing spring: but his work was done. And Colonel Cautley cannot but feel that the spirit which imparted life and energy,

* Minute by Lord Hardinge, dated 20th April, 1847.

† About the close of 1847, both the Court of Directors and the Governor-General (Lord Hardinge,) in view of the mighty proceedings in progress, expressed some hesitation ; but it was readily removed by the powerful representations of the Lieut.-Governor. The revised estimate, ungrudgingly passed by the Court of Directors, in their despatch dated the 2nd June, 1852, amounts to the enormous sum of Rs. 1,55,48,100. Mr. Thomason used, we believe, constantly to keep running accounts of the advancing expenditure among his private memoranda.

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and success to his great design, has departed, just as the canal was about to pour in millions of rivulets across the vast plain of the Doab its vivifying flood of luxuriance and plenty.

While Mr. Thomason was only the advocate and helper of the Ganges canal, he was the originator of the ENGINEERING COLLEGE AT ROORKEE.

Mr. Thomason was from the first deeply impressed with the necessity of providing, for the multitude of public works throughout the country, a staff of native engineers, possessing both professional knowledge and experience. In the beginning of 1845, he projected a scheme by which the most advanced pupils of the Agra and Delhi Colleges, or other candidates, might, under the guidance of Lieut. Baird Smith, and amid the works of the Eastern Jumna canal, add to their theoretical attainments a sound practical acquaintance with engineering. When the details were matured, the Lieut.-Governor obtained, but not without repeated appeals, permission to extend, "by way of experiment," the benefits of the proposal to three or four qualified youths.* Upon this was grounded the notification of the 9th October, 1845, constituting "a class of officers, to be denominated *Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers.*" The plan was found to work so well, that their number was increased from four to twenty.†

After Lord Hardinge had resolved on the vigorous prosecution of the Ganges canal, Mr. Thomason at once perceived how this great undertaking might itself prove the nursery of such an engineering body as he longed to raise up from amongst the indigenous materials of the country. He lost no time in developing the idea, and on the 23rd September, 1847, laid his proposal before the Supreme Government.‡ He dwelt

* It was in danger of being shelved along with a proposition of the Educational Department in Bengal, for the encouragement of Civil Engineering amongst the natives. But Mr. Thomason vindicated the special claims and advantages of the North Western Provinces as a Civil Engineering School.

† On the 22nd December, 1846.

‡ Colonel Cautley had apprehended the same idea so early as 1843, when, applying for a large number of well-educated and skilful artificers, he added that "they will not only be useful in themselves, but will establish a school for the ultimate supply of efficient workmen to the whole line of the canal." What is here proposed for the canal, Mr. Thomason organized for the whole of Hindustan.

The same letter suggests the further idea of work-shops, &c., likewise followed out by Mr. Thomason, "We shall require numerous workshops, store-rooms, &c., at Roorkee, which place I intend to establish as the head-quarters of the Ganges canal :"—he proceeds to recount the plans of workshops, model-rooms, &c., which his busy and practical mind had already designed.—*Letter dated October* 4, 1843.

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at great length on the requirements of the country—surveys, irrigation, application of water-power, navigation, roads, bridges, railways—objects for all of which it is impossible to provide European engineering skill. He appealed to the Government to avail themselves of the present opportunity to form a native class :—

The establishment now forming at Roorkee, near the Solani aqueduct on the Ganges canal, affords peculiar facilities for instructing Civil Engineers. There are large work-shops, and extensive and most important structures in course of formation. There are also a library and a model-room. Above all a number of scientific and experienced Engineer Officers are constantly assembled on the spot, or occasionally resorting thither.

These officers, however, all have their appropriate and engrossing duties to perform, and cannot give time for that careful and systematic instruction which is necessary for the formation of an expert Civil Engineer.

On these accounts the Lieut.-Governor would propose the establishment at Roorkee of an Institution for the education of Civil Engineers, which should be immediately under the direction of the Local Government in the Educational Department.

In conformity with this proposal, which was warmly supported by the Governor-General, the College was opened on the 1st of January, 1848, for the instruction both of Natives and of European soldiers, and Non-commissioned Officers.

In 1851, persuaded of the success of his scheme, and fortified by the support of the Committee upon the system of Public Works,* and of Sir Charles Napier,† Mr. Thomason projected a vast enlargement of the original plan, so as to include not only greater numbers of natives and soldiers, but likewise Commissioned Officers, both of the Royal and Company's services; the establishment of a depôt and work-shop for the repair of surveying and other scientific instruments;‡ a museum of economic geology, an observatory, a printing establishment, and other appurtenances to render the institution effective. These propositions were printed by His Honor in a brochure and submitted to the Governor-General, who accorded to them his hearty support. On the 2nd June, 1852,

* See their Report dated March 5, 1851.

† "The suggestion," writes Mr. Thomason, "of admitting to the College Commissioned Officers of both services, is due to His Excellency General Sir Charles Napier, in communication with whom the present scheme has been drawn out." Its ground-work is the same as that of the senior department of the Military College at Sandhurst, adapted to the Indian Army.—*Address to the Government of India, dated 28th August*, 1850.—*See also page* 17 *of the "Account of Roorkee."*

‡ This is a desideratum of more importance than at first sight might appear, in a country where there are no private establishments in which such instruments might be repaired. Their injury or disorder is now a continual obstacle to the advance of scientific enquiry and tuition.

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the Court of Directors communicated their sanction, and the whole scheme is now being carried into effect.

The influence which these establishments will have in the enlightenment of India and developement of her resources, in the progress of civilization and scientific enquiry, and in the advancement of the officers and soldiers of our army, cannot be over-estimated; and the credit of the whole belongs to Mr. Thomason. He naturally regarded the institution with a peculiar interest, and watched over it with a sort of parental pride and solicitude. The extensive quadrangle,* now being erected to complete the enlarged design, was to have been opened by him at the close of the following year, thus constituting, as it were, the last public act of his official career.

To the JUDICIAL AND CRIMINAL DEPARTMENT of his Government, the attention of Mr. Thomason was less directed than to the rest of his duties. We cannot point in it, as we can in almost every other, to any large measure of reform (excepting, *perhaps*, the Grand Trunk Road police,) involving either present great results, or the germ of future improvement. This was partly owing to the nature of the subject, which did not involve the abstract principles with which he delighted to work, or any national institutions on which his conservative mind loved to engraft his forward movements. At one point, where those institutions were approached, they trammelled, rather than assisted, his views. The chowkidar must belong to the *Village Community:* he must be remunerated by a small holding of the village lands: he must be the servant of the Zemindar: salary paid in cash direct from Government, would loosen the Zemindar's hold upon him; while a close surveillance of his proceedings would interfere with the independent action of the village institution. Perhaps such may be a specimen of all the reasons for which he shrank from a reform of our police system.

But it was impossible for a mind like his of whom we write, to preside over the Judicial Administration of the country, without introducing many improvements, and infusing a vigor into all its movements. The distribution of his agency was, for the most part, admirable;† the same prompt and searching

* See the elevation and ground-plan at page 20 of the *Account of Roorkee.*

† In judging of this question, it must be remembered that the covenanted materials were not of his own choosing. His task was to make the arrangement of them best suited for the good of the country. If sometimes parties who had proved inefficient in the magisterial and revenue charge of a *district* were readily

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orders were daily issued as in the Revenue Department. A careful amendment of local jurisdiction was effected wherever ill arrangement or intermixture impeded the administration of justice; and the subordinate agency was revised for the more efficient discharge of its duty. The police divisions were frequently enlarged, and from the saving effected by reduction in number, the salary of the police officers was proportionally increased. The district dáks were fostered by him. The management of the jails throughout the country was improved; and the Central Prison at Agra, under inspectors judiciously selected and guided by the Lieut.-Governor, has made an advance in prison discipline hitherto unknown in India.

A special and important feature of the administration is the extensive employment of Revenue officers in police and judicial posts. The tehseeldars have, in many districts, been invested with the power of daroga, and from their known respectability and character, have imparted a new stamp of credit and confidence to the police proceedings. So every Deputy Collector is constituted likewise a Deputy Magistrate, and numerous tehseeldars throughout the country have been installed in the same commanding position. The movement is undoubtedly in the right direction; but the conferment of magisteral powers has, probably, been too indiscriminate, and without a sufficient guarantee of character, or of the

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advanced to the Judicial Bench, it must be remembered that the same points which impair a Magistrate's usefulness (as want of promptitude and personal activity,) do not, in an equal degree, affect a Judge, and that the hesitancy, which often accompanies a high deliberative faculty, is directly prejudicial to the energetic management of a district. Nevertheless, it is possible that Mr. Thomason's leaning towards the Revenue Department may have induced him to favor it, upon the whole, with better officers than the Judicial.

It has been asserted in some of the public prints, that Mr. Thomason had a bias to promote men of a strong religious principle. No doubt, a consistent profession of religion had its weight among other qualities, in his estimate of a man's character, as profligacy or dishonesty had its share also. But as far as official requirements are concerned, we deny that a profession of religion or the reverse was an element which he took into consideration, in the distribution of patronage. High and honorable principle was the point he looked to, and wherever he found that, the only question with him for debate was the qualification of the candidates and their respective fitness for office. It is impossible, that any unprejudiced man acquainted with the society of Agra, and with the chief appointments held there within the last half-dozen years, could for a moment entertain the charge. As Mr. Thomason regarded no part of his as duty more onerous and unpleasant than the distribution of patronage, so we are assured that there was none which he exercised with a greater deliberation, or endeavored to discharge with a more single eye to the welfare of the state, or a sterner conscientiousness and disregard of private friendship, feeling, and partiality.

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knowledge required for the discharge of such grave functions, affecting everywhere the social body. The point is urged with the greater confidence, because the principle of a test of efficiency has already been conceded in the case of Covenanted Assistants, and there is no reason to stop its application there. A second objection is, that the new functions bring with them no increase of emolument, although they vastly add to the labor and responsibility, as well as to the dignity, of the officer holding them. In one district we have a Deputy Collector with the small and unimportant powers of an assistant; in the adjoining station, his brother Deputy has special powers, involving authority of greater magnitude; in a third, he is a full Magistrate, and cannot only imprison any of Her Majesty's dusky subjects for three years, but visit every Englishman, who commits a trespass, with a fine of 500 rupees, or in default thereof, with two months' imprisonment. In one pergunnah we have a tehseeldar employed solely in the quiet duties of a Revenue Collector; in the next he may have any of the magisterial powers we have just enumerated. Yet all are paid alike, without the slightest reference to their varied responsibilities. Surely this is inexpedient, if it be not unfair, and for a great Government unbecoming. The officer possessing the higher powers may be (and sometimes actually has been) remanded for neglect or misdemeanour to a *lower* grade of authority, yet no diminution of emolument ensues. Great devotion to his office may be followed by promotion to the higher grade, yet no increase of salary is gained. The service thus loses at once the stimulus to exertion, and the salutary dread of loss and degradation: while both officers and people are taught to regard, without estimation or respect, a power and office which it ought to be our great effort to invest with dignity and with influence. Such a course cannot fail of an injurious effect upon the Government itself.

In one respect, the government of Mr. Thomason has greatly benefitted the Criminal and Judicial Department in common with every other, viz., by the *publications, which under his authority issued from the press.* Of these may be noticed the *Memoir on the Statistics of the North Western Provinces*, by A. Shakespear, Esq., C. S., 1848; containing in a condensed form, the most minute information as to the area, revenues and population of each pergunnah and district. The results of a second census, made also under the careful and minute instructions of the Lieut.-Governor, on the last day

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of 1852, have since been published;* and contain the most valuable and accurate returns yet obtained in India.

In the first year of his government, Mr. Thomason forwarded to every Magistrate and Collector an invitation to throw together all the statistical and general information he could obtain regarding his jurisdiction, to be printed in a volume illustrated by maps and statements. Such a publication, he thought, would "form an official history of each 'district, and contain all that would enable the public officers 'of Government to understand the peculiarities of the district, 'and conduct of the administration." Minute directions were given how to arrange the various matter, statistical, historical, geographical, economical, educational,—regarding the current tenures, rise and fall of families, operation of special measures or laws, effect of the revenue and judicial systems, &c. Few officers have had the energy and skill to work out the plan:† but the *Statistical Report of Cawnpore*, by Mr. Montgomery, illustrates the wisdom of the design, and the usefulness of such a treatise for advancing and facilitating, in every department, the administration of a district. We earnestly hope that the conception will not be lost sight of, till we are furnished with a similar guide and official companion for every district in the provinces.

In other departments, we may notice the *Settlement Misl*, (1847) which forms a specimen of the papers required from first to last in the settlement of each of the prevailing classes of tenure, with a counterpart in English, (also 1847): The *Accountant's Manual*, by C. Allen, Esq., 1847: The *Civil Auditor's Manual*, by T. K. Loyd, Esq., 1851: *Satistics of Indigenous Education*, by R. Thornton, Esq., 1850; and *Comparative Tables of District Establishments in the North Western Provinces*, by

* See *Agra Gazette* of October 18th, 1853. The details of this census are now in the press in a volume, by Mr. G. J. Christian, Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue, through the agency of which Board the work was carried out. The instructions for this census were drawn up by Mr. Thomason himself with great pains, and no precaution was omitted for securing perfect accuracy. The whole was accomplished on the night of the 31st of December; and the result was carefully tested by the district officers and their subordinates.

† Only four have been yet published:—

Statistical Report of the District of Cawnpore, by R. Montgomery, Esq., C. S., 1849.
Ditto Ditto Ditto of Goorgaon, by Alexander Fraser, Esq., C. S., 1849.
Ditto Ditto Ditto of Futtehpore, by C. W. Kinloch, Esq., C. S., 1852.
Ditto Ditto Ditto of Kemaon and Gurhwal, by J. H. Batten, Esq., C. S., 1851.

A Report for Budaon, by Mr. Court, is, we believe, now in the press, and others, more or less answering the objects in view, have been prepared for Agra and Furruckabad.

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A. Sakespear, Esq., C.S. 1853.* These were the immediate results of the instruction or suggestion of the Lieut.-Governor, and have proved, and will long continue to prove, of special use to the public service. It would too greatly extend this article to enumerate the many other treatises of a less formal and elaborate nature: but there is one which we must not pass over. Mr. Thomason constantly met with valuable information and suggestions in miscellaneous reports, or scattered here and there throughout a wide correspondence; such papers had hitherto remained too often unnoticed and unknown, engulphed in the indiscriminate reservoir of all that is good, bad, and indifferent, the Secretariat Record Room. It occurred to him that, though not worthy of *separate* publication, these might yet be thrown together, aud published from time to time as *Selections from the Records of the Government.* This work, maintained to the present day, has given a permanent and public form to a vast variety of most useful and suggestive papers on all official subjects, revenue, police, judicial, engineering, statistical; and its practical usefulness has been recognized by the adoption of the same idea (though not precisely on the same principle), by the other Indian Governments.†

We must hasten to conclude this already too extended sketch, by a notice of Mr. Thomason's proceedings in the EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT. As respected colleges and station schools, the chief tendency of his proceedings was to abolish the latter, and to strengthen the former. He found the funds at his disposal inadequate to provide efficiently for both: and he wisely resolved that, instead of a number of ill-officered and unsatisfactory institutions scattered over the country, the Government should have a few large and superior colleges at convenient distances, accessible to each great division of the

* This work contains a vast fund of official information. The districts and offices are classed according to their comparative difficulty and amount of business: then the salaries and cost of management in each department are compared for each district throughout the provinces. Wherever an office is under-officered, or under-paid, the fact cannot fail to be thus brought to light: and complaints of over-worked amlah, formerly resting too much on the hap-hazard opinion of the recommending officer, can now be easily tested by the reasonable ground of comparison with similar business and establishments elsewhere.

† Almost all the papers that have issued under the name of "*Selections*" from the other Governments, have been complete and formal reports, which, under any circumstances, would have been published by the Government of the North Western Provinces separately, without reference to its selections, which were intended for extracts, miscellaneons papers, and scraps, otherwise liable to fall into oblivion. We believe that Mr. Thomason generally indicated with his own hand, the papers or extracts which he desired to publish in this series.

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province. It was also his hope that the field, wherever thus abandoned, would be occupied in a more efficient manner by private effort, indigenous as well as foreign.*

In the management of the Colleges, Mr. Thomason took a constant interest, and when presiding at their public examinations, seldom failed to deliver some pertinent remarks on the bearing of our educational measures, and the manner in which his young audience should improve their opportunities. The original views and erudite labours of Dr. Ballantyne received from him a discriminating and powerful support. He acknowledged the claims which the large section of the nation devoted to the study of Sanscrit possess upon the state, to recognize and foster whatever is true and exalted in their literature; and he had a lively persuasion that when once European learning and philosophy should be presented to the Brahminical mind in a comprehensible and attractive, because indigenous dress, the influence of the learned pundits upon the people at large would produce results of prodigious moment. He did not neglect the objections which a misapprehension of the Benares system has in some quarters created: but on the contrary encouraged the discussion of its merits among those best qualified to judge. Once convinced, however, of the justness of Dr. Ballantyne's position, he yielded him, despite of narrow-minded or utilitarian opposers, an unflinching support, to which, on the opening of that magnificent structure, the

* His sentiments on this subject, and their happy fulfilment with respect to one at least of the seminaries thus given up, are expressed in the following extract of an address made by Mr. Thomason at the examination of the Allahabad College, supported by the American Presbyterian Mission, in December, 1852.

"He said that the examination had been listened to with pleasure by all the auditors, but that to himself the display was peculiarly gratifying, because he saw before him the realization of all those anticipations which he had previously formed regarding the institution. A few years ago there was a Government school maintained in Allahabad. It was well endowed by the Government: it was countenanced and encouraged by all the high officers of Government then at the place. But he judged that that, as well as other similar institutions, did not bring a benefit to the state commensurate with the charge they entailed upon it. He felt that they came into competition with other schools, which would probably be maintained by private individuals, without any cost to the state, and that they so far discouraged, rather than promoted, the general cause of education. He therefore abolished those schools, and concentrated the efforts of Government on the improvement of the colleges maintained in our cities, where there was ample room for many educational establishments. He that day witnessed the result of this measure in Allahabad. The number of pupils in the Allahabad Government school was under 100, whilst there were 327 boys on the list of the Mission School. Many of these boys had attained a high proficiency in secular learning, and they also received that which the Government abstained upon principle (and he considered justly,) from imparting—sound and diligent instruction in the truths of Christianity." On this happy result he congratulated the authorities of the college, and paid a high and well-merited compliment to the successful and disinterested labors of the Mission from America.

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BENARES COLLEGE, raised under his administration, he gave a public and unqualified expression.*

But the measure which bears the peculiar stamp of Mr. Thomason's mind, and which, perhaps more than any other hitherto devised, will tend to the enlightenment and welfare of India, is the system established by him for encouraging the VERNACULAR AND INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS of the country.

In 1845, the Lieut.-Governor forwarded to every Magistrate and Collector in the provinces a circular order, in which, while they were generally charged with fostering the village schools, instructions were conveyed to ascertain and report the extent to which these institutions imparted education to the people. The directions, grounded on the plan pursued by Mr. Adam in Bengal, were, like all others emanating from Mr. Thomason's pen, so clear and practical, that within two or three years, a complete return of the whole educational institutions in the country was obtained.†

In 1846, Mr. Thomason addressed the Supreme Government, stating as the result of these enquiries, that "on an 'average, less than 5 per cent. of the youths who are of an 'age to attend school, obtain any instruction, and that instruc-

* It would be a graceful tribute to the founder of this college to give it his name, and farther to perpetuate that name in Benares by a Scholarship for combined proficiency in Sanscrit Philosophy, and English Literature and Science.

The sentences in which Mr. Thomason alluded in the opening of the college to Dr. Ballantyne's labours, are important, and deserve to be here extracted :—

Dr. Ballantyne assumed charge of the College in the beginning of 1846, and avowed as his object the formation of a class of pundits, who, skilled in all that is taught in native schools, should also have their minds so tinctured with European habits of feeling, as to be pre-eminent amongst their countrymen. In order to accomplish this object, he first himself mastered the Hindu Philosophy, and he ascertained how much of truth there was in it, and where error commenced. He, at the same time, made available to his Pundit pupils, the works of European Philosophers, and showed, by treatises of his own composition, how, advancing from the premises of Hindu Philosophy, the correct conclusions of European Philosophy might be attained. In following this course, he acted in consonance with the whole character of our administration in this country. We have not swept over the country like a torrent, destroying all that it found, and leaving nothing but what itself deposited. Our course has rather been that of a gently swelling inundation, which leaves the former surface undisturbed, and spreads over it a richer mould, from which the vegetation may derive a new verdure, and the landscape possess a beauty which was unknown before.

There is every reason why a similar course should be pursued in philosophy and literature. We have not found the people of this country an ignorant or simple race. They were possessed of a system of Philosophy which we could not ignore. Some persons, in the pride of political superiority may affect to despise it ; but it has roused the curiosity and excited the wonder of the learned in all countries of Europe. Dr. Ballantyne's publications enable the most superficial reader to discover that it possesses a depth of thought, a precision of expression, and a subtlety of argument, which are amongst God's choicest gifts to his creatures. These may be misused, but they may also be reclaimed, and devoted to the highest purposes."—*Speech delivered at the opening of the Benares College, on the 11th January,* 1853.

† The first return received was published ; *Report on the Indigenous Education in Futtehpore*, by Willliam Muir, Esq., 1846." The whole of the reports were subsequently abstracted in an able resumé of the proceedings by R. Thornton, Esq. : — *Memoir of the Statistics of Indigenous Education in the North Western Provinces.* In this volume will be found copies of the principal despatches, of which we are here obliged to give necessarily but a limited account.

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'tion which they do receive, is of a very imperfect kind." He proposed, therefore, at a cost of from two to four lakhs a year, to grant an endowment in land, for the support of a school in every considerable village throughout the country.* The Court of Directors, while concurring in the necessity for more extended means of district education, justly objected to endowments in land, as likely to become hereditary and inefficient. Such a system would, indeed, have proved cumbrous and unmanageable; it would probably have tended to perpetuate the drowsiness and errors of the native method, without any effective provision for the prospective introduction of truth and energy; and it could only have been the strong attachment of Mr. Thomason to the "Village Communities" of the North West, that led him to its advocacy.

In 1848, Mr. Thomason, taking advantage of the Hon'ble Court's expressed willingness to afford assistance, submitted another plan, in which endowments, either of land or money, were abandoned, and a system for stimulating indigenous schools by "advice, assistance, encouragement" and example, was substituted. Before the close of the year, the sanction of the Court was received to his experimental proposal (supported by the Governor-General,) that the scheme should be tried in a circle of eight districts around Agra, at a yearly expense of Rs. 50,000. The principles of the measure will best be understood from the following extract of orders issued on the 9th of February, 1850:—

No. 149 of 1850.

[*Head Quarters, General Department, the 9th February*, 1850.]

"RESOLUTION.

Enquiries, which have been lately instituted in order to ascertain the state of education throughout these provinces, show that the greatest ignorance prevails amongst the people, and that there are no adequate means at

* The following is a general outline of the proposal:—

Statistical enquiries, which have now extended over a great part of the country, show that the people are extremely ignorant, and that existing provisions for the education of the rising generation are very defective. On an average, less than 5 per cent. of the youth who are of an age to attend schools, obtain any instruction, and that instruction, which they do receive, is of a very imperfect kind.

The people are at the same time poor and unable to support school-masters by their own unaided efforts. It therefore becomes the duty of the Government to give them such assistance as may be best calculated to draw forth their own exertions.

The proposed scheme contemplates the endowment of a school in every village of a certain size, the Government giving up its revenue from the land, which constitutes the endowment, on assurance that the zemindars have appropriated the land for the purpose of maintaining a school-master.

This system is most in consonance with the customs and feelings of the people. The school-master will become a recognized village servant, elected and supported in a manner consonant with the usage of the village Community

An endowment in land is preferable to a money payment, because it gives greater respectability of station than a pecuniary stipend much exceeding the rent of the land, and because it connects the school-master with the community in a way which renders his services more acceptable to them than if he were the paid servant of the Government.

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work for affording them instruction. The means of learning are scanty, and the instruction which is given is of the rudest and least practical character.

The present scheme contemplates the employment of an agency, which shall rouse the people to a sense of the evils resulting from ignorance, which shall stimulate them to exertions on their own part to remove this ignorance, which shall furnish them with qualified teachers and appropriate books, and which shall afford rewards and encouragement to the most deserving teachers and pupils.

The means of effecting this object will be sought in that feature of the existing revenue system, which provides for the annual registration of all landed property throughout the country.

It is well known that the land is minutely divided amongst the people. There are few of the agricultural classes, who are not possessed of some rights of property in the soil. In order to explain and protect these rights, a system of registration has been devised, which is based on the survey made at the time of settlement, and which annually shows the state of the property. It is necessary for the correctness of this register, that those, whose rights it records, should be able to consult it and to ascertain the nature of the entries affecting themselves. This involves a knowledge of reading and writing, of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement.

The means are thus afforded for setting before the people the practical bearing of learning on the safety of those rights in land, which they most highly prize; and it is hoped that when the powers of the mind have once been excited into action, the pupils may often be induced to advance further, and to persevere till they reach a higher state of intellectual cultivation.

The agency by which it is hoped to effect this purpose will be thus constituted.

There will be a Government village school at the head-quarters of every Tehseeldar. In every two or more Tehseeldaris, there will be a Pergunnah Visitor. Over these a Zillah Visitor in each district, and over all a Visitor General for the whole of the provinces.

The Government village school at each Tehseeldari will be conducted by a school master, who will receive from Government a salary of from ten to twenty rupees per mensem, besides such fees as he may collect from his scholars. The course of instruction in this school will consist of reading and writing the vernacular languages, both Urdu and Hindi, accounts and the mensuration of land according to the native system. To these will be added such instruction in geography, history, geometry, or other general subjects, conveyed through the medium of the vernacular language, as the people may be willing to receive. Care will be taken to prevent these schools from becoming rivals of the indigenous schools maintained by the natives themselves. This will be effected by making the terms of admission higher than are usually demanded in village schools, and by allowing free admissions only on recommendations given by village school-masters, who may be on the Visitor's lists.

The Pergunnah Visitors will receive salaries varying from twenty to forty rupees a month. It will be their duty to visit all the towns and principal villages in their jurisdictions, and to ascertain what means of instruction are available to the people. Where there is no village school, they will explain to the people the advantages that would result from the institution of a school; they will offer their assistance in finding a qualified teacher, and in providing books, &c. Where schools are found in existence, they will ascertain-

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the nature of the instruction and the number of scholars, and they will offer their assistance to the person conducting the school. If this offer is accepted, the school will be entered on their lists, the boys will be examined, and the more advanced scholars noted, improvements in the course or mode of instruction will be recommended, and such books as may be required will be procured. Prizes will be proposed for the most deserving of the teachers or scholars, and the power of granting free admissions to the Tehseeldari school be accorded.

* * * * * * * * * * *

It will be observed that this scheme contemplates drawing forth the energies of the people for their own improvement, rather than actually supplying to them the means of instruction at the cost of the Government. Persuasion, assistance and encouragement are the means to be principally employed. The greatest consideration is to be shown for the feelings and prejudices of the people, and no interference is ever to be exercised, where it is not desired by those who conduct the institution. The success of the scheme will chiefly appear in the number and character of the indigenous schools, which may be established. The poor may be persuaded to combine for the support of a teacher ; the rich may be encouraged to support schools for their poorer neighbours, and all the schools that are established may be assisted, improved, and brought forward.

These operations must be conducted in concert with the revenue authorities, and must obtain their cordial assistance. The agency which is now called into action may be made most valuable in ensuring the proper training of putwarris, and in ascertaining the qualifications of candidates or nominees for that office. Certificates of qualification from some of the persons employed in the department may be made necessary for advancement to the post of village putwarri, and also to many other appointments, such as those of peon, chupprassi or burkundauze, as well as to those higher offices, where literary attainments are more evidently essential.

Thus, while the scheme aims at encouraging the people to multiply their own schools, it provides in every small division one *Tehseeli* school, as an example of right teaching and a nursery of good teachers, and it brings to bear upon the native institutions a machinery which, by imparting advice, supervision, and good school-books, will tend to their gradual improvement and elevation. These efforts have been welcomed by the people ; for the great value of the plan is that it makes them *work with* us for their own improvement. It is *their own* schools that we are, with their own consent, endeavouring to raise. Hence it is that they willingly receive our teachers, cheerfully accept our suggestions and assistance, and purchase with avidity the useful school-books, which are being prepared with a laborious devotion by Mr. Henry Stewart Reid and his subordinates, and are brought, by the arrangements of the Government, to the very doors of the purchasers. Instead, therefore, of planting amongst them foreign schools, uncongenial to their tastes, and the object of an unconquerable prejudice,—schools that would never take root or germinate in the rare vicinities in which our funds would enable us to

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open them,—we bring to the cause a legion of assisting seminaries in every quarter of the land; and, almost unconsciously to themselves, bear along the nation in the march of intellect, and raise them in the scale of moral life.

The actual result has proved to be no less satisfactory than the anticipation. Although, at so early a period, it is hardly fair to expect any sensible effect in a measure, which to affect the large masses of the country must necessarily work with a slow and permeating influence, yet a marked advance has already been made, as the returns noted below from Mr. Reid's carefully prepared tables will prove.* While the numbers have materially increased, the quality of the instruction has greatly improved; and the inflated Persian and rude illiterate Hindi are being steadily forsaken for our simple Urdu school-books and their invaluable stores of knowledge. The sales of school-books alone would show that a system has, at last, been discovered, suited to the habits and wishes of the people, and rapidly becoming popular and established among them.

Persuaded by these happy results of the success of his

	Schools.	*Scholars.*
* 1850 (Probably imperfect)	2,014	17,169
1850-51	3,127	28,636
1851-52	3,329	31,843
1852-53	3,469	36,884

Dr. Monat, an impartial and most capable witness, has reported in terms of unqualified praise regarding the system. Of the examination of the school at Allyghur, where "some hundreds" of pupils were collected by Mr. Reid from the district for inspection, he writes:

"During my long connection with education in India, and familiarity with the attainments and appearance of the pupils of all castes and classes, I never witnessed a more gratifying and interesting scene."

Of the general system he thus speaks—"It will be at once apparent that the scheme and manner of working it meet with my entire approval; it is no small praise of a great plan of national education, which has barely completed the third year of its existence, to record that it has not only fully and fairly attained the object for which it was designed, as far as its limited trial will admit of, but has actually already outrun its own means of extension, for want of books and instruments of a higher order than those now in use. In the second year of its trial in the experimental districts sanctioned, it has raised the number of boys receiving a sound elementary education from 17,000 to 30,000, has thrown into the schools between 30 and 40,000 school-books of a better class than those heretofore in use, and has given such an impulse to the cause of vernacular education, as cannot fail, in a very few years, to produce the fruits that invariably result from a spread of knowledge in the right direction."

It has become possible by this system, to introduce the literary test for the lowest servants of Government, contemplated in the last para. of the resolution quoted above. This was done in the eight experimental districts, in the resolution of the 8th June 1852, which prescribes an examination in reading, writing, and accounts, for putwaris, burkundazes, chuprassies and all the officials of Government. This is a proceeding in the right direction, for moving the masses from below.

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scheme, Mr. Thomason, within two months of his death, laid its progress in detail before the Government of India, and solicited sanction to extend it over the whole North West Provinces, at an annual expenditure of two lakhs of rupees. On a review of the proceedings, the Governor-General,—ever ready cordially to appreciate any measure for the advancement of India, and vigorously to carry it into effect,—not only approved the extension of the plan throughout these provinces, but its introduction also into Bengal and the Punjab. The resolution in which this is embodied contains the following beautiful and touching tribute to the founder of a system which "experience has shown to be capable of producing such rich and early fruit."

"And while I cannot refrain," His Lordship writes, "from 'recording anew in this place my deep regret that the ear 'which would have heard this welcome sanction given, with 'so much joy, is now dull in death, I desire at the same time 'to add the expression of my feeling, that even though Mr. 'Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life 'behind him, this system of general vernacular education, 'which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him 'a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career."

So high a testimony, from such a quarter, renders unnecessary any further eulogium of the scheme from the reviewer's pen.

Here we close our review of Mr. Thomason's official character. It may well be enquired what secret charm it was, which lent to almost every department of his administration so distinguishing an efficiency and greatness. It was not brilliant genius; for his faculties, though powerful and elevated, were not transcendant; it was not the gift of eloquence; nor anything unusually persuasive either in speech or writing. The capacities of his well-regulated mind, schooled into their utmost efficiency, performed wonderful things; but those capacities in themselves were in few respects greater than are often met with in undistinguished characters. There was indeed a rare power of deliberation and judgment, an unusual faculty of discernment and research, a keen discrimination of truth from error. Yet these were mainly the result of studious habit, and earnest purpose. And herein, in our judgment, lies the grand praise of the late administration. It was by LABOUR that it was perfected—conscientious, unceasing, daily labour; by a wakeful anxiety that knew no respite; by a severity of thought, ever busy and ever prolific in the devising of new arrangements, and the perfecting of old. Yet his mind

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was so beautifully balanced, that this unwearied work and never-ceasing tension produced (as in most men it could hardly fail to have done,) no irregularity of action, and no fretful or impatient advance. All was even, serene, powerful.

Sternly as Mr. Thomason held, in his position of Lieut.-Governor, to the axiom, that the introduction of religious teaching by the Government was not only inexpedient but unjustifiable,* he could yet see, as the goal of his measures, both collegiate and indigenous, the eventual conversion of the people to Christianity. Scrupulous to the last degree in his official measures, he yet never feared to avow this desire and persuasion privately, and even sometimes, in an unoffensive form, at the public examinations of the Government Colleges. At the latter he has been heard to say, that although bound in his official position to provide seminaries where no reference was made to Christianity, yet in a private capacity, his influence, his money, and his efforts were directed towards imparting elsewhere another element in education, essential to the well-being and highest interests of the people.† The following extract from his speech at the opening of the Benares College sufficiently establishes his views in this respect :—

We are here met together this day, men of different races and of different creeds. If any one section of this assembly had met to dedicate such a building as this to the education of their young in their own peculiar tenets, they would have given a religious sanction to the act, and would have consecrated the deed by the ceremonial of their faith. But this we cannot do. Unhappily, human opinions, on the subject of religion, are so irreconcilable, that we cannot concur in any one act of worship. The more necessary it is then, that each man, in his own breast, should offer up his prayer to the God whom he worships,‡ that here morality may be

* He declined to admit the books of the Calcutta Christian School Book Society into the Depôt of the Curator of Government School Books, or to allow the Government shops and colporteurs to exhibit religious works along with their stock of school-books, lest he should prove to be holding out false colors ; enticing the people by the profession of strict religious neutrality, while in reality favoring Christianity at the expense of other religions. If some may not be able entirely to sympathize with this rigid justice, let them remember that it only adds lustre to the public avowals in favour of Christianity, which, in consistence with his principles, he did make, and enhances the value of his private efforts.

† Such were the sentiments expressed at an examination of the Agra College, when a kindly reference was made to the new Missionary College just established there.

‡ This phrase has occasioned misapprehension in some quarters, as if Mr. Thomason had conceded to his idolatrous audience, that the various gods they worshipped were really the hearers of prayer. Whatever interpretation the words are capable of, it is certain that they were simply used with reference to the aspiration which the speaker desired that all, then present, not excluding the Hindus and Mahometans, should raise to the Great Being, whom, one and all, by an intuitive

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rightly taught, and that here truth, in all its majesty, may prevail. This aspiration may have a different meaning, according to the wishes or belief of the person who forms it; but with many it will point to a new state of things, when a higher philosophy and a purer faith will pervade this land, not enforced by the arbitrary decrees of a persecuting government, not hypocritically professed to meet the wishes of a proselytizing government, but, whilst the government is just and impartial, cordially adopted by a willing people, yielding to the irresistible arguments placed before them. Nor is it unreasonable to expect that such a change may take place. We cannot forget that to such a change we owe the present happy state of things in our own country; and, even in this country, changes of the same nature have taken place. It is but a few days ago, that our friend, Major Kittoe, who is as distinguished for antiquarian research as he is for the architectural skill he has shown in this edifice, led a party to view the neighbouring ruins around Sárnáth. He there showed us the undoubted remains of another and a different system, which once prevailed in this land. He showed us its temples, its colleges, its hospitals, and its tombs, now perished and long buried under the earth. A few centuries have so utterly destroyed it, that it is now only known in this part of the country, from the obscure allusions of Chinese travellers, the scarcely legible inscriptions on broken sculptures, and the imperfect traditions of a despised sect. And now there flourishes here, on the banks of the Ganges, another system, still vigorous, but already on the wane. And that system may pass away, and give place to another and a better one. From this place may this system spread throughout; nor is it vain to hope that the building in which we are assembled may be one instrument in the mighty change. When it is so, the highest aspirations of those who first designed and mainly promoted its erection, will be fully realized.

Such is the assured hope and expectation of many here assembled, and there is a large section of the remainder who share in the expectation, but cannot bring themselves at present to adopt it as their hope. But no undue means will here be employed to effect the end. No religious system will here be exclusively taught. This is a common arena, on which all can assemble, and where the common element of truth can be impartially acquired. Let all to whom the cause of truth is sacred, co-operate in promoting the objects of this building. To withdraw from the field will but show that they are conscious of the weakness of their cause."

Beyond the mere social and intellectual elevation, anticipated from his system of indigenous village education, Mr. Thomason believed that it was the truest foundation on which to build our efforts for the spiritual regeneration of the country.*

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perception of the heart, feel to be supreme, that He would bless the institution, and render it an instrument for His own glory and man's good.

After the criticisms appeared, Mr. Thomason was known to have expressed much regret, that he had not framed the expression in a manner incapable of misconstruction. But the criticisms were in themselves hypercritical.

* One great beauty of the system is its power of developement and adaptation to the advancing circumstances of the country. It would adjust itself as readily (which the land endowment would not have done), to a Christianized tract of villages, as it now does to the most bigoted and intolerant Hindu and Mahometan ones. Christian and Missionary schools share Mr. H. S. Reid's favours equally with village indigenous ones. The scheme is in fact an aid to *all spontaneous effort* which has secular education for one of its main objects; and thus it resembles the solution of the educational difficulty now recognized in England.

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Sound and enlightened secular tuition is, indeed, the most substantial fulcrum upon which the Christian lever can be brought to work; and the most enlightened of our missionaries concur in holding the improved village schools to be the pioneers of their own labours.

Of missionary institutions he was the warm advocate, the ready helper,* and the munificent patron. Every evangelical denomination scattered throughout the provinces received his substantial assistance; although, wherever a Mission of his own church existed, he considered it to be entitled to his peculiar if not exclusive assistance. His charity was not, however, confined to missionary objects:—no case of benevolence, no cry of real distress, nor any public endeavour for the social welfare within the length and breadth of the North West Provinces, if well supported (for he was discriminating in his charity), missed his liberal aid. Colleges, schools, dispensaries, churches, charities —whatever in fact tended to ameliorate or to elevate the social life of the people, either native or European, was liberally aided. His alms-giving eminently responded (wherever that was possible) to the direction of being done in secret. None but his chosen almoners knew of some of his most liberal and spontaneous acts; and wherever publicity was unavoidable, the courteous modesty of the donor only enhanced the value of the gift. A tenth portion of his income was carefully appropriated to bonâ fide charities; but the largeness of his heart, and the depth of his sympathy for debased and suffering humanity, were ever prompting him to overleap the limit; and, notwithstanding the large scale of his income, and his inexpensive habits, he died (and in his last hours felt it to be a satisfaction that he was dying) a man of small fortune.

A certain amount of outward dignity, he believed that his position called for; and (looking upon his allowances as fixed by this consideration), he made a point of conscience to maintain it. But the love of display found no place in his heart: pomp and show he regarded with indifference, and he was markedly distinguished by an unostentatious bearing. Though given to no false self-depreciation, and holding that manly front which a just self-respect requires, still his humility and modesty were conspicuous in every action. A serene and cheerful benevolence ever beamed from his countenance; his frame was spare, and his figure unusually tall, slightly stooped, but his carriage was nevertheless eminently suited to the nobi-

* At a former period he afforded personal aid to their labours, by preparing a revised translation of the Psalms. The version is still in use. It is distinguished by its elegance, but its style is too high and difficult for the comprehension of the mass of the people.

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lity of his mind; and his features (not perhaps in themselves striking), were so lighted up with intellect and benignity as to win the most casual stranger, and diffuse light and love amongst his immediate circle. His temperament was naturally cold, his manner distant, and his demeanour constrained; still such was the force of the counter-elements, that warmth, ease, and kindness were the prevailing characteristics, which even a short acquaintance would discover. His temper was calm and unruffled by provocation. Though the bent of his mind was to follow out favorite principles to an extreme (some perhaps thought an unjustifiable) limit, he was yet singularly tolerant of difference of opinion where no axiom of morality was involved; and views the most discordant with his own were always heard with kindness, and combated patiently, but with a wonderful fertility of argument. His religious sentiments were pure from the modern and prevalent tincture of Pharisaism, and "in strict accordance with the large and scriptural views of the blessed Reformers and Martyrs of our Church;"* still, with a moderation rare in our day, he cherished, esteemed and loved the good of every denomination, even where the most extreme and opposing principles were strenuously held. His feelings were always under a stern command, and he would to a very careful looker-on appear unmoved and unconcerned, at times when the most lively and intense emotions were busy within his breast. In private friendships, his attachments were steady, unselfish, unreserved; but a common faith added a peculiar depth and strength to the bond. His domestic affections were amongst the strongest and most pervading that we have ever witnessed; and if we could tear away the curtain from the delicacy of private life, the exquisite tenderness of a father's love would add the brightest touch to the portraiture of a character the most perfect and the most attractive it has been our lot to know. Duty, sincerity, love, were the watchwords of his life; the one idea which formed his spring of action—THE GOOD OF OTHERS.

And the key to all this was a Christian Faith. He believed the Bible to be the Word of God; and therefore took it for the daily and the hourly guide of his life. A simple faith in Christ, as his Divine redeemer, was followed by an unquestioning devotion to His service. Hence followed love to men, and earnest endeavour for their welfare. These motive powers

* Sermon preached by the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt, at the Cathedral, Calcutta, on the 16th October, 1853. This Sermon contained some passages powerfully descriptive of Mr. Thomason's character; a personal intimacy enabling the preacher to draw from the life.

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(concealed it may be from the outward observer) were deeply seated in his soul, and imparted a consistent and energetic action to the whole machinery of his life. However engrossing the claims of the State, those of his God were paramount: and it was just by a daily subjection of heart to the principles of the Gospel, and by honouring supremely the claims of his Maker, that he was enabled so efficiently to discharge his duty toward his earthly master and his sovereign.

We quote (from one of the pamphlets placed at the head of this article,) the following account of Mr. Thomason's Christian life by the Rev. T. V. French, with the more pleasure, because, while eminently qualified to form a judgment, his independent position and devoted life place his opinion beyond the suspicion of a partial influence :—

In such a sense we believe the words of our text were specially appropriate to him who is gone from us.* His public character can only enter into our consideration here, so far as it was influenced by his private character as a Christian. The influence which this exercised was uniform, and pervaded his whole course of action. There are few who would not bear witness readily to the simplicity and singleness of heart, with which he set God's glory before him, as the steady and undeviating object of his life. From the conscientious discharge of his duties to the State, he never separated the sense of accountability to One higher than the State: not acting as though there were two masters to be served, two rules of action, two principles of guidance to be followed, two irreconcilable duties to be performed. Rather acknowledging but one source and fountain-head of duty, beside which, and apart from which, there could be no out-goings of it; it was his study, while having regard to the lesser aspects in which subjects might be viewed, to view them not the less in their religious bearing, and to trace them up to their connexion with the highest of all duties. Doubtless the great secret of this line of conduct may be found here; that he was accustomed, in every important and difficult matter, to have recourse to God in prayer for direction and guidance. With a mind thus composed, and as before God, arriving at a decision, he had the strongest ground of assurance, which man can have, that his work would be prospered and rewarded: that confidence which produces steadiness of action, firmness of purpose, and can patiently abide difficulties and delays. Very edifying it was to observe the guardedness with which he walked; and the fear which he expressed, lest the incessant calls of duty should check the growth of spiritual life in his soul. In the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, and making known His pure and saving truth to the heathen around us, he always expressed a lively and heartfelt interest, which he extended even to the individual cases and circumstances of any in whose heart a desire had been awakened for the reception of Christianity. He seemed fully persuaded of the happy and blessed effects which would be wrought on the Hindu mind and character by embracing our Holy Faith. I have a vivid impression left on my own mind of the bright and animated expression of countenance with which he detailed to me, some months ago, the circum-

* "From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus;" 17th verse of Galatians vi., a chapter which the dying statesman desired to be read in his hearing.

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stances of two important conversions which had taken place in Delhi: tidings of which he had just received. Having watched patiently and attentively the course of Christian missions, and partaken much in the hopes and fears which they have alternately awakened, he was sensibly affected with the report of any thing which seemed to make against the progress of the truth: was fully alive to difficulties: would suggest new plans; and point to fresh directions in which the Christian effort of each labourer engaged in the work might extend itself. One of those brought up in the Orphan Institution at Secundra was most touchingly describing to me (since the tidings of his death were received) how he would, in by-gone years, come over to the Mission premises there, gather the children around him, and, seating himself in the middle of them, would question them in the simple Bible Histories they had prepared, and spend much pains in the explanation of them; so that his visits were always welcomed and talked of amongst them. He would speak feelingly of the state of the native servants in his employ, and of the earnest desire he had to bring them within reach of direct Christian instruction.

The strength of his religious convictions was not independent of a mature consideration of all the main difficulties that were urged against the Christian religion. He spoke as one who had seriously reflected upon them: allowed them all their due weight: but found that preponderating evidence in support of the faith once delivered to the Saints, which led him, with advancing years, to glory increasingly in bearing about with him the marks of the Lord Jesus.

In us, who were strengthened and encouraged by observing those marks, I believe the remembrance of him will live, and will not readily be effaced. Many a distressed and afflicted one can bear witness to the timely help he rendered, often unsolicited, and even diligently seeking out the objects of it, unknown to any but his Father who "*seeth in secret.*" His unassuming, reverent, prayerful demeanour, which was a blessed example to us in this house of prayer, of which he was so regular an attendant, helping to quicken us in our devotions, involuntarily reproving the wandering eye and heart in those who were his fellow-worshippers;* the remembrance of serious counsel suggested as occasion offered; the recollection of an influence calmly and uniformly exerted over those amongst whom he went in and out, to their spiritual and temporal good:—these are hallowed memorials, which will stay with us, I believe, and recall to us the image of one, who was as a ruler, that which he was as a man; one whom Christian principles swayed to Christian practice.

Such is the man, (and it is one of the hopeful symptoms of our age), whom the public has united to honor. Witness after witness has borne testimony before the Legislature of Britain, to the pre-eminent virtues of his Administration: the Press has conspired to denominate his, "the model Government." The praises of the Hon'ble Court, and of the Go-

* Most Civil Officers in the North Western Provinces will long remember how on the appointed weekly halt, (for he always prized and carefully observed the Sunday, wholly casting aside the cares of State, substituting the records of Christianity for the weary files of official labour, and devoting himself to his family and the special duties of the day), the bell of the Camp would sound forth an invitation to the public tent, where in a manner impressive and earnest, the service of the Church was performed by the Lieut.-Governor himself.

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vernor-General under whom he acted, have been freely and frequently accorded. And when at last the State was deprived by death of its able servant, an Extraordinary Gazette, encircled by the ensigns of mourning, announced the fact to India:—

No. 651.

FORT WILLIAM—HOME DEPARTMENT.

The 3rd October, 1853.

NOTIFICATION.—The Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council is deeply grieved to announce the decease of the Hon'ble James Thomason, the Lieut.-Governor of the North Western Provinces.

The Lieut.-Governor has long since earned for himself a name, which ranks him high among the most distinguished servants of the Hon'ble East India Company.

Conspicuous ability, devotion to the public service, and a conscientious discharge of every duty, have marked each step of his honourable course: while his surpassing administrative capacity, his extensive knowledge of affairs, his clear judgment, his benevolence of character and suavity of demeanour, have adorned and exalted the high position which he was wisely selected to fill.

The Governor-General in Council deplores his loss with a sorrow deep and unfeigned,—with sorrow aggravated by the regret that his career should have been thus untimely closed, when all had hoped that opportunities for extended usefulness were still before him, and that fresh honor might be added to his name.

The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council directs that the Flag shall be lowered half-mast high, and that seventeen minute guns* shall be fired at the respective seats of Government in India so soon as the present Notification shall have been there received.

By order of the Governor-General of India in Council.

(Signed) GEO. PLOWDEN,

Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

The Governor-General has also, in terms most gratifying to the friends of the deceased statesman, proposed to the Court of Directors to found at the Roorkee College (which, the object of his fostering care during life, may well perpetuate his name after death), a scholarship commemorative of the ability and virtues of Mr. Thomason.† All honor to the Most

* It has been said in some quarters, minute guns corresponding in number with the age of the deceased should have been fired: but this is a mistake. At the funeral of Military and Civil Officers, the minute guns are strictly limited by Royal Warrant, to the number the deceased was entitled to as a salute. The Governor-General paid a peculiar tribute to the memory of the Lieut. Governor, in directing this honor to be shown at each of the seats of Government.

† In addition to this, it would be an useful undertaking, as well as a graceful tribute to the merits of Mr. Thomason, as an Administrator, if all his most important despatches were collected and published under his name. He himself, we believe, used to retain for reference a private copy of all that he considered of the greatest moment; and to these might be added a selection of all others enunciating his enlightened views upon important topics. This would perhaps prove (after

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Noble Marquess, for the just and generous praise he has so freely accorded. It will not be viewed as one of the least of the praises of his administration, thus to have appreciated, and honorably acknowledged, the merits of one who rendered such distinguished service to his Government.

So high indeed was the estimate of the Governor-General, that we believe he had pressed upon the Government of Britain and the Court of Directors the appointment of Mr. Thomason, as the fittest man, to the Government of Madras. And it is a singular confirmation of the wisdom of the advice, that before it could have been received at home, the appointment recommended had been actually made. Thus did Mr. Thomason retire from this earthly scene, honored in death as in life, by his noble master, by the Hon'ble Court, and by the Government of his native land.

And if, as we believe from Holy Writ, the spirits of just men made perfect are inheritors of "glory, honour, and immortality," may we not anticipate that a nobler work, and a more enviable recompense than that of an earthly sovereign, await him at another and a sublimer court? Thither, trusting to his Saviour's merits, he dared with confidence to approach; for he was heard at the last to say, that though unworthy and deficient, "*he was not afraid to die.*" And there, we cannot doubt, with nobler faculties, and an inconceivably vaster sphere of action, he but continues the service of that Great Master, for whom, upon earth, he delighted to labour, and rejoices in a glory and a reward, before which his terrestrial distinctions, like the minor luminaries at the Sun's approach, wane and vanish.

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the living monument of indigenous education,) the most enduring memorial of his wisdom and ability. It would form, as it were, his legacy towards sound Government, and the prosperity of the North Western Provinces. To these despatches should be added the Revenue Code, which is referred to above, even in its unfinished state.

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ART. VII.—*Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenáná; or, Six Years in India. By Mrs. Colin Mackenzie. 3 Vols. London. R. Bentley.* 1853.

To those who have read both, Mrs. Mackenzie's work will immediately suggest, and call up for contrast and comparison, the pages of that lively and most undevout of "pilgrims"—the picturesque Mrs. Fanny Parks.

Both these ladies are highly gifted and accomplished, and handle the pen and the pencil with equal facility and skill; both have had frequent and familiar intercourse with the highest class of native female society, and show us that inner life of the eastern world, which the mysterious *pardah* hides from European eyes; and both set down what they have to say on all subjects with a disregard for the conventional, which is (to say the least of it) not unfrequently indiscreet. In literary finish and handling, Mrs. Mackenzie's book is decidedly inferior to that of her more sparkling rival. In the latter every sentence seems written with an eye to the picturesque; and the spirited illustrations, with which it is profusely interspersed, are only less spirited and life-like, than the pictures, which her pen brings before the mind, with the distinctness of the camera lucida.

Mrs. Mackenzie's book seems to have been edited in haste, without due pruning, and without due care or preparation. She has forgotten the change in the audience. Pages, full of interest for a little circle of affectionate friends and relatives, are often but mere platitudes, when addressed to the "hard-hearted" public. For instance, not to speak of minor and more provoking offences, a very large portion of her second volume is occupied with details of the siege of Multan and the second Sikh war, received at second-hand from friends, or borrowed from the newspapers. These, no doubt, were read during the progress of the struggle with interest and avidity; but that interest has long since passed away; and, if she had thought of the matter at all, she ought to have considered, not, whether these details had interest for her friends then, but, whether they were likely to possess equal attraction for the public now.

But these are not all Mrs. Mackenzie's literary sins. Not content with publishing what she ought to have kept back, she keeps back what she ought to have published. She has a portfolio, overflowing with sketches and portraits of most of the celebrities of India, drawn with admirable truth and artistic skill; and, although these alone, or even a selection from them, would

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have made the fortune of any book, she has sent hers into the world without them.

The very form she has adopted (and with her it is not only a form, but a strict reality) is, in a literary point of view, an error of judgment. The ease and *abandon* of private and familiar correspondence form but a poor compensation for the care and thoughtfulness and strenuous effort to do one's very best, which ought to form the ground-work of every appeal to the public. The real "home" letter has always more to do with the heart than the head; it relates to personal and domestic details, to places, persons, and things, regarded by all the world besides with the most philosophic indifference; and, even when thrown amidst striking scenes or stirring events, in writing to "Uncle Tom," or to "Cousin Jane," one involuntarily writes down to the recognized level (*tant soit peu* common place) of relationship, and feels that any thing elaborate or carefully thought out—anything in short rising much above the level of ordinary conversation—would be out of taste, or out of place. It is possible, by judicious selection, to preserve the charm, the ease, gracefulness and kindliness of familiar correspondence, and to keep out of sight whatever is indifferent or distasteful; and, once perhaps in a thousand years, it may be given to a Cowper or a Sévigné, by the charm of genius, or the charm of style, to invest trifles with immortality. But even a Cowper or a Sévigné could not afford to publish their correspondence, just as it was written, without alteration and retrenchmeut. Mrs. Mackenzie seems to have done this —to have reprinted her journal, exactly as it was written. She has, therefore, necessarily neither written her best, nor done herself justice. Her style lacks practice and finish; her book cries aloud for condensation; and it is most provoking and vexatious to withhold her sketches from the public.

But here our fault-finding ends. In spite of our admiration of Mrs. Parks's book, we rise from its perusal with a sad and painful impression, by no means flattering to that lively lady; while, in Mrs. Mackenzie's pages, amidst much that is commonplace, and not a little that could well be spared, we come now and then on rich and deep veins of thought, to which Mrs. Parks could never have attained, and on the unstudied utterances of high and noble principle, of sweet womanly sympathy, of a true feeling for the beautiful in life, in art, and in nature; and we close the book with the conviction that it is written by a noble, gifted and high-minded woman, one of "the excellent of the earth."

Whatever inherent faults may attach to the form in which

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Mrs. Mackenzie's book has been submitted to the public, it has however the undeniable charm of variety. Nothing (worth seeing) is left unseen between Bombay and Calcutta; and nothing has been done for the six years, during which she has been taking notes amongst us, which will not be found in her pages. If she sometimes errs in her choice of a subject, she never errs in the treatment. Her sketches are lively, faithful, and interesting; and their transparent honesty and truthfulness give them always originality and freshness.

The Táj at Agra has been often described, and by authors of no mean repute; but we question whether it has ever been more worthily written of, than in the following extract, where something of its own grace and beauty seems mirrored in the flow of the narrative, and the closing reflections attune the mind to higher and holier feelings, than mere beauty and gracefulness could ever of themselves call forth :—

After dinner they took us to see the Táj by moonlight. We alighted at a magnificent gateway, and beheld this unequalled building at the end of an avenue of cypresses. The walk from the gate to the tomb is a quarter of a mile long. The Táj stands in a garden, enclosed by a quadrangular wall of red stone. Opposite the gateway is a quadrangle of white marble, from the four corners of which spring snow-white minarets, and in the centre, raised on a stately terrace, is the pure noble dome of the Táj itself. At the back runs a terrace overlooking the Jumna;—on either hand is a fine mosque of red stone; but no description can give any idea of the wondrous beauty of this matchless monument. No building that I have ever seen comes near it, except the Cathedral of Cologne. St. Peter's is not to be named in the same breath as regards the exterior. Its exquisite symmetry, its spotless colour, looking as if it were carved in snow, and its lovely situation, (secluded in the midst of a stately garden, full of trees, flowers, fountains, and paved walks), make the Táj more like a vision of beauty than a reality. The sight of it makes one's chest expand and one's heart swell: it almost lifts one off the earth.

* * * * * *

Saturday, February 5th.—Mrs. E., Miss M., and I drove to see the Táj, which is as beautiful by daylight as by the moonbeams. I sketched it from the gateway: a lovely vista. Between the two paved raised walks, bordered by cypresses, is a channel of water, with fountains. At the back of the cypresses are beds of flowers in full beauty, the different plots being divided by stone borders of fantastic patterns, the regularity of which connects the garden more completely with the building; and behind these again are broad, paved walks, where we enjoyed the most refreshing shelter from the noonday sun. I give up in despair all hopes of conveying any adequate idea of the beauty of the architecture, of the inlaid marble terraces, the fine old trees, the delightful verdure, and above all, of the chaste unsullied majesty of the dome itself. In a vault beneath lies Mumtaz Begum, and on her right a loftier and larger tomb to her husband Shah Jehán. Above, the mausoleum consists of a glorious vault, in the centre of which stands her monument, with his in the same position as below. Each tomb is of the usual simple form—a narrow raised parallelogram, prefectly plain, not un-

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like what Scipio's tomb would be without the cornice, and inlaid, like the whole of the interior, with flowers of bloodstone, lapis-lazuli, agates, and other precious stones, forming the most beautiful mosaic. Over the tomb hangs an ostrich egg. Both monuments had flowers laid on them, and are surrounded by an octagonal screen of the most lovely fairy-like open work. The walls are, as it were, panelled with bas-reliefs of tulips and other flowers in white marble, surmounted by arabesques in costly mosaic; and around the dome are four beautiful apartments embellished with no less care. Such is the perfect art manifested throughout, that although every part is, when closely viewed, brilliant with colour, and though the exterior is adorned with inscriptions from the Kuran, in black marble letters of colossal size, yet this in no way mars the general effect of the whole building as one of dazzling whiteness, while it relieves the eye when near from the tedium of travelling over unbroken heights and depths of, as it were, unvaried snow. How strange it is that the architects of most of the finest buildings in the world remain unknown!

* * * * * *

I do not think an unprejudiced person could, after visiting the Táj, attach any value to the kind of religious feeling which is produced by external objects affecting the senses. Here a Muhammadan building excites in the highest degree those emotions of rapture, which, by a natural transition, melt into the spurious poetic devotion, which is aroused by the "long-drawn aisles" and "dim religious light" of an ancient cathedral: this shows that these feelings are purely natural. A heathen can feel them—a Muhammadan architect or an infidel poet can excite them; therefore they have no claim to be considered as Christian, or as religious feelings at all, in any other sense than as springing from those tendencies to wonder and reverence, which are implanted in every one who has a heart. Rightly did our Presbyterian forefathers act in stripping the worship of God of all that could delude the worshipper, by exciting those poetic emotions which too often pass current, with those who experience them, for the true devotion of the heart to that God who "dwelleth not in temples made with hands." How would a woman value that love, or a friend that friendship, which owed its origin, and depended for its existence, on the magnificence of an apartment, or the beauty of the scenery in which they dwell? How can we imagine, then, that this spurious kind of devotion is acceptable to Him who searcheth the heart, and who sees that it exists so often in souls alienated from Him, and "enemies in their mind by wicked works?"—*Vol. I. pp.* 135-141.

Nothing can be more graceful or delicate in finish than her descriptions of the world-renowned monuments of Moslem splendour and magnificence; yet they are evidently the unstudied utterances of her admiration, written down while the impression was yet fresh and warm in her imagination, if not actually before her eyes. Mrs. Mackenzie has nothing of that austere and ascetic spirit, which condemns every enjoyment, to which itself is impassive. She has a keen and vivid enjoyment of the beautiful. The glory, the exquisite loveliness of the Moslem architecture fairly "carries her off her feet;" but while her soul is stirred within her, higher thoughts and holier feelings arise, and the sensual becomes subordinate to the spiritual. Thus the accidental contiguity of the Kutab Minar to

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an ancient Hindu temple suggests the following thoughts on temple architecture :—

The contrast between the Mahammadan and Hindu architecture is very great : the former is as majestic as perhaps man in his fallen state is capable of conceiving ; the latter is wholly devoid of this quality ; and in spite of the beauty of some minor details, the effect of the whole is grotesque confusion. The pillars are such as one might imagine in an uneasy dream.

It seems as if no mind, unaccustomed to dwell on the Unity of the Godhead, were capable of any truly sublime idea even in temporal things ; as if this, the most simple and sublime of all ideas, were needful for the education of the intellect and heart, before man can conceive anything of unity and harmony, or represent them in his work. No man can imagine aught higher than that which he worships : in no ancient Greek or Roman building, that I have seen, is there anything to raise the mind from earth ; —their majesty consists chiefly in their size ; their harmony is the harmony of earthly beauty ; but there is nothing which solemnizes one as a Gothic building does.

Now the Hindu mythology being far beneath that of Rome and Greece (especially as held by their philosophers and artists), their architecture and sculpture is proportionately debased ; the latter is worthy of a New Zealand war club ; the former is fit for the revels of sorcerers. There is something diabolical in it ; and, in viewing it, one's sympathies are all with the fierce Mussulmans, who gloried in the title of idol-breakers.—*Vol. I. p.* 167.

Perhaps not many of our readers have heard of the well of Nizam-ud-dín. We hope they will share in Mrs. Mackenzie's surprise on being introduced to it :—

THE WELL OF NIZAM-UD-DIN.

Flowers were lying on most of the tombs, and a tree or two is suffered to grow in the court, thus greatly adding to its beauty. Passing through a narrow passage or two, I heard Mr. Roberts say, " Now, I think, she will be astonished ; she does not know what to expect :" and, accordingly, I was surprised a moment after on passing through a narrow passage to find myself overlooking a very large well, about sixty feet square, surrounded by houses of several stories, and with a lofty flight of wide steps opposite to where we stood. A crowd of people were sitting or standing on the house-tops to our right, who looked most picturesque in their garments of many colours, with the bright blue sky and the green foliage behind them. Mr. Roberts had just said, " This is the well of Nizam-ud-Din, " when, to my utter amazement, a man joined his hands over his head, and leaped from the house-top into the well : another and another followed, from this housetop and from that ; from thirty to sixty feet high they sprang, and before I could recover my breath, a perfect shower of men and boys came flying down into the water. At last they re-appeared from their plunge, and swimming, by throwing each arm forward alternately as far as they could reach, they gained the steps, and gathering up some addition to their very scanty garment, ran round to the passage in which we stood, so that on turning I beheld a crowd of half-naked dripping men and boys looking as cheerful as they could with chattering teeth : two rupees sent them away fully satisfied. As for me the suddenness of the act and the novelty of the scene completely bewildered me, and my husband and

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Mr. Roberts were quite pleased at the success of their secret plot. Some of the leapers were little boys of twelve years old.—*Vol. I. p.* 176.

We shall pass from the subject of architecture with a little characteristic touch of the whip, most richly deserved by the malefactors :—

Some vulgar Europeans have defaced this magnificent monument by foolish inscriptions and drawings worthy of an ale-house. Such creatures ought to be sent to the treadmill, for they sadly require chastisement and employment.—*Vol. I. p.* 177.

Mrs. Mackenzie's first impressions of India were derived from our own city of Calcutta ; and, though overflowing with kindliness and determined to be pleased, she found various habits and customs amongst us, for which we refer the curious (of her own sex especially) to her book. We have a shrewd suspicion, that on her return she had become more reconciled to them. But second thoughts are not always best.

During her stay in Calcutta, she saw all she could ; and amongst other things, she saw the Punch of the East. Here is her account of it :—

A KAT PUTLI NACH.

This being little Ewen's birth-day, we had a katpútli nách, *i. e.* a dance of Marionettes, in the dining-room. It was a most picturesque scene : there was a band of three or four musicians, who played on a kind of guitar, drum, and other instruments, and sang discordantly. The chief man showed some sleight-of-hand tricks, such as making four or five pigeons come from under an empty cover, and afterwards a little Marionette danced as a nách girl ; some sepoys and other figures came on, to the great delight of the children, of whom there were many present. It was very pretty to see all these little ones, quite specimens of "mammas' darlings," with long hair, velvet dresses, ornamented pinafores, cashmeres and velvet to wrap them up in. The ayahs, in their white draperies, sitting with some on the floor ; a Chinese woman waiting on another ; moustachioed bearers attending on most of them, with divers little native and half-caste children, and the servants in scarlet and gold, glossy silk or white garments, and a crowd of tailors, gardeners, and hangers-on of all kinds, filling up the back-ground.

After tiffin, C. peeped in again, and found the audacious tamásha wallah (literally play-fellow) had dressed himself up as an officer, with a white mask, and was (the ladies having departed) showing how a young Ensign treats his bearer. I immediately went to see, and never was more diverted. He did it admirably, and showed such a perception of European follies, as to prove an effectual warning to all present not in any way to commit themselves before these quiet, quick-witted natives. He had laid hold of one of Julia's bearers, and was making him walk backwards and forwards for his amusement, bestowing a kick every now and then to quicken his movements. He then sent him for a bottle of brandy, stamped and rampauged about, and finally began to dance, exactly like an awkward Englishman attempting a hornpipe. He then forced his supposed servant to dance, looked at him through an eye-glass, and finally, "saving

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your presence" (as the little Irishwoman said to me, when speaking of washing her face), took a sight at him, and taught him to do the same. He then brought in one of his companions dressed as a lady, dragged her about by way of taking a walk, and then danced with her in imitation of a quadrille and waltz. I cannot understand any one venturing to waltz before a native, after seeing this apt caricature of the performance! —It was very droll, and only too true.

I have since found that a mullah, in controversy with Mr. Pfander of Agra, alleges the custom of "kissing and putting their arms round the waists of other men's grown-up daughters, sisters, and wives," as an argument against Christianity. The "kissing" appears to have been added by the imaginative mullah: but I do not see how a waltz or polka could possibly be defended in the eyes of an Oriental.—*Vol. I. pp.* 62-63.

But, though delighted and excited by the novelties around her, and domiciled with most pleasant and intellectual friends—the *elite* of Calcutta society—Mrs. Mackenzie is, above all things, a Christian woman; and the greater part of her heart and of her leisure was given to the missionaries, and to the great work in which they are engaged. There is something very pleasing in the never-tiring delight she took in visiting the various missionary institutions, and the warm sympathy she felt and expressed in all that concerned them. Passing over what she writes of better known institutions, we extract her account of her visit to Mrs. Ewart's school:—

MRS. EWART'S SCHOOL.

The elder class read very nicely a chapter in the New Testament, with a perfectly pure English accent. They learn geography, write, and work very neatly, and have a good acquaintance with the main doctrines of Scripture. The progress they have made during the short time the school has existed is quite wonderful. The Jewish parents make no objection to their daughters reading the New Testament. My husband spoke to them on disobedience to the law of God constituting the very essence of sin, and on the willingness of Christ "the Messiah"—"the true God"—to save all who come to him; but they are very shy, and it is difficult to get them to answer. They are taught entirely in English.

One or two of the Armenian girls are lovely, with beautifully chiselled features, and a clear brunette complexion, so fine and delicate, that no fair one could be prettier. They look much older than they are; those of eleven look like fifteen. Most of the Jewesses were very plain, with very coarse features, and some with a moustache; many of them gaudily dressed, with silver lace on their robes, and beads round their necks.

The Armenians, who intermarry frequently with the Portuguese, who are as dark, if not darker than the Hindus, dress like Europeans, only with a profusion of flowers and trimmings. The Jewesses wear a tight fitting robe, fastened beneath the bosom; and one little girl had a train to hers.

Mrs. Ewart gave me a sampler "to send to my sister." It is worked by a very good little Jewess, named Jamilah Musa Bakahia, about ten or eleven years old. Her parents wished to take her away to marry her, and

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had even bespoken her wedding garment; but she is so fond of the school that she prevailed on them to allow her to stay another year.

The pupils sang a hymn, and we then went to the lower room, where there is a class of about forty infants; such a variegated bank of babes would astonish any English teacher, for the little bodies were arrayed in all the colours of the rainbow. One small thing of two years old had a turban, and several had patches of opium the size of a sixpence, on the forehead and temples, as a cure for colds. Two half-caste teachers assist Mrs. Ewart, both of them very pleasing. The little children answered many questions similar to those in "Watts's First Catechism," extremely well, and then sang the "Infant School Hymn," which, doubtless, you know—"We wash our faces, we comb our hair." I never saw a prettier sight.—*Vol. I. pp.* 50-52.

It was a fine sight; but still finer was the example of that devoted and self-denying woman, who, without fée or reward, and struggling against delicate health, has given the whole of her time, and the strength of her womanhood, to the task which she has set for herself; and who, year after year, in this exhausting climate, without allowing herself an interval of repose or relaxation, and purposely dwelling in the shade, has toiled and laboured with a zeal and an energy, the tithe of which has won fame and honor for many who less deserved it. But such as she seek not the applause of men; and they have their own satisfying and "exceeding rich" reward.

It is time, however, to turn to other and more exclusively Oriental pictures. Another shift of the kaleidoscope—and we are in the zenáná of Hasan Khan, one of the bravest of the bold Afghan chivalry, and seated with Mrs. Mackenzie by the sick bed of his young wife:—

Mrs. Rudolph and I were ushered in, and found ourselves in a good sized room, with bare rafters and painted walls, full of little arched recesses about four feet from the ground, which served for shelves and cupboards. A mattrass, covered with a sheet, lay on the floor, and on it the poor little wife, who had paid me a visit. She was very ill, her face drawn and pinched, unable to move without pain; she was dressed in a very wide pair of scarlet trousers and a short transparent little shirt of figured net, with wide sleeves, her black hair hanging down behind in one plait. A dirty elderly woman, with thick cotton veil, which may once have been white, and dark trousers, tight half-way up to the knee and full above, was sitting by her and coaxing her. I took her for a servant, but found she was her mother. Two stout dirty boys of nine or ten years old, and several girls, one of them a very pretty young thing, were sitting around on the floor. The other wife, Bibi Ji, conducted me to an arm-chair in the middle of the room close to a little pankah; but as I could see nothing of my patient at that distance, I speedily sat down on the floor by her side; they then brought me pillows and bolsters to lean upon. I gave her some medicine, and, ill as she was, she could not forbear taking another look at my petticoat, which is a source of great wonder to them from being corded. Bibi Ji brought us some tea made with cinnamon, which we both agreed

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was much nicer than when made in our fashion. The tea leaves and cinnamon are put into cold water and placed on the fire to boil very slowly; it is taken off directly it begins to boil, and boiled milk and sugar added.

The room was painted with flowers on a white ground, a sort of imitation of Florentine mosaic; it has three doors opening into the inner court, where the women sleep in the open air, cooped, &c., and on the opposite side as many leading to the outer court, which, when the women occupy this room, are kept closed, with thick wadded curtains of yellow cotton, bordered with red, over them. As, however, the doors are very rudely made of planks, they have many chinks most convenient for the women to peep and listen through. At the head of the bed stood a rude lamp, a kind of vase, with four wicks, lying in oil, which require to be constantly trimmed; it stood on an old deal box to make it higher; and when I asked for water, it was brought by the Peshkhidmat, who seems to manage everything in his master's absence; he came only to the door, but he must have seen in very well.

* * * * * * *

The Peshkhidmat always stands by, and all the younger members of the family paste themselves against the walls so as not to be seen. One or two are pretty intelligent girls, and they all receive me most affectionately.

It is pleasant to see how harmoniously they seem to live together, each vieing with the other in attending on the invalid. Bibi Ji is a heavy figure and not very "quick at the uptake." By-the-by, I remarked that Leila Bibi's little "sark" is sewn at the throat; so it is evidently not taken off every day. Their persons and hair seem clean; but their clothes are worn until they are almost worthy of a Romish saint. The *men* of any rank are much more particular. They use only one sheet on their beds, and none over them, as they sleep in their day clothes. They seem very decorous in uncovering themselves before others; this was shown in many ways by the poor invalid when we were putting hot flannels on her, &c.

Now that Leila Bibi is getting better, they all show me every mark of kindness and gratitude, squeezing my hands, patting and stroking me; and last night, two of them shampooed me. Leila Bibi makes signs for me to sit on her bed close to her, and then puts her arm around me, and her dumb thanks, putting my hand to her forehead and eyes, are very pretty. There seems little practical distinction of rank between the mistresses of the family and the servants, except that the former have a few gold ornaments, and wear very wide trousers and transparent jackets, with purple net veils thrown over the left shoulder and reaching to the ground behind; while the latter have blue cotton shirts, cotton veils and ludicrous trousers, tight nearly to the knee and full above. One or two have a petticoat instead. They have their hair hanging down in braids behind, and one long curl on each side of the temple. Bibi Ji has silver bangles on her feet. An old fat servant sometimes comes in dressed literally in sackcloth. Bibi Ji brings everything eatable with her own hands, fetches water for the medicines, &c. Several, that I at first took for attendants, turn out to be friends, for it is the custom in case of sickness for some of the friends of the invalid to go and stay in the house, rendering all needful aid till amendment takes place—and a good custom it is. In England we can so easily buy service, that we have forgotten the privilege of *rendering* it.—*Vol. I. pp.* 236-241.

The husband has not yet appeared upon the scene. The following extract presents the rough, but warm-hearted chief-

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tain in the bosom of his family, and gives, we fear, far too favourable a picture of the interior of an Afghan home:—

The next morning, Sunday, to my great amazement, as I drove into the court, Hasan Khan himself appeared; he must have ridden day and night from Simla, directly he heard of his wife's illness. He led me in. She seemed better; but shortly spasms came on, and she suffered greatly. This obliged me to stay with her till half-past ten, by which time *sepia* had relieved the violence of the pain. You may imagine I watched Hasan Khan very closely to see how Muhammadan husbands behave. He was most attentive to his poor wife, raising her up, giving her water every few minutes, and holding her head. He was dressed exactly as the women are, *i. e.* with very full trousers, muslin short shirt, and scull-cap. Like all the Afghans, he rushes about in the most energetic manner; and then, when his wife was a little easier, sat down, and gossipped with the other women most sociably. He is well obeyed; he told his little child to go to me, and it came instantly, for the first time. He seems very fond of her. He gave his little wife some sago; and though she made wry faces, he caused her to take the whole, just as if she had been an infant. He is particularly pleased with a telescope, which Lord Gough gave him. The Jungi-Lord (or war lord, as they call him) went to get the glass himself, and said, "I have used this five-and-twenty years, and I give it to you, because you are an old and brave soldier."

May 14*th*.—I have been to see my patient every day. Her brother is still there, but comes no more within the zenáná. It is droll to see Hasan Khan feel his wife's pulse. He does it with a face of such preter-natural gravity, as plainly shows he thinks it incumbent on him to make up for perfect ignorance by wise looks. He is very much grieved at C. not being well, and has been here five or six times to see him. He told my husband that they had held a consultation regarding my "science," whereby I read in a book and gave medicine, and they agreed they were all cows compared to me!—*Vol. I. pp.* 244-245.

Mrs. Mackenzie had much intercourse with the ladies belonging to the family of the unlucky Shah Sujah, and, more especially, of his son Shah Shahpur, whose brief tenure of royalty at Kabul owed all its splendour to the gleam of General Pollock's bayonets, and was propped upon them alone. He seems to have been a brave and gallant boy, the only manly spirit in that effeminate family, and has had the good fortune to escape with life from that city of cut-throats. We select one of her interviews with the widows of Zeman Khan, the old Shah of Kabul. The acumen of the knowing fair Oriental is not more amusing than Mrs. Mackenzie's evident anxiety to deny "the soft impeachment:"—

Mr. Newton came to ask me to visit one of Shah Zeman's widows, who is very ill. Mrs. Newton and I accordingly drove thither. All that was to be seen of the house outside was a high mud wall, like that round a large garden: a door in it led into a little court, where a fine cow and calf and a pair of very handsome oxen (intended, I suppose, to draw the Palki gari, which stood outside) were eating. Our guide knocked with his stick at a very low door, so that a person outside could see nothing of one

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within higher than the elbow: it was soon opened, and we entered and found ourselves in a neat little garden full of onions, from whence another door led into a row of very clean, neat apartments, in one of which the poor old lady was sitting up in bed, wrapped in a quilt: two chairs were placed for us. The Shahzadeh, her son, and a row of women were all sitting on the floor, watching the incantations of a strange veiled figure, who turned out to be a native "wise woman," performing charms for the poor old lady's recovery. She has been ill more than two months and had hardly any pulse, though she moved wonderfully well. Two elderly unmarried daughters were near her: it is strange how immediately I recognized them as such without being told. There is something quite different in the look of a married woman and an old maid.

Shah Zeman seems, at least in these instances, to have followed the same preposterous system as his brother Shah Sujah, by not suffering his daughters to marry. The old lady must have been handsome in her youth, and was very courteous, and grieved when I stood up to help her. The Shahzadeh was very attentive to her;—a handsome man when sitting, though very short and stout, magnificent eyes, eyebrows and beard. Divers of his wives were there; one rather pretty, with a saucy, pert expression; the other very gentle and the mother of two very pretty delicate little boys, dressed in yellow satin, one of whom went to Mrs. Newton at once and fell asleep in her arms. I prescribed for the poor old lady, who encouraged us by saying that if she got well we must come again and she would give a Nach! All the ladies were smoking by turns, one chilam being passed round; they offered it to us, and when we declined, one of them, more knowing than the rest, observed, "Ah, they smoke cheroots!"

For the rest of the day, I laughed whenever the image, which had presented itself to the imagination of these good ladies, crossed my mind, of Mrs. Newton and myself with cigars in our mouths!—*Vol. II. pp.* 80-82.

From the royalty of Kabul, we turn to the royalty of Delhi, and thus obtain a glimpse (not of the most inviting) of *la crême de la crême* of Oriental female aristocracy; for Mrs. Mackenzie had the unexpected honor of spending her New Year's day with the Great Mogul. She had been sketching in the palace, and the whole court was thrown into commotion by her most undiplomatic and ill-advised request for a chair:—

However, they sent a message to the king on the subject, who said I might have a stool, but not a chair, and accordingly sent me a very rude little bench. Some of H. M.'s guard marched in; most of them were boys, almost children. When I had finished, I desired some of the numerous by-standers to look into the camera, with which they were greatly delighted; and as we were going, a message came from the king, asking me to show it to him. We accordingly turned back, and three or four black slaves came to conduct me into the harem.

They introduced me to the chief Lady, Zinát Mahál Begum, or Ornament of the Palace, who struck me as old and ugly, and then led me to the king's apartment, where the old monarch was smoking his huqá. He is slender and feeble-looking, but with a simple kindly face, though he took no notice of me when I came in, which I suppose is etiquette. His bedstead, with four silver posts, was by him, and a crowd of women about him: one old woman was rubbing his feet. No one was handsomely

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dressed. The old king wore a gold scull-cap and a cotton *chapkan*. I sat down for a moment, and then told them that the camera must be put up out of doors. They led me into the balcony, but that would not do; so they took me to a terrace where I put it up. The old king seemed pleased, and asked me to draw the queen, to which I willingly agreed. She was so long in adorning herself, that it was dark soon after I began. They brought out boxes full of jewels; she put on about five pair of earrings, besides necklaces, a nose-ring with a string of pearls connecting it with the ear, rings for the fingers, besides ornaments for the head. Then she retired to change her dress, some of the women holding up the cotton rezaí (wadded quilt) in which her majesty had been wrapped, as a screen. She came back, dressed in red muslin spotted with gold, and sat down, huqá in hand, with two female servants with peacock fans, or rather *clubs*, behind her. When I looked closer at her, I saw that she could not be old, but she is very fat, with large though unmeaning eyes, and a sweet mouth. Her hair, like that of all the other women, of whom there must have been about fifty present, was *à la chinoise*. Her little son, Mirzá Jewan Bakht, came and sat beside her: but as soon as I offered to sketch him, he was hurried away to change his dress, and returned clad in green velvet and gold, with a *sirpesh*, or aigrette of jewels, in his gold cap.

The noise and chattering of the assembled crowd was deafening: but the chief eunuch occasionally brought them to order, and made them sit down. Her Majesty laughed very loud, as loud *as she could*, with her mouth wide open, at some jest which passed. Not one of all these women were doing anything, or looked as if they ever did do anything, except three, who were cracking nutmegs. What a life! The old king came in, and a man with a black beard, whom I took for one of his sons, and who remained standing; but the women sat and jested freely with his Majesty. He approved of the sketches. The little prince is he, whom the king wishes to have declared heir-apparent, though he is the youngest of his ten or twelve sons. He has no less than thirty daughters.

I was exceedingly amused with my visit, and thought how astonished you would all be to hear of my spending New Year's day with the King of Delhi—the Great Mogul! When we got home, Sir Theophilus told me that the king does not give a chair, even to the Governor General. His father gave a chair on one occasion to a Governor-General, and repented of it ever afterwards!—*Vol. III. pp.* 71-73.

Such scenes as these leave a melancholy and painful impression. It is not so much the spectacle of a great dynasty fallen from its high estate, and dwindled down to the effete and imbecile thing which now represents it, as the thought, that such is the inevitable result of oriental social institutions, which must grieve the thoughtful spirit.

Mrs. Mackenzie writes eloquently and wisely, but with true feminine delicacy and tact, of the baneful influence of polygamy, and of the almost moral impossibility that any thing great or good can come from a youth, brought up amidst the intrigues and hatreds, the despotism and ignorance, and the soulless and enervating atmosphere of the *zenáná*. The proverbial orientalism, "children of the same milk," shows the true and God-given instinct of our nature for that happy home, which

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Christianity alone secures, with other pure and holy social blessings, for all who live under its benign influence.

We doubt whether any other European lady has been privileged to see so often, and so nearly, the kings and "king-makers" of the East. On her first arrival in India, Mrs. Mackenzie had a pleasant and interesting interview with the fallen Amirs of Scinde. She saw much of the little Maharajah Dhulip Singh; and we can imagine the gladness with which she must have heard of his becoming a Christian. She was on terms of friendship and intimacy with the family of Shah Sujah; indeed, Shahpúr bade farewell to her husband and herself with tears in his eyes. She met (if we remember aright) the Rajah of Satara; and, as we have already noticed, she was admitted into the presence, and within the zenáná of the Great Mogul himself. The reader will find also pleasant and kindly anecdotes of Lord Dalhousie, the brave old "war-lord" Gough, and his abler and more eccentric, but as warm-hearted, successor. Theirs are historical names; and one likes to find, that these men of the strong head and strong hand have hearts also, and now and then can let their human sympathies pierce through and show themselves behind the mask of office and official formalities. Many interesting particulars will also be found respecting Colonel Stoddart, Akbar Khan and his mother, the arch-traitor Amínúllah, and the doom which at last overtook him; but for these we refer our readers to the book itself.

Mrs. Mackenzie, as we have already noted, is a most successful and enthusiastic sketcher, and she was wild to catch a genuine Bedouin. She succeeded, but with no small difficulty; for how was it possible to make an Arab understand her motives? "Why," said the perplexed son of the desert, "why 'should I go to the house of the English? God alone knows 'what may befal me there!" The lady's reflections on this little incident are thoughtful and suggestive:—

I have often reflected on the cause of the difficulty I find in taking the likeness of a European, as compared with that of an Oriental. The expression of the one can be caught in an instant; that of the other is not only more varying, but more complicated; and I suppose it to be from the simplicity of their lives, as compared with ours. Consider the infinite variety of objects which engage our attention and interest, and the infinite variety of thoughts and emotions which these give rise to—and you will see that it is impossible for a cultivated European to retain the repose of feature and the unity of expression, which is observable in the Oriental. Add to this, our habit of suppressing the outward manifestation of feeling (for, when an Oriental really feels deeply, he shows it much more freely than we do, except where he is obliged to feign), and the generally inferior

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intensity of the passions in Europe, and you will see why the countenances vary. This Arab was the most perfect specimen I ever saw of a man of few and simple emotions. He could understand hatred for an enemy, and love for a friend; bodily privations he is accustomed to disregard,—bodily suffering to endure; probably this comprises the circle of his feelings. How can such a one, accustomed to hardships, to solitude and exertion, be made to understand the thousand-and-one aims and strivings of civilized life? He is a being of another sphere, and moves among the crowded streets with neither interest nor comprehension for the world and its ways. There was no harshness in his expression; but it was the calm indifference of an ascetic. Are not these men, in some respects, wiser than we, gifted with a truer insight than we are into the nothingness of the world, though not of the great realities of life?—*Vol. III. pp.* 256-257.

Great, most certainly, is the difference between the genuine eastern and western idiosyncracies. Take for instance an oriental joke:—

Our kind hostess, Mrs. G., has a very nice Ayah, who is a learned woman, and reads the Koran daily, without understanding a word of it. The Aga said, she reminded him of a devout kinswoman of his, who got a Munshi to read to her the "Martyrdom of Hasan and Hoseyn." As the lecture proceeded, she became more and more affected, wept, tore her hair, beat her breast, sobbed and groaned, until the irreverent Munshi burst out laughing, and told her he had been reading the Loves of Majnun and Leila!—*Vol. III. p.* 265.

Again, we challenge Brother Jonathan himself, and the whole great western republic, to match the story of "the mad tree!"—and yet from beginning to end it has the genuine Oriental flavour. Here it is:—

Will you believe the following story on the testimony of an eye-witness? Our Munshi Badrudin is ready to swear that he saw it "many years ago when he was a very young man." A mad dog bit a horse, which was tied to a mango tree, that had long been noted for the excellence of its fruit. The horse became raving mad, tore great pieces out of his own flesh, and out of the bark of the tree, and finally died. In a short time the mango tree withered away, and died too. A woodman, seing a dry tree, began to cut it down; a splinter flew off, and hit him on the crown of the head. "It drew two or three drops of blood, not more," said the accurate Munshi;—"nevertheless in a short time the unfortunate man began to bark like a dog, to tear his flesh like the horse, and became raving mad. A by-stander said, 'It is time to put him out of his misery;' so he threw a little cold water in his face, and his spirit departed."—*Vol. III. p.* 292.

Mrs. Mackenzie gives us only one little specimen of the subtler and less richly exuberant humour of the West. The story is good in its way; and, *si non vero, è ben trovato*:—

Major M. also told us of an interview he had had with Sir James Stephen. Shortly after his return from Van Dieman's Land, he was requested to call at the Colonial Office, in order to give the results of his observations and experience in that colony. Sir James Stephen received him

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most blandly: then leaning back in his chair, he folded his hands, half closed his eyes, and gave utterance to a series of various apophthegms and reflections, perfectly true and extremely well expressed, for the space of an hour and a half. He then rose, blandly thanked the astonished Major M. for his *valuable information*, and bowed him out of the room, without having allowed him to utter a sentence!—*Vol. I. p. 5.*

The chief charm of Mrs. Mackenzie's book is its perfect honesty. It is, we think, the most honest book we ever met with: yet to judge from its reception in this country at least, one might be led to question the truth of that time-honored adage, "Honesty is the best policy." She has no concealments; what she believes, she asserts without compromise or palliation. She may be, and she is, often indiscreet; but there is a certain nobleness in her very indiscretions. She forgets that every thing, uttered in the confidence of intimate companionship, is not to be proclaimed from the house-tops; that she has no right to bring the private conversations of her friends, without their own consent or knowledge, before the public; and that she is responsible for much unnecessary pain and vexation, and, it may be, estrangements, alienations, and ill-will, without any adequate end or aim. But, it must be evident to every one who reads her book, that her own nature is frank, unconventional, and fearless; and that every word, uttered in the privacy of her own household, was fit for the sun and the broad light of day. Her praise and her blame are both hearty; but they are not always judiciously administered. She is hasty in judgment; somewhat prone to censure; and sometimes, but never intentionally, unjust. She is over-keen in her indignation, and her pen not unfrequently borrows something of the *trenchant* and rough-and-ready style of "the camp." Of this fault Mrs. Mackenzie herself is not unconscious. "So difficult is it," she writes, "to avoid catching even the expressions one hears, 'as well as the sentiments, that it is a struggle to preserve the 'purity of one's mother-tongue, and not to speak and write '*à la militaire*. So if any 'camp' phrase slips out unawares, 'you must excuse it, and believe that I shall be as shocked at 'myself as you could wish." (*Vol. III. p.* 3.)

With the graver accusations, and the loud outcries of personality and scandal which have been raised against her by our local press, itself so immaculate and scrupulous, we confess we have no sympathy.

Mrs. Mackenzie judges hastily, sometimes harshly; but her nature is genial, kindly, and feminine. She has a woman's shrinking from vice, a woman's scorn of cowardice, a woman's

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hatred of cruelty, and a woman's fearlessness, when her sympathies are stirred, alike by good or evil. Early in her first volume, may be found the key to the more painful portions of her book. It is a bold avowal for a man to make; still bolder for a woman; but she has made it, and she has stood to it; and we honor her for both.

"It is quite refreshing," she writes, "to find any one, who 'openly protests against scandalous conduct; *for, in this 'country, virtue is generally content to walk arm in arm with 'vice.*" (*Vol. I. p.* 110.)

Mrs. Mackenzie sets herself in opposition to this very pleasant and popular state of things; and Vanity Fair hoots her down. She has had the further imprudence to term a portion of the Indian press "vulgar," and to quote two or three of its choice morsels, certainly not borrowed from Chesterfield. Now, however, that the out-cry is subsiding, it may be well to ask how many of the disgraceful stories of cowardice, incapacity, injustice, and cruelty, which her too faithful pen records, have been proved to be false, or have even been in the least degree shaken? To Captain Yates alone she has done unintentional injustice; and for that, as her only but able apologist in the *Friend of India* establishes, she was in no wise to blame. In answer to her husband's reasonable challenge, who has come forward, before a jury of his countrymen, to transfer the brand from his name to hers? It appears to us that a soldier's misbehaviour in the field as nearly concerns the public, and is as justly open to public censure and denunciation, as the malversation of a judge, the oppression of a governor, or the incapacity or treachery of a statesman. We have read her book deliberately and conscientiously; but we have looked in vain for the slightest trace of any personal motive, or any private pique or resentment. She whispers nothing in the dark: she stabs no one behind his back: she flings her charge at the feet of the accused in open court, and says to him, "Thou art the man." We hope, for the honour of the British name, that she may have been misled or mistaken; but it is impossible to doubt that she believes what she writes; and, believing this, we cannot but sympathize with the bold hand, albeit weak and a woman's, that flings down the glove with honest scorn and indignation.*

It is a pleasure to turn from this disagreeable subject; so let us hear what Mrs. Mackenzie has to say of Indian society in

* See Note, p. 544.

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general. Her opinion is that of a shrewd, but sufficiently favourable observer :—

My impression of Indian society is, that in ability and uprightness, both the military and civil services are unsurpassed by any other body. The average amount of talent appears to me decidedly above that of English society at home ; and the reason is evident—in India a man has opportunities of developing whatever faculties nature has given him, which would not be afforded in Europe, until they began to decay. A military man, by the time he is thirty years of age, has often acted as quarter-master to a division, or been left in sole charge of a detachment, perhaps of a regiment, in an enemy's country. He may have been sole magistrate of a large cantonment ; and has probably acted as post-master, pay-master, brigade-major, and commissariat-officer, or has commanded a regiment in action ; perhaps has been transferred from an infantry corps to one of irregular cavalry, acted as political assistant, made treaties with hostile tribes, settled questions of revenue or tribute, besides having to build his own house and his wife's carriage.

A young civilian, with less variety of work, is even more uncontrolled, and has often greater responsibility thrown upon him. He is probably put in charge of a district half as large as England : with the combined duties of magistrate and revenue commissioner, he may be called on to defend his district as he best can ; to suppress an outbreak ; to seize conspirators ; to trace gang robberies and wholesale murders ; and is advanced to high judicial, financial or political functions, while still in the full possession of all the faculties of vigorous manhood. No wonder that a clever young civilian, who returned to England four years after he entered the service, when my husband asked him if he were not sensible of a great difference between himself and the young men of his own age, with whom he had renewed acquaintance, replied, "To tell you the truth, I find they are boys, and I feel myself a man."

The isolated life civilians so often lead, and the large amount of authority and responsibility committed to them at so early an age, probably account for the fact, that you scarcely meet a young civilian, whose manner has not far too much confidence and pretension to be that of good society—where modesty, if not genuine, is at least feigned. As they grow older, this generally wears off ; and as, *en masse*, they are more highly educated than military men, you meet very gentlemanly, as well as accomplished and agreeable, civilians. Young officers, though not often so well-informed as young civilians, have generally much better manners, and would be better received at home ; for nothing corrects conceit and presumption so much as constant intercourse with equals and superiors, as in a regiment. One hears of jealousy between the two services, but I have never seen anything of it. The recent improvement in the religious and moral standard at home causes a marked difference between the majority of men under fifty and those above it.

But if the gentlemen in India are above the home average, the ladies are certainly below it. Young men constantly make inferior marriages ; and girls, after having been deprived of a mother's care half their lives, are brought out and married far too young—before their education (if they have had any) is finished, or their minds formed, and before they have enjoyed what, in the present deficient system, is often the best part of a girl's training—the advantage of intercourse with really good society. They have thus no standard of manners or taste, by which to test the manners of those

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among whom they are thrown ; they probably marry under eighteen, often under sixteen, and adopt the strangest phraseology from their husbands and their husbands' friends. It is common to hear ladies speaking not only of their husbands by their surnames (a thing unpardonable, except of a peer), but of other gentlemen in the same manner; talking of "our kit," and using such terms as "jolly," "pluck," "a cool thing," "lots," "rows," and "no end of things!" I think the wives of military men are worse in this respect than those of civilians.

* * * * * * *

There is certainly a great amount of domestic happiness in India. Married people are in many cases so entirely thrown upon each other, not only for sympathy, but for conversation and amusement, that they become knit much more closely than when each has a thousand distractions, and separate ways of spending the day.

The lady cannot spend her mornings in shopping or visiting, nor the gentleman at his club. They generally drive or ride together every evening, and many married people, when separated, write to each other every day.

Circumstances, which tend to promote such a high degree of conjugal union and sympathy, surely cannot be considered merely as hardships.—*Vol. III. pp.* 172-175.

We are afraid to quote what she says of Indian children, or the irreverence, with which she treats the "huzzur," who looks down with such lordly contempt and impatience on "these brutes of natives:" for Mrs. Mackenzie has a generous sympathy for every one in distress, from the poor soldier's wife condemned to the degradations of the barracks, to the high-spirited native nobleman, or brave chieftain, smarting under the rude insolence of some ill-mannered Anglo-Saxon cub; and she expresses herself on such occasions very plainly.

We have been with her in the Camp and the Zenáná; and we must not forget that her book treats largely of the Mission. Mrs. Mackenzie is a decided Christian; but she neither cants nor preaches. Her charity is not condescending, and knows neither distinction of rank, nor difference of blood and faith. By the dying bed of a Christian servant, or of an ignorant Afghan woman, or of a beloved friend, the wife of a missionary, she does her woman's work, in imitation of her blessed exemplar, "pouring in wine and oil"—the soft step, and the gentle hand, and the soothing voice that tells of salvation through the crucified Jesus of Nazareth.

Whatever fascinations the distinguished and highly intellectual and attractive society, which gladly opened its doors to receive her, may and must have had for this gifted and accomplished lady, the first place in her heart and in her intimacy was ever kept for those she looked upon as the faithful servants of Christ—for the Janviers and the Rudolphs, for the Newtons and the Duffs, and the Murray Mitchells.

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Wherever she went, she sought them out, as her chosen friends and associates. She was not in the least ashamed "if they bowed to her on the course;" and, if, in the fulness of her affection, she has written of them in too flattering terms, it was for the sake of their work and their Master.

There is an air of pristine simplicity, that reminds one of Apostolic times and customs, in her account of her introduction to Mr. Lish's little Baptist Church at Agra:—

The missionaries preach only in Hindustani, with the exception of the Baptist missionary, who has a small chapel close to where we were. We were informed none but keránís, *i. e.* clerks, went there; but this did not frighten us away. The service began at half-past six. Seeing the table prepared for the Communion, C. went to the vestry to inquire if we could partake of it. He explained to the missionary, who we were—that I was a member of the Free Kirk, and Miss M. of the Church of England. Mr. Lish, the minister, who is an East Indian, said that usually they required three or four days' notice, that they might learn something of the character of the parties wishing to communicate; but that he would consult with his elder, Mr. Frazer (a Presbyterian); and they both came to the conclusion, that as we were travellers, and had so recently communicated with the Free Church in Calcutta, there could be no objection. Mr. Lish preached an excellent discourse on "Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner stone," &c. He then informed the congregation who we were, and where we were going; mentioned our wish to partake of the Lord's Supper with them; and, in one of the prayers during the Sacrament, implored the Divine blessing specially on us, prayed for the furtherance of our journey, and for our future reunion with those present before the Throne of God. It was such a simple Scriptural way of receiving strangers, you could fancy Titus and Timothy acting thus. At the conclusion of the service, Mr. Lish took his seat at the table, and, after prayer (during which the congregation knelt) we resumed our seats, and the bread was distributed by an elder. Mr. Lish prayed again, and the cup was brought round; and, after a concluding prayer, we ended by singing my favourite fifteenth doxology:

"May the grace of Christ our Saviour,
And the Father's boundless slove,
With the Holy Spirit's favour,
Rest upon us from above!
May we now abide in union
With each other and the Lord,
And enjoy, in sweet communion,
Joys, which earth cannot afford."—*Vol. I. pp.* 143-144.

We shall make but one more extract—her brief, but exquisitely feminine and beautiful sketch of a woman, whom even to appreciate was an honour, and over whose dying moments she watched with the tender care of a sister:—

A more perfect model of a missionary's wife than dear Mrs. Rudolph I never expect to see. She was an excellent linguist, speaking several dialects; besides reading and speaking Hindustani perfectly. She was so indefatigable in teaching the orphan-school, that she never left her house but two evenings in the week, and I used to think an excess of patience the chief defect in her method of teaching. She was a devoted mother,

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and even injured her own health by her ceaseless watching over her little boy. She was also an excellent housewife, having retained the German custom of looking after everything herself, and often making some little primitive dainty for her husband of guests with her own hands. Her order and activity were equally remarkable. She was never idle, and yet she worked and read more than many who have no regular employment on their hands. She told Mr. Rudolph, after she was taken ill, that she thought love of dress and want of charity in speech had been two of her besetting sins. When he related this to me after her departure, it was so contrary to all we had ever seen of her, that neither of us could forbear smiling. It was probably from her being on her guard against these two sins that she was so manifestly free from them. Her dress would have been not only plain, but poor, had it not been for the spotless neatness and cleanliness which marked every thing about her; and I never knew any one of whom it might be more truly said that her speech "was always with grace seasoned with salt." No one could be half an hour in her company without feeling that she was a child of God. She constantly spoke to her servants, and to any native ladies she happened to visit, concerning the way of salvation; and I never remember an uncharitable or frivolous expression from her lips. My husband often remarked, after spending the evening with Mr. and Mrs. Rudolph, that he never saw any one whose expression of countenance and conversation bore more strongly the impress of holiness. There was such a combination of unspeakable sweetness and heaven-born dignity about this naturally plain and unpretending missionary's wife, that he said he always felt unworthy to gaze at her, and that it enabled him to realize Acts. vi., 15. She was only twenty-nine, when God took her to His upper sanctuary.—*Vol. III. pp.* 15-16.

We had marked other passages; but enough has been given to enable our readers to form an opinion for themselves of Mrs. Mackenzie's moral and literary qualifications. Our own may be gathered from what we have written. The book requires compression. Its military criticism and details are out of season and out of place. Its snatches of history and missionary statistics may well be spared. Its dull pages and its indiscretions call for careful but merciless weeding. But matter sufficient will be left for two pleasant and portable volumes; and with portraits of the Delhi Queen, and Dhulip Singh, and Leila Bibi, and Hassan Khan, and others, selected from the jealously guarded portfolio, we may venture to prophesy that we shall have a work, which the Indian public will not willingly let die.

In spite of its literary faults, which are more than redeemed by its literary excellencies, and, in spite of its graver indiscretions, we rise from its perusal with sincere respect and admiration for the writer. Mr. Kaye, in his *History of the Afghan War*, records that "there is not a better man, 'or a braver soldier than Colin Mackenzie in the ranks 'of the Indian army;"—and well has that been proved in the face of the Afghan and the Seikh. His wife's pages show

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him under a higher character—that of a humble and consistent Christian man. In spite of the unmanly insults, which have been lately heaped upon both, a household like theirs is a sight, of which, in this land above all others, every Englishman should feel proud.

NOTE.

While these pages were passing through the press, we received a notice of Mrs. Mackenzie's book from a writer of established reputation—himself a military man. His judgment of the work coincides to a remarkable degree with our own; and, on its bolder statements, we are not sorry to have an opportunity of laying before our readers another and a weightier verdict. He writes:—

"There are statements in her book, which will create much discussion, and, perhaps, bring down upon her some censure for the fearlessness with which she has disclosed, what, for the credit not only of the Indian Army but of British manliness, some would desire wholly to conceal. We must, however, be permitted to say that this is at least an open question. In all other professions or callings, when a man, in any public capacity, discredits himself and his order, his short-comings are criticised; and in some way or other, he is held up to public odium or contempt. If one man, for example, being an author, writes a very foolish or a very mischievous book, he is ridiculed and condemned in the public prints:—or if another talks nonsense in the House of Commons, he is coughed down or crowed at by his brother Senators, and told next morning in the papers that he has made a fool of himself. A bad writer or bad speaker has all his weaknesses probed by unsparing hands; he is castigated, lacerated, till every nerve and fibre tingles with pain. But Mrs. Mackenzie says that officers who run away, or hang back, when they are required to come forward, in action, receive brevet-promotion, and are made Companions of the Bath. Is this just to the brave men, who *deserve* such honors? Is there any reason why bad soldiers should not be called bad soldiers, just as bad authors are called bad authors? Why should any class be exempt from public criticism and public odium? We know that it is not customary to write openly of these things. But the reservation, which has hitherto been the rule in such cases, may be more honored in the breach than in the observance. For our own parts, we cannot help thinking that the only question, which it is of much importance to consider, is whether what Mrs. Mackenzie has written is true or false. There are more important things than good taste; and we confess that, like Mrs. Mackenzie, we are somewhat weary of shams."

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Report of the Inspector of Prisons on the Management of the Jails, from 1845 *to* 1851, *and on the present state of Prison Discipline in the North Western Provinces.* (*By Authority.*) *Agra*, 1853.

The subject of Prison Discipline is daily attracting more and more attention in England, throughout Europe generally, in America, and, we are happy to add, in British India. Nor is it too soon; for although the horrible state of prisons, against which the philanthropic exertions of Howard were directed, no longer exists, still very much remains ere prisons become what they should be.

We hail with pleasure the publication, "*by authority*," of the compendious illustrated *Report* under notice, as a proof that, on the part of the present* benevolent Governor of those provinces, there is a strong desire to exhibit how much has already been done, in the hope of stimulating the judicial officers in charge of jails to exert themselves in behalf of the criminal population committed to their charge. And truly, in the sight of God and man, a most important charge, for good or for evil, is the treatment of the 20,000 prisoners confined every day in the thirty-three jails of these North Western Provinces!

In an especial manner on Magistrates, entrusted with the executive details of prisons, is it dependent whether prisons shall exert their primary deterring prophylactic effect on the population of the country, and prove so severe and salutary a warning to the criminal as to make him dread with horror the repetition of criminal conduct, with its contingent repetition of incarceration;—on them it is dependent whether jails shall be hot-beds, in which the juvenile petty offender, through the contaminating influence of vicious prison-association, shall be nurtured in crime, to re-appear as a full-grown hardened criminal, a candidate for transportation or the gallows;—on them it is dependent whether the criminal shall, from the combined influence of inferior and imperfectly cooked food, inadequate clothing, extraordinary exposure on the roads, excessive labour, and indifferent medical aid, go forth with an irretrievably undermined constitution, a burthen to himself and family, or shall even suffer a lingering capital punishment, during the few months or years of imprisonment to which the law sentenced him;—on them it is dependent whether the criminals entrusted to their care shall have every spark of moral courage extinguished, or whether any remaining moral power to resist the temptations to crime shall be strengthened

* This notice having been in our hands for about four months, it is not the present, but the *late* Lieut.-Governor of whom it speaks. We have thought it better to give this explanation, and leave the text unaltered.—Ed. C. R.

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by the development of industrial habits, general moral instruction, and that amount of intellectual education, which, while it shall teach them that "*honesty is the best policy*," shall also place it in their power to read what may be written for their good, and exhibiting the disadvantage they themselves have laboured under from gross ignorance, shall tend to make them seek for their children those advantages which may enable them to steer clear of the rock on which their parent was wrecked. How many Magistrates can place their hands upon their hearts and say, "I have, to the best of my ability, had regard to all these things?" Enough, it is a matter which lies between their own conscience and the long day.

The Report before us shows how much has been done of late to ameliorate the physical—aye, and mental condition of the prisoners, and while securing increased advantages by an enlightened Prison Discipline, to prevent a wasteful expenditure of that public money, which (in spite of the barefaced assertions of cotton-souled ranters, and the exhaustion of the public purse from chronic war), the Government is always willing to allot, to the last available rupee, for the good of its Indian millions, whenever it can meet with an enthusiastic master-mind capable of suceesstully directing the expenditure, so as to produce the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number.

In the person of Mr. W. H. Woodcock, they met with such an officer, and nobly, in spite of harassing opposition from executives, and at the expense of peace of mind and health of body, did he serve the Government of those provinces, in its sincere endeavour to ameliorate the condition of its incarcerated thousands.

In December, 1844, Mr. Woodcock was appointed Inspector of Prisons of the North Western Provinces, and during the ensuing fourteen months, he was employed in inspecting the thirty-three jails of the provinces, and in introducing an improved and uniform system of prison records. In 1846, he was summoned to Agra, to take charge of the large jail there, with a view to converting it into the Monster Central Prison it now is, and introducing into it, with greater ease and certainty, the reforms which he might consider expedient, and also to afford the Government a better opportunity of judging of the value of any measures which he might wish to enforce in other places of confinement. Here he made, with the old jail as a nucleus, those vast alterations and additions, which have converted it into probably the largest prison in the world, and certainly the finest one in India;—here he collected 3,000 convicts, generally the scum of criminals, and coerced and disciplined the ruffians, who after committing the most atrocious crimes on the wholesale scale while free, were in the provincial jails themselves unmanageable, and the exciters of insubordination in others;—here he put in force those salutary reforms, which the want of sufficient controlling authority disabled him from introducing generally elsewhere, and thus he effected, by the force of example, what he was impotent to do by precept;—here he showed, that in 1851, it was possible to effect a saving of 45½ per cent. on each convict on the charge for 1844.

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In 1851, it became evident, that the arduous duties of Governor of the Agra Central Prison were incompatible with his travelling duties as Inspector of Prisons ; he therefore applied to be relieved of the immediate superintendence of the Central Prison, and it remained to nominate a successor. It has been truly observed, that the Governorship of a prison is not pleasant, and the responsibility is great :—" An ' able and attentive Governor, who executes all his arduous duties with ' unremitting zeal and fidelity, is a most valuable public servant, and ' entitled to the greatest respect : he must be a man of no ordinary ca- ' pacity, with a liberal and comprehensive mind, possessing a controul ' over his own passions, firm and undaunted—a character that com- ' mands from those under him, instinctively, as it were, respect and ' regard. In vain are our buildings, and rules, and regulations, if the ' choice of a Governor is not made an object of primary and solicitous ' attention and consideration." *(Western on Prison Discipline.)* Mr. Woodcock, in a memorandum to Government, dated March 1851, given at page 223 of the Report, writes, " Six years' experience in ' my present appointment, and personal acquaintance with every mem- ' ber of the civil, and many of the medical and military services, only ' admits of my naming one man, and that is, Dr. J. P. Walker, the ' Civil Surgeon of Mynpuri, whom I think thoroughly qualified by ' his talent, temper, and judgment, energy, and zeal, a knowledge of, ' and deep interest in, the subject of Prison Discipline, to hold such ' appointment." The Government appointed Dr. Walker, who has fully justified the estimate formed of him by Mr. Woodcock.

Leaving for a future article Mr. Woodcock's successful efforts in organizing Jails and Prison Discipline, we shall here briefly notice his exertions in economizing money to the Government, and health and life to the prisoners. The first two years of his incumbency were for the most part fruitlessly spent in suggestions to the officers in charge of jails, over whom, however, by some strange anomaly, he had no controlling authority till 1846. Hitherto his utmost endeavours could only effect a reduction of 3.87 per cent. on the expenditure ; but in 1846, under his immediate controul and audit, the reduction amounted to 16.37 per cent., and gradually, year by year, 24 per cent. on the expenditure of 1844—no trifling reduction, when it is known that in that year the prison expenditure of the North Western Provinces cost Rs. 8,53,485. This saving was not effected by a reduction on one or two items, but, as will be seen, by a reduction on all items :—

	Reduction per head.
Permanent Establishment	58.25 per cent.
Ditto Guard...	1.42 ,,
Contingent Guard...	19.43 ,,
Miscellaneous Charges	46.96 ,,
Native Medicines	85.57 ,,
Prison and Hospital Rations... ...	40.01 ,,
Additions, Alterations, and Repairs ...	27.40 ,,
Average ...	24. per cent.

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As an instance of how so great a saving was accomplished, we find that by the substitution of convict for paid labour in menial offices, an annual saving of Rs. 17,532 was effected!

After deducting from the gross saving, the expenses of the Inspector's department, amounting to Rs. 36,532 per annum, a net saving of Rs. 5,71,945 for the seven years resulted. There still remains room for further economy, if we may judge from the great difference in the annual cost of a prisoner at different stations: thus, in 1851, at Etawah, he cost only Rs. 13-1-7¾, while at Goruckpur and Juanpur, upwards of Rs. 26, at Mirzapur, Rs. 28-12-3½, and at Kumaon and Ghurwal, Rs. 31-12-11¼, while the average cost of a prisoner in fifteen jails, not under the controul of the Inspector of Prisons, was Rs. 51-11-4!

The item of "Native Medicines" shows in a most remarkable manner the careless and vicious extravagance which prevailed before the expenditure was brought under vigilant controul. We know that never were the unfortunate prisoners so well attended, and had so many comforts in sickness, as during the latter years of Mr. Woodcock's incumbency; and yet the expenditure on that head, in 1851, amounted only to Rs. 1,137, while in the year 1844, the charge was Rs. 7,665. This is truly a reduction with a vengeance! Only fancy the poor wretches being obliged to swallow Rs. 6,500 worth of unnecessary, cheap bazar physic, in addition to a corresponding extravagant quantity of European drugs! Pray, reader, economize your pity, and know that the native doctors, generous fellows, with large bowels of compassion, took it all themselves!

Let us see what was the result of economy of physic on disease and death. The subjoined table speaks for itself:—

	RATES OF		
Year.	*Sick to Strength.*	*Deaths to Strength.*	*Deaths to Sick.*
1845	147.88	8.90	6.20
1851	95.08	4.85	5.10
Decrease	52.80	4.05	1.10

Although the daily average number of prisoners confined in 1851 was greater by 1,049 than in 1845, still we find that in 1851 the admissions into hospital were less by 8,950, and the deaths less by 710 than in 1845. This highly creditable change for the better appears to have been brought about by an improved dietary, better clothing distributed at the appropriate season, increased ventilation, extended accommodation, vastly improved conservancy arrangements, the more regular visits and inspections of the medical officers, and last, but not least, the more general interest evinced upon the subject of prison economy by the Magistrates in charge of jails.

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In a philanthropic point of view, how great the result ! and this effected, too, with how great a monetary saving ! proving that increased utility does not necessarily demand increased expenditure.

In conclusion, we would say a word of advice to the judicial officers in Bengal, where there is great scope for improvement in all that concerns prisoners—Read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the valuable Report of the Inspector of Prisons, North Western Provinces. And to the Government of Bengal, we respectfully urge attention to the good that has resulted, alike to the interests of humanity and the state, from the appointment of an Inspector of Prisons in the North Western Provinces. Let them consider whether it would not be well to go and do likewise.

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1. *A few Rough Notes on the Indian Army.*
2. *Grievances and Present Condition of our Indian Officers, considered with a view to improvement and redress under future Indian Administration*, 1853.

These two pamphlets seem both to have emanated from the London Press ; although, in violation of the law on that subject, they contain no statement as to the place where, or the person by whom they were printed.

The former of them is a vindication of the Indian Army from certain charges brought against it in a London newspaper, the *Daily News* of 8th February last. It is a soldier-like production, goes to the point at once, and without any flourish of trumpets, gives the writer in the *Daily News* a taste of the " cold steel." The author distinctly shows, what few persons in India who might read the article in question could fail to perceive, that it was written by one quite ignorant of the subject, and actuated by none of the most amiable feelings. Altogether, the author evidently feels that he has a work to do. He sets about it at once, he does it well and thoroughly, and he stops when it is done. And what higher commendation could be bestowed upon any pamphleteer,—or upon any soldier,—or upon any man ?

In very marked contrast to all this are the style and manner of pamphlet No. 2. Its author tells us, that he is not himself of the " fighting class ;" and the following short extract will at once show to which branch of the service he belongs, the nature of the grievances of which he complains, and the degree of taste that he brings to bear on the treatment of his subject :—

While the Charter of 1834 stipulates for due qualifications in the servants of the East India Company, and selects the genius of Haileybury to fill the subordinate offices vacant in the Civil List, the Court of Directors otherwise provide annually for the contingent deficiencies in the Military and Marine of India, by appointing a certain number of well-educated gentlemen from Addiscombe and other sour

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These become henceforth devoted to an exile of near a quarter of a century at least, in a climate where the Englishman's life, if he retains it, is little removed from a miserable existence. In return for this sacrifice, the highly-gifted youths, by the strange edicts of their masters, are, in a measure, weaned from the parent soil, for the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope—like the scissors of the accoucheur, severs the umbilical cord which bound them to the mother country, and consigns them either to a distant grave, or to return after their emancipation, as destiny may dictate. In the latter case, however, they often find the home of their youth has lost its attractions, principally from the indifference of those in office, leaving the position of the Indian officer at home an undefined one. From a high consideration in Indian circles, where many gave laws to princes and others have displayed the banner of their country triumphant in peace as in war, they sink in England to the level of the alien, and as great unknowns are shut out from all but their own society, because they are debarred from wearing there the rank and honours won by hard toil on the gem of the British Empire.

We shall say nothing more about the pamphlet before us, except that we cannot but think that it is a great pity that a good cause should be injured by trash like this.

It is unquestionable, that the furlough regulations, and the local rank regulations, and the regulations affecting the status of officers in the Indian Navy, as compared with that of the corresponding ranks in the Royal Navy, required a thorough revision, which it is now understood they have received, or are about to receive. The end that ought to be kept in view in such revision, is unquestionably that officers and men may become attached to their profession and proud of it; which can never be, so long as the highest reward for distinguished service or general good conduct in the army is the privilege of removal from it!

It is the true *esprit* we want to put to right—the spirit of being proud of being a soldier, instead of moving heaven and earth, and neglecting all one's duty, for the chance of becoming a Bazar-master, or Pension-master, or anything in short to get quit of one's regiment and escape from a soldier's life and duties. Carlyle, who is severe enough on soldiers, whom he is pleased to designate as "idleness dressed in scarlet," adds however—"After all, a soldier is one of the few realities we have 'in this age of shams. I know a soldier, if he is told, will draw a long 'sword and kill me." The Indian Army has done great and glorious things, and, please God, will do as great and glorious again; but when we hear of gallant and distinguished, &c. regiments refusing to go on service—when we see regiments expected to keep up all the routine, necessary and unnecessary, with some four officers present, and half the men detached or on furlough—when we hear talk of the very superior pay and pension advantages to the Hon'ble Company's troops, and know that in some regiments, for about the three first years, two rupees per mensem is deducted from pay for full dress caps, &c.; and that in other regiments there are numbers of men so old as to be almost helpless in mind and body—when we hear one gallant Divisional Commander order the Artillery to march, *loaded!*—another, at his first review, after a long, and, we believe, most useful spell in the Auditor's Department, remark to his Staff Officer, as a regiment marched past in slow time, "Very steady the men march, but surely very

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slow;" and a third gallant, old and experienced Commander order a Cavalry regiment to parade in "heavy marching order *on foot*," surely we must plead guilty to something allied to "sham" amongst us. A distinguished naval officer told us, that he owed the first kindling of true professional esprit in his heart to a remark made to him by a well-known and first-rate Oxford scholar, with whom he had a long walk and talk. After an interesting and animated conversation on various subjects, the Oxonian asked the sailor how long he had been in the navy? "Twelve years," was the reply. "Ah! that is a long time—twelve years; *you ought to know a good deal of your profession.*" Our naval friend declared it seemed quite a new thought this, and straightway determined to profit by the hint. Surely some of our military friends might profit by it too.

We have heard long and loud arguments carried on touching a most difficult question of theology, such as predestination; or of political economy, such as the national debt; about which it was hardly possible either party could know anything worth talking about; and about which they certainly could not be expected to know anything; but try and turn the conversation to some military topic of interest, about which they should be expected to know a good deal, and it is cried down as "shop." Much there is to fight against, particularly in the lower ranks of every profession, and much certainly in the soldier's, especially much when his work is cast in India. There is a great deal indeed to fight against, but young soldiers should stand up like men, and hoist as their standard "Duty," that word so peculiarly consecrated to Englishmen as the pure spring of all the glory won by those two chiefs who are laid side by side under the dome of St. Paul's. Only let them keep "duty" on that high pinnacle, and they can go through everything steadily and merrily, from a Cabul campaign to an inspection of the pipe clay on a belt or the blacking on a pouch. Much is said about the want of occupation during time of peace. Perhaps, there is not a great deal to do, but is everything done? The mere mechanical part of regimental work will at any rate take up *some* time, if done conscientiously. To be a good shot and swordsman—to be able to walk and ride well—to be able to drill well—to make out his troop or company's monthly papers properly himself—to know all his men well—to know all regimental parade work well—here is matter enough for an officer to begin with. When he can honestly say that he is thoroughly at home in all this, there is no fear but that he will find plenty of occupation beyond. Military literature and history, entered upon as a study for improvement, will be found by no means a narrow field for mental exercise. As one rises to the command of a Regiment, Brigade, Division, or Army, so far from talking glibly of there being nothing to do, a true soldier should feel his duties and responsibilities weighty enough to thoroughly occupy his time, mind, and body. Here we would ask the Colonel, as formerly the Subaltern, is your "duty" done? Riding down the front rank, and up the rear rank of

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regiment, is not inspecting it, and commanding a regiment does not consist solely in parading it, and having a hurried daily orderly room. Many a Commanding Officer must have to reproach himself with the thought, that a higher sense of duty on his part might have saved a young officer from ruin, or his regiment from disgrace. A book we would strongly recommend, as an extremely interesting bit of reading in itself, and very valuable and suggestive to a military man, is the *Scope and Uses of Military Literature and History*, by an accomplished civilian,—(now, alas! he is no more),—who bore a true soldier's spirit, as he inherited a soldier's name. It deserves a place in every military man's library, and we really think the Army would be better for such a book being better known. Colonel Hodgson's pamphlet much disappointed us. We expect better things from an officer telling us how well qualified he was to give suggestions on the subject of the India Army. In some of his remarks we concur heartily, but his leading suggestion of employing the Army, as the Romans did, in making roads, is, we are convinced, impracticable, however desirable; and another suggestion, that of instituting a weekly medical inspection, we must protest against. It is a disgusting and demoralizing practice, utterly disgraceful to the service, and so far from being extended to the native portion of the Army, we cannot but believe, as we do hope, it will soon be discontinued among the British. Major Jacob's pamphlet, whatever truth—and there is *some* truth—there may be in it, completely chokes itself as an authority at the outset. The preposterous denunciation "by a Bombay Officer" of the whole Bengal Army, as in a state of low morality and no discipline, repulses further notice; the proposal of a "substantial" furlough, that is, one year after every seven, though somewhat whimsical, is we think in principle good. A long period from home, and a long period from duty at home, are both bad for the individual, and of course for the service; and the present system encourages and tempts both.

There has been a great deal of writing, and some rather discreditable writing, on the subject of the Regular and Irregular branches of the Army. "Comparisons are odorous," as Mrs. Malaprop says, and on this subject, as on every other, soon put a stop to rational argument. The fact is, it is not a matter of controversy at all. As a question between two systems of organization, the officer on the Irregular side may laud the efficiency, cheapness, *esprit de corps*, and so forth of the Sillidar system, over the Barghur system of the Regular Army, but surely no man will advocate the *whole* Army to be formed of Irregular regiments—for the *whole* Army to be organized on the Sillidar system.

Then, again, for individual regiments. There can be but one *ideal* for Regular and Irregular corps. The nearer they come to the ideal of a good regiment, the more like will they be to each other. It is not putting men into jack-boots, and bidding them wear beards, that will make a corps good or bad soldiers; it is a

DAMAGE

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business of constant energy, mental and bodily labour, ability, and common sense, backed by experience that has been well profited by. Native officers are often very fine fellows, and sometimes excellent officers; but as a body, no man in his senses would put them at an equal military value with the same number of British officers. The present organization of Irregular regiments, commanded as they are by picked men, and forming a portion only of the Army, may admit of Natives doing the work of British officers with advantage to the service; but as a rule, the calling a man a Rissaldar instead of a Subadar, cannot make the one a good and the other a bad officer. The material is the same, the difference is in the working up; and for this, however different the means may be, there can in reality be but one true criterion to judge by; the better all can stand that criterion, the less in reality will be the difference between all. As we doubt the *intrinsic* value of jack-boots, or beards, it may be supposed that we do not want to meddle with dress; nor do we. We want no novelties, nor are novelties wanted, we are persuaded. But the native soldier should be at once relieved from the stock and chako. They are both a positive source of inefficiency. A General Order, simply directing both to be discontinued for Native troops, whether Cavalry, Infantry or Artillery, would be hailed as sensible and advantageous, and a true boon. The Native has almost invariably a good neck, and the coat neatly rounded away without a collar would add to, instead of deteriorating, his carriage and appearance. The chako is a simple nuisance, for which nothing can be said. The men look well in forage caps—ridiculous when they put on their "full dress" chakos. It is very expensive too. If you take it on service, it makes the men inefficient; if left behind, it is spoilt when you come back, and then come stoppages, and all the consequent discontent, for new ones. This is all we would say, though we say it very earnestly, about *dressing*.

And now a few words about *messing*. We have regretted to see this matter of a "mess" handled in a quarterly cotemporary, quite as a religious question. We speak with considerable experience on this subject, and have no hesitation in giving our opinion, that a good mess in a regiment is as necessary a part of a good regiment as its standing orders are; and may be really a blessing. It hardly needs pointing out, that to a young lad, on joining a regiment, and, perhaps, for the first time in his life, being at all his own master, the having a regular dinner party of his brother officers every evening to join, instead of being left to his own resources entirely, must be, for some time at least, a decided advantage. Then, again, a good mess leavens the whole mass, and keeps it sweet and fresh. We suppose, of course, that we are arguing with military men, and viewing it as a military institution, not as a question of individual taste, touching the method of dining or of spending the evening. *De gustibus, &c.* But we hold a good mess to be as good as it is a necessary part of a good regiment. Old A. grumbles at having to put on a pair of clean trowsers, neck-cloth, and jacket, to go

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mess, instead of the luxury of sleeping-drawers and legs on the table at home; but it is just the one thing that keeps the old fellow from utter slothful barbarism. B., a great book-worm, who would probably become a conceited pedant if left entirely to a congenial coterie, is a delightful companion at mess; and makes C., who cares as yet for nothing in the world but shooting, think himself an ignoramus, and resolve to take to reading *some* day; while at the same time, he can give B. a great deal of interesting anecdotes and information about the jungle *ferœ*, which he is able to retail to friends when he goes home, and which they would probably think him very stupid if he had lived in India without being able so to do. D., who sets up for a misogynist, is persuaded to go in E.'s buggy next day to call on all the ladies. F., a fine lad in his way, but wild in acts and words, was just rapping out an oath, but checked himself as G. was sitting next to him; while G., whose deeply religious mind would perhaps get narrowed and self-righteous if quite able to have none but the society he would himself choose, preserves his influence with his sympathy, and prays when he gets home for his comrades and for himself, that he beware how he judge them. Here then we pause. And as we begin, so we must end, as the alpha and the omega, the true beginning and end, "duty" must be the watch-word. A true spirit, a real *esprit de corps*, is the only true hope of taking all "sham" out of the Army. Let Commanders-in-Chief be *real* Commanders-in-Chief—Commanding Officers *real* Commanding Officers—regiments *real* regiments, and look aloft at Nelson's signal flying—"England expects every man to do his duty." So does India, and as it is harder, so must our soldiers buckle the harder to the task.

We really began with the intention of writing a short notice, but somehow we have gone on to this length. We feel strongly, and when one writes because one feels, we think it is apt to do good. Their Commander-in-Chief is stirring up the Bombay people at a great rate, but he is beginning exactly at the wrong end of the line. As the head of the Army and a Member of Council, he might do what no one else can do so well—raise the footing and morale of the Army, put it in its due place of importance in the estimation of Government, make the officers proud of their cloth and of their regiments, instead of regimental duty being deemed a punishment for not having passed in Hindustani. It is not a dozen men from two or three regiments being *drilled* by a model Serjeant under His Excellency's eye; nor the three or four officers who happen to be with their regiment, being ordered never to appear without their swords, that will make the Army what it ought to be. His Excellency should begin at the top, instead of the bottom.

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The Second Burmese War; a Narrative of the Operations at Rangoon, in 1852. *By William F. B. Laurie., Lieut., Madras Artillery, Author of "Orissa and the Temple of Jagarnauth," &c. With illustrations, by Officers of the Force serving in Burmah. London,* 1853.

During the continuance of a war, its *history* cannot be written by an officer serving in one of the armies engaged, but the journals of an intelligent officer may serve two good purposes. They may give to the public as good an idea as can be given of the several operations, and maintain a rational interest in the public mind until a history can be prepared; and they may furnish valuable materials to be wrought up and arranged by the historian himself. The measure in which both these results will be produced, will be pretty nearly in proportion to the closeness with which the journalist restricts himself to the noting of such occurrences as come under his observation, and such as he hears reported immediately by those who have been actors in them. An intelligent officer engaged in active service, who confines himself to this task, will scarcely fail to produce a work of present interest and of future utility. But if he go beyond this province, the chances are overwhelming that he will fail altogether, and that he will produce a work filled with erroneous details and with crude opinions. The Duke of Wellington is said to have remarked that no man engaged in a battle can possibly understand the various movements of it, the mere fact of his being engaged rendering it impossible for him to observe the various steps of the complicated process. And if this be the case—as it evidently must be—with respect to a battle, it must be still more so in regard to a war. But while the journal of no officer can aspire to the rank of history, it is from a collection of such that the historian may derive his most valuable materials. The journalist is to the historian what the portrait-painter or the calotypist is to the historical painter. It is his part to furnish the detached likenesses which the historian is to group into a consistent and truthful whole. In the meantime, his detached portraits are not without interest, but afford much gratification, both to those in general who take delight in studying the "human face divine," and those especially who are connected with the individuals delineated. Yea, more;—as in an Exhibition we have ever noticed that well-executed portraits attract more gazers than pictures of higher character, and as it is notorious that this is the most popular and the most lucrative branch of the painters' art, so it often happens that detached sketches, by those engaged in important operations, if executed with tolerable skill and fidelity, have attractions for many who are repelled by the grave philosophy of history.

Mr. Laurie is a gentleman with a good pair of eyes in his head

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to see what passes before him, a good common-sense mind to understand the bearing of events, and a fluent pen to describe what he sees. All this we knew before the appearance of the present work, for he is not a novice in the life of an author. By his contributions to our own pages,* and by his separate publications, he has acquired a good reputation as a diligent investigator and a clear expounder of truth. We do not think that the present volume will very materially enhance that reputation, but it is satisfactory to see that he is "keeping his hand in" for something better. The fact is that this work has been too hastily composed to do justice to its author's powers. We know that he is capable of writing lucidly and well, and generally he does so in this volume, but not always. For example, we had to read the following paragraph half-a-dozen times before we made out its meaning.

"At about half past eleven, Captain Latter, the interpreter, pro-
'posed to the General an attack on the eastern entrance of the Great
'Pagoda; for ten of our troops now being killed or disabled, we
'would lose but one with a storming party, which would naturally
'draw off the enemies' attention, and excite their surprise. This
'sensible advice was by no means disregarded."

It may seem to some to be below the dignity of criticism to point out such faults; but if men are to write well in our language, they must pay some attention to the minutiæ of its anomalous words and constructions, and there is no word more anomalous than that small one "*For*." It should never be placed in any position where there can be the slightest doubt whether it is to be construed as a preposition or an adverb. It is not by attending to rules that men write well, but they must attend to rules until they *learn* to write well.

The following sentence too, Mr. Laurie may have written, but we are sure he never would have allowed to pass, had he read it after it was written.

"There, among other sights, we beheld three of the 40th B. N. I.
'lying dead on a bank—all three, including a bullock, having been
'struck down with a shot from one of the enemy's eighteen pound-
'ers!"

These are a few specimens of carelessness considerably disfiguring a style that is in general vigorous and good. No doubt, early publication was an important matter for such a work, to which the Horatian precept of a nine years' reserve is clearly inapplicable; but nine hours would have sufficed for the removal of the blots.

But we should be sorry to leave on the minds of our readers the impression, that the book is otherwise than a very creditable one. It contains a good deal of information, and will well repay perusal. As a fair specimen of the author's ordinary style, we shall present our readers with his account of Major Oakes, of his own corps, who,

* We betray no confidence; as some of Mr. Laurie's works have been published professedly as reprints from the *Calcutta Review*.

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s most of them know, was killed by a stroke of the sun's rays on the 2th April :—

At this critical time, Major Oakes fortunately came up with two 24-pounder howitzers, leaving the remaining portion of his battery in the rear. Colonel Foord told him to open with spherical case at a range of 800 yards. The gallant Major, with his usual alacrity, drew up in line with the Bengal battery, and opened effective fire on the out-work, which he continued until the whole of his ammunition was expended. The Bengal guns had for some time withdrawn from the line action, until more ammunition should arrive. The heat of the sun was now rrific ; it gave Major Oakes his death-blow just as he was about to fire the last un.

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Reposing in a shady spot, a small number of officers caught the attention of the passer-by. Two of them, it seemed highly probable, would recover from their misfortunes. But, on the face of Major Oakes, death had set his seal. Several were around him, rendering every possible assistance, while the tear of sorrow fell from even those who liked him not too well.

The artillery were now commanded not to advance till further orders, and after a good deal of sharp skirmishing, as the day drew to a close, a general cessation of operations took place. All now began to prepare for a night's bivouac on the field. In the evening it was whispered among us, that our Director of the Depôt was dead! that he who, since being appointed to command a Service Company, had shown an amount of zeal for the high efficiency of that Company, seldom, if ever, surpassed—who, a few hours before, had rejoiced in a triumphant might—was now ranked among the fallen. He had been taken into the general hospital, on the beach, where he died. The gallant deceased was in the forty-third year of his age. In person, Major Oakes rose above the ordinary stature. Six feet one inch in height, with a chest of uncommon breadth, a striking military deportment, and a countenance betraying a restless ambition, wherever he went he could not escape observation. *Aut Cæsar aut nullus*, might be read in his pale, hard features. He had entered the Madras Artillery under the old *régime*, upwards of a quarter of a century ago, about the time when our first war with Burmah formed a subject of general interest throughout the British dominions. Towards the end of the year 1827, Majors Oakes and Montgomery were riding-masters to the Horse Brigade. The former revisited Europe in 1829, on account of ill-health. On his return to India, he was for ten or twelve years Adjutant of the Horse Artillery, was next appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery, and eventually Director of the Artillery Depôt of Instruction at St. Thomas's Mount. Thus, in his profession, did he climb a considerable distance up "the steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar !" He was great in all matters of drill, and was conspicuous as the man who gave the regiment an entire system of manœuvres. publications on that subject were recently acknowledged by the Honourable rt of Directors, who rewarded him for his services.

tain Major Oakes was not, in the ordinary sense, a man of genius ; the creative faculty her in him but slightly developed. But he was gifted with great energy, and as remarkable for his untiring industry. Well-directed labour, steadily continued, is a rare virtue in India, where climate, and the absence of any powerful motive for exertion, induce languid habits. He, therefore, who shakes off the lethargy, and toils assiduously, may, without a glimmering of genius, acquire a pre-eminence even over those of his fellow-men who may be more highly endowed by Nature. In this way may we account for the position Major Oakes wrought for himself. Through his efforts the Madras Artillery was presented with several very useful works, and he will long be remembered and mourned by the profession at large as one of its most useful members.

There is nothing here that the most fastidious critic could find fault with ; and such is the case with respect to the greater part of the work.

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We stated at the outset that no officer can know the events of a war in which he is employed, sufficiently to be able to write a history of it. It is perhaps not less true that the position of an officer renders him virtually incapable of telling all that he does know, and this truth we believe we could illustrate from the volume be...e us. But we forbear. The work in Burmah was well done, and all e... ployed are entitled to much credit for the doing of it, and it were an ungracious task to apportion the credit amongst individual men, and regiments, and brigades.

Far more pleasing it is to contemplate the fine old chief, of whom, indeed, we get but a few glimpses in the volume before us, but of whom we believe there was but one opinion, and towards whom but one feeling, throughout the force that served under him. General Godwin was not a brilliant man, or a dashing soldier ; but he knew his work and he did it. He had a duty to discharge towards his country, and towards those men whom his country placed under his command ; and this duty he very faithfully discharged. He has been taken away from the midst of us ere his country could express her gratitude, but his death has been a matter of regret to all the army that he commanded in Burmah.

BENGALI PUBLICATIONS.

Robinson Crusoe.
Life of Lord Clive.
Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare.
The Vividartha Sangraha, or Penny Magazine.
Spirit of the Native Press.
Life of Rájá Pratápaditya.

These publications of the Vernacular Literature Society are worthy of special notice, but we now only glance at them.

The Society's Magazine, edited by Rajendra Lal Mittra, ... Sanskrit scholar, the Librarian of the Asiatic Society, has a circ... lation of 900 copies, and contains, in addition to three or four ... torial illustrations in each Number, different articles, historic... biographical, &c. *Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare* is a translation of a popular work, and contains a variety of information. *The Spirit of the Native Press* gives extracts from Native Papers, on subjects likely to interest general readers ; while the *Life of Pratápaditya* presents us with the memoirs of a Hindu zemindar in the days of Akbar, who built a splendid city in what is now Sunderbund land. The Society will shortly issue the *Voyages of Columbus* and *Life of Peter the Great.* We hear much in the present day of Bengali patriotism—we only wish it would give some practical proof that it aims at the benefit of the masses—the peasantry—and is not limited to the aggrandisement of a few babus—not to be like a flash of

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lightning at midnight, only to point out the dense surrounding darkness.

We have in Bengal about 1,00,000 villages, in which the Bengali language is spoken. The peasantry are sharp and intelligent, if the faculties are cultivated at an early age—and there are thirty millions of them. This Society has therefore a noble sphere before it, and deserves every encouragement from the friends of popular education. We are warm friends to English where there are time and opportunity, but *Omnis Corinthum non potest adire.* Every person cannot give eight years to the acquisition of English, and this includes nearly thirty millions. The Native mind is not itself inactive, as the existence of forty Bengali presses in Calcutta shows, and the annual publication of 50,000 volumes in Bengali—not including Almanacs, which alone have a sale of 80,000. We are glad to hear that the Society intends to bring out a Bengali Almanac on a superior plan at the commencement of the next Bengali year.

Chitisha Bangshávali Charitam: Chronicle of the Family of Raja Krishna Chandra of Nuddea, in Bengal. Sanskrit, with a translation into English by W. Pertsch. Berlin, 1852.

GERMANY is a country of prodigious bibliographical labour. Here we have in Sanskrit an interesting historical work not known to the Pandits of Bengal, edited by a German, and illustrated with notes. This book deserves a place in the library of every one who wishes to know the history of a Nuddea family, and some of the historical events of that period.

Shabdambudhi, a Bengali Dictionary, with its Meanings in Bengali, 8vo., pp. 604. *Calcutta*, 1853.

This Dictionary has been compiled by the able Editor of the *Sudhakarachandradoy*, one of our best Calcutta Bengali Newspapers; it contains the meaning of 36,000 words, and will be exceedingly useful either to the Native reading difficult books, or to the European who wishes to acquire a knowledge of Bengali synonyms.

The Kumár Sambhava: A Poem by Kalidás. Translated from the Sanskrit into English verse, by R. Griffiths, Boden Sanskrit Scholar. London, 1852.

THE translator, known before for his excellent translations of "specimens of Indian Poetry," has done full justice to the noble original. The perusal of his work will, we hope, induce various readers to make

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themselves better acquainted with the merits of Sanskrit *belles lettres*, and particularly with the writings of *Kalidás*, the Virgil of his day, who possessed a Miltonic power of fetching up images from the depths of nature to illustrate his subject. In his *Kumár Sambhava* Kalidas revels in the sublimity of the Himalayan scenery where the subject of his Poem is laid, and some of his descriptions are exquisitely beautiful.

Bangadesher Purábrita. Marshman's History of Bengal, translated into Bengali, 12*mo.*, *pp.* 284. *School Book Society. Calcutta*, 1853.

A SIMPLE and faithful translation of a highly popular work. This volume will enable the youths of this country, who do not know English, to gain an acquaintance with the past of Bengal.

Bharatbarshiya Krishi, or the Indian Agricultural Miscellany. Calcutta.

THE Calcutta Agricultural Society. are making a noble effort, through the medium of this magazine, to diffuse information among the natives not knowing English, which treats of the cultivation of different vegetables, instructions relative to gardens, &c. &c.

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